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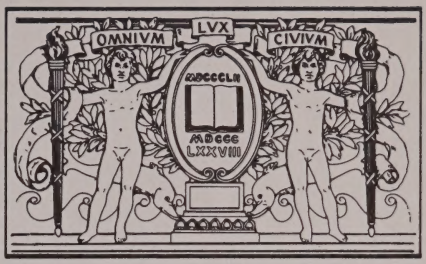


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VOL. XLVIII.

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# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

## No. CII.

## JANUARY, 1839.

ART. I. — 1. *Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani.* Di GIUSEPPE MICALI. 3 tom. 8vo.

2. *Monumenti per servire alla Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani, raccolti, esposti e publicati* da GIUSEPPE MICALI. 1 tom. fol. Firenze: Tipografia all' Insegna di Dante. (*Molini.*) 1832.

GIUSEPPE MICALI was born, and received the first rudiments of his education, in Leghorn. He gave early proofs of that decided taste for antiquities and historical research, which was to win him so honorable a station among the writers of his age. Placed by the possession of an ample hereditary fortune beyond the reach of those cares, which so often chill the ambition and check the efforts of the young student, he was enabled to devote himself entirely to the cultivation of his mind and the prosecution of his favorite inquiries. After having laid the foundation of his education by an accurate study of classical literature, he directed his attention to that species of cultivation, which can only be acquired by an extensive and practical acquaintance with the world. With this view he visited different parts of Europe, and was gladly received into the society of many of the men of letters, who formed the brightest ornament of the last century. Among those, with whom he lived upon terms of the closest intimacy, were several of the distinguished members of the literary circle of Frederic the Second, and particularly the well-known Abbé Denina, with whom he formed a friendship

that was dissolved only by death. We have before us, at this moment, several letters addressed to our author by Denina, in the last years of his life, which contain the warmest expressions of personal regard, and of the high expectations which he had formed of the promise of his young friend. Micali resided also in Paris from 1796 to 1799, and was an eyewitness of the fall of the Directory, and of the first brilliant steps of Napoleon.

But no part of his early studies was so advantageous to him, as the long series of diligent researches, which he carried on upon the site of the principal cities of Ancient Italy ; frequently directing in person the excavations from which his materials were to be derived, and pursuing with his own eyes the numerous topographical investigations, the neglect of which had hitherto formed one of the chief obstacles to a satisfactory history of that remote period. An attentive study of numismatics strengthened and confirmed the views, which these preparatory researches had suggested ; and, when he first put his hand to the composition of his history of "Italy before the Roman Conquest," there was hardly a spot of the peninsula which he had not visited, or an important monument which he had not examined.

This work was published in Florence, in 1810, in four volumes octavo, together with a folio "Atlas," containing sixty plates, illustrative of the manners and customs of the ancient Italians. Its object was as important as its plan was new. Ancient Italy had till then been the subject of puerile fables, or of researches purely antiquarian. Micali was the first who ventured to engage in the bold and hazardous task of separating the false from the true, in the fragments which have come down to us of the old writers, and of restoring the history of this primitive civilization, by drawing from its numerous monuments their varied and enigmatic records. His work was divided into two parts. The first is devoted to a descriptive examination of the original divisions and of the primitive inhabitants of the country. The second is a narrative of their revolutions and of the various incidents of their history.

The "History of Italy before the Roman Conquest," preceded the Roman History of Niebuhr, and, if we may be allowed to judge by the rank which these two celebrated works seem now to have permanently taken, has survived it.

Niebuhr himself, who had attacked many of the positions of Micali in his first edition (1811), retracted his accusations in the last.

A second edition, with additions and corrections, was published in Florence in 1822 ; and four others have subsequently appeared in different parts of Italy. A French translation was published in Paris, but shamefully disfigured by the ignorance and the prepossessions of the translator.

These studies seem naturally to have led our author to the examination of another part of his national history hardly less obscure, and assuredly no less interesting, than that which he had treated with such marked success. This was the history of the "Commerce of the Maritime Republics of Italy." He had long been engaged in collecting materials for this work, when his attention was called back to his original theme, by the discoveries which were making in nearly all those parts of Italy, which had been distinguished as the seats of her earliest civilization. A new and strong light was thus thrown upon many questions, which at the beginning of his investigation had been purely conjectural ; and he had the rare satisfaction to find, that the views, which he had adopted upon the authority of his first observations, were fully confirmed by all his subsequent discoveries. It is to this that we are indebted for the work, which forms more immediately the subject of the present paper, and of which we shall now proceed to give a full and minute analysis, taking, at the same time, the liberty to interweave such illustrations and observations of our own, as seem naturally to arise from, or be required by, the facts that we are called upon to relate.

1. The question concerning the name and origin of the first inhabitants of Italy has long been agitated in vain. The progress of geographical discovery has shown, that man may exist in almost any part of the globe. But he has always been found in a state of union. Origin everywhere escapes our researches. It is obvious, however, that the human race must have been most readily propagated in those regions, where the means of subsistence are most abundant and most easily obtained. The only course, that can afford a reasonable gratification to our curiosity, is, to ascertain, as nearly as we can, the condition of the people whom we find in possession of a country, without troubling ourselves about the fruitless inquiry, as to whence they came.

The physical revolutions of Italy, of which so many and such positive proofs still remain, must, for at least a considerable space after its first settlement, have confined its inhabitants to the higher regions. But the frequently renewed experience of modern times shows how insufficient the terrors of nature are, to drive man from the spot which he has once made his home. Even here we witness a new triumph of human power; for man daily accomplishes what nature cannot, and strikes those with dread, to whom earthquakes and volcanoes had spoken in vain.

The natural fertility of Italy has been the subject of poetical rapture and rhetorical declamation from all antiquity.* The fables which represent man as springing from the soil, and from the trunks of trees, can but allude to the impenetrable antiquity of the human race in these happy regions. The tradition of an original and distinct race of native Italians was preserved in the historic ages; and the Aborigines mentioned by the Romans are the same, whom the Greeks found assembled in tribes, and whom they qualified, according to the invariable custom of that ingenious but vain people, by the contemptuous denomination of *barbarians*. From these, as from one common stock, sprang the people, who, under various names, occupied the chief portion of the Italian peninsula.

Their mode of life, like that of all men in this first epoch, we would say of aggregation rather than of society, was regulated by their physical wants and by the roughness of their manners. Acorns and roots, the spontaneous products of the soil, together with the game of their forests, supplied their daily food. Society has few charms for those who have never tasted its artificial pleasures; and it was only by the slow and natural progression from their first wild life to the more regular occupation of pasturage, that they were led to agriculture, the first decisive step in civilization. But even this step has seldom, if ever, been taken without some unusual external impulse. The fables of Janus and of Saturn, that golden age, so often and so sweetly sung, and which, from its unlikeness to any thing that we have ever seen, seems rather as a fiction than a reality, allude to this change, and probably indicate, at the same time, the sacerdo-

* The magnificent description of Virgil in the second Georgic, and that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the first book of his Roman Antiquities, are the finest, but unfortunately too long to be introduced here.

tal influence by which it was accomplished. The traces of a distinct class of priests, whose origin, although probably Egyptian, is rendered obscure by the same necessity which compelled them to clothe all their doctrines in the mystic veil of symbols and fables, are too evident to admit of any doubt. We shall have occasion to show in the sequel, how long this class preserved its separate station, and how far its power, though modified and restricted, continued to extend.

2. The first inhabitants of Italy dwelt among the mountains and highlands, while the low grounds were as yet unfit to receive or to nourish a permanent population. Descending from thence, as a scarcity of food or the increase of their numbers required, they began to divide themselves into separate tribes, whose members were bound together by those fragile ties, which can alone be formed in these early periods of society. The natural divisions of a country intersected in every direction by rivers and by mountains soon drew those artificial boundary lines between tribes of the same race, of which the influence has been so striking in every age of Italian history. The old writers have, fortunately for us, preserved the memory of a singular custom, by which the foundation of a large proportion of these new colonies was regulated.

Before the practice of tillage had become sufficiently general to place them beyond the reach of those casualties, by which a people, half nomad and half agricultural, is so often exposed to extreme want, the Italians were taught to propitiate the deity, whose wrath had been manifested in the failure of their harvests, by sacrificing to him all the productions of the following spring. The young of their flocks and of their herds, and even their own offspring, were mingled together in this bloody atonement. But, as an advancing civilization began to gain upon their manners and their feelings, this dreadful rite was softened, and the products of the sacred spring, instead of being offered in sacrifice to the deity, were set apart for a particular service, which was supposed to have the same effect in appeasing or in averting his wrath. When the children born during the consecrated year had attained to the age of manhood, they set forth under the guidance of chosen members of the priesthood in quest of new habitations. The favor of the deity attended them ; and wherever, erecting their altars, they took possession of the soil, the

original inhabitants gladly united with those, on whom the seal of the Divinity had been so strikingly set. There also the same observances were held sacred; and these children of the primitive family became the fathers of new and constantly multiplying colonies. It was thus, according to Pliny,* that the Piceni descended from the Sabines; and the Samnites, originating in the same way, gave rise themselves to the Lucani.†

The course pursued by the Italians, in the resistance which they opposed to the first invaders of their territory, indicates a certain degree of advancement in civil discipline. They had made some important steps towards social life. They lived in villages and in cots, as is still practised in Switzerland, and in many parts of Europe. These, according as they were more or less favored by their natural situation, grew and became large towns. This was especially the case in the vicinity of the larger water-courses. According to Ælian, ‡ there were eleven hundred and ninety-seven of these places, which, by a use of the word which our language will hardly admit of, he calls *cities*. This progress was nowhere more sensible than in those tracts which border on the Mediterranean.

3. Unfortunately for early Italian history, nearly all the information, that we possess concerning it, has been derived from Greek historians and antiquaries, whose authority has been called in question by the more judicious portion even of their own countrymen. They were followed by the Latins, who, in so many parts of their literature, were little else than close imitators of the Greeks. It was by means of their settlements in southern Italy, that the attention of the Greeks was first directed to this subject; and various were the opinions which they hazarded concerning the origin of the people, whom they found in possession of the soil. Nearly all of them, however, concurred in claiming for themselves the glory of having been the first to occupy it; and the heroes of the Trojan war were hardly more celebrated for their military exploits, than for their supposed colonization of the chief places of the Italian peninsula. Some few of the Romans ventured to throw doubts upon this tradition; nor were there

* III. 5. † Strab. V. p. 158. Ed. Casaub. 1587.
‡ Var. Hist. IX. 16.

historians wanting among the Greeks themselves, who were willing to confess its improbability. But antiquity had hallowed it. The people had seized upon it with that avidity, with which national and personal vanity grasps at whatever can serve to ennoble the obscure period of origin ; and the fables of Æneas, of Hercules, and of an innumerable host of other chieftains, whose real history is no less uncertain than theirs, became inextricably mingled with the first epochs of Roman and of Italian history.

Yet a surer source was open to the Romans. When their great historians wrote, the original languages of the country were still spoken ; and contained, as one of the most valuable portions of their literature, the annals and records of all their principal cities. In the times of Varro, the Etruscan annals, written in the eighth century of the nation, a period which, according to the most approved computation, corresponds to the close of the fourth century of Rome, were still in existence. The principal public acts and events, together with the names of the magistrates of each year, were carefully recorded in the pontifical annals. The memory of treaties, and of all other occurrences of more than usual importance, was preserved by inscriptions in bronze or on stone. Here then was the true fount of Italian history. But the Romans, content with the glory of their conquest, and pleased with the ingenious flattery of the Greeks, asked for nothing beyond those gorgeous fictions, which seemed to add new splendor to their triumph. The loss of these documents sets an impassable barrier to modern research upon several curious questions. But the monuments which still remain, and a critical examination of the most judicious among the ancients, have in a measure supplied this deficiency, and enabled our author to place these obscure epochs of his national history upon a more durable foundation, and one more accordant with the principles of enlightened criticism.

4. The territories, comprised under the name of ancient Italy, varied at different periods, with the progress of discovery, and with the changes incidental upon conquest. Its primitive name was *Saturnia*, so called from Saturn, whom the natives revered as the founder of their civil institutions.

"Salve magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus!"

The Greeks, referring to its geographical position, called

it *Hesperia*, for the same reasons which led them, as their acquaintance with the Mediterranean and with the Atlantic became more accurate, to apply this name to Spain and to the Fortunate Islands.

> "Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
> Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ;
> Œnotrii coluere viri: nunc fama, minores
> Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem."

As their intercourse with the different parts of the country gave them a more precise idea of the extent and of the varieties of its population, they began to use the names of the tribes with which they had communication; and it is thus that we find *Ausonia*, *Œnotria*, *Ombrica*, and other denominations properly belonging to individual tribes, applied to the whole nation.

The name *Italy* was, at first, confined to the southern extremity of the peninsula, below the gulfs of St. Euphemia and of Squillace. From thence it gradually spread northward; and, in the time of Polybius, was already applied to the whole country, from the Sicilian sea to the Alps. It was used in this extensive sense during the social war; and the inscription *Vitelliu*, which we read on the money of that period, gives the common, and probably also the original Oscan form of it.

Etymologists have, with their usual subtilty, offered various explanations of these names. *Italy*, from its resemblance in sound to a word of the Greek language, was said to allude to the herds of oxen with which the whole country was filled. *Œnotria* signified the land of wine. Nor is it improbable, that the same usage, which has obtained among modern travellers, of designating particular countries by names indicative of their distinguishing characteristics, may have led to a more ready adoption by the Greeks of these words, which sounded to them so much like expressive terms of their own tongue. But we may safely venture to reject the genealogical origin, with which these, and various other denominations applied to particular parts of the country, were adorned by Grecian and Roman vanity.

*Ausonia* was, properly speaking, a large portion of lower Italy, inclusive of Campania. The same tract was subsequently called *Opicia*. A considerable part of central Italy was known to the Greeks as *Tyrrhenia*, without their having

any very accurate idea of its extent, or of its boundaries. But *Italy* became, by degrees, the common name ; and, although it did not always include Cisalpine Gaul, was generally applied to the whole peninsula.

5. Proceeding now to examine more in detail the situation of the various districts of ancient Italy, the first people who demand our attention, are the Siculi or Siceli. The origin of this, as of all the other tribes of the country, has been variously accounted for. But the most reasonable theory makes them a branch of the Aurunci, who were immediate descendants of the great Oscan family. They were the first who ventured to come down from their native mountains into that district around the Tiber, which is still known as the Roman Campagna, or "Agro Romano." Their possessions reached as far as the base of the Apennines, in the direction of Faleria and Fescinnia.

The repeated attacks of the Umbri and other Aboriginals, with whom, according to Dionysius, the Pelasgi were associated in arms, gradually drove the Siculi from their original dwellings to the southern parts of the peninsula ; and, unable to make firm the hold, which they had gained at their onset, upon these new territories, they were finally constrained to abandon the mainland and take refuge in Sicily. Here they, in turn, became conquerors, chased the Sicani from the eastern coast, established their own seats in the spots which were thus left vacant, and eventually reduced the whole island under their power. This event is placed by some writers eighty years before the Trojan war ; by others, two hundred after it. The certainty of it, however, is in no way affected by the difficulty of fixing its precise date. The memory of the Siculi was preserved in central Italy long after their expulsion ; and in Sicily itself the Opician language continued to be spoken in the last days of the kingdom of Syracuse.

The Umbri also were mountaineers of Oscan origin. The extent of their early possessions is difficult to determine with accuracy ; but the concurrent testimony of the ancients proves, that they occupied large tracts on both sides of the Apennines. A valley in the centre of the lofty chain of Gargano bears, even to this day, the name of "Vale of the Umbri." Perugia was founded by one of their tribes ; and Ameria, another of their cities, was built, according to the elder Cato, as early as 381 years before Rome.

This was the people by whom the Siculi were driven from their possessions in central Italy; and the Sabines, though a warlike and hardy race, suffered severely from their hostile excursions. But when at length their encroachments had brought them into immediate contact with the Etruscans, they were met by a people who were every way able to cope even with their renowned bravery. The long struggle, that ensued, terminated to the disadvantage of the former, who were henceforth compelled to set bounds to their ambition, and contract their dominions within narrower limits. Thus the Umbria best known in ancient geography extends from the eastern side of the Apennines beyond the Utente, near to the Po, and has for its natural boundaries on the west and the north the course of the Tiber and of the Nera. After their subjection by the Etruscans, all feelings of national animosity seem to have subsided, and the two tribes continued thenceforth to live in a state of union, which originated in political dependence, and was strengthened by a community of religious rites and of civil institutions.

6. History hardly presents an obscurer and more embarrassing question, than that of the Pelasgi-Tyrrheni. Their navigations have been described by the ancients, with the minuteness of history, but with all the coloring of fable. Nor do historians agree in the accounts which they have given of the origin and migrations of this people; some representing them in one light, others in another. The moderns also, with all their learning and research, have gone little further than to form what must at the best be considered as untenable, though ingenious hypotheses.

Enough, however, may be gathered with certainty from what has hitherto been written upon this subject, to show that a people bearing the name of *Pelasgi* made their appearance in Europe at an early period of ancient history; that they bore some part in the revolutions of the peninsula; that they acquired here the additional appellation of *Tyrrheni*; and that their wanderings to and fro, in Asia and in Europe, have a close connexion with many of the events of that obscure age of tradition and of fable. Thus much may be relied on; and the absolute failure of every attempt at minuter detail should convince us of the folly of wasting in idle conjectures the time, which may, with so much more advantage,

be given to the study of points, that admit of clear and satisfactory illustration.

7. Such a one may be found in the history of the Etruscans. The works of Claudius,* of Dionysius, of Aristotle, and, in short, of all the writers by whom the events of Etruscan history, and the peculiarities of their manners and customs, had been minutely described, are lost ; but the numerous monuments which are brought to light from day to day, and those fragments of the ancients which have survived the general wreck of their works, afford an accurate, if not always a complete, guide to the critical historian.

The express testimony of Dionysius should satisfy us, that the Etruscans were of the primitive Italian stock. The incongruous systems, by which a Lydian and a Pelasgic origin have in turns been attributed to them, should alone be sufficient to convince us of the futility of these disputes, even were there any thing in the language, the manners, or the usages of the Etruscans to give color to such a theory. They were originally called *Raseni* by the natives ; *Tyrrheni*, or *Tyrseni*, by the Greeks ; *Tusci*, or *Etrusci*, by the Romans. During the first centuries of Rome, and after the subjection of the Umbri, the state of central Etruria was bounded by the following natural lines.

(1.) The summit of the winding chain of the Apennines, from the sources of the Serchio to those of the Tiber.

(2.) The Tiber, from its rise to the sea.

(3.) The coast, from the mouth of the Tiber to that of the Arno.

The early attention which this people paid to agriculture and to commerce, together with their courage and their skill in the use of arms, put their power upon a strong and durable foundation. In their wars with the Umbri, which are placed about five hundred years before the building of Rome, they were probably assisted by the Pelasgi. Previous to this epoch also, they had extended their possessions beyond the Apennines, into what is now called the Bolognese and Ferrarese. They spread thence over the adjacent plains between the Apennines and the Alps. The state of the soil, still

* The Emperor Claudius, we are sorry to say, was as good a scholar as he was foolish and impotent for an emperor. Besides various other works, he wrote a history of the Etruscans, in Greek.

covered with water, either stagnant or flowing with too rapid and uncertain a current to admit of its being rendered subservient to the ordinary purposes of commercial communication, opposed an insuperable barrier to their progress on the side of the Veneti; and they seem not to have passed the Trebbia in the opposite direction. But all the remaining tracts betwixt the Po and the Alps were occupied by strong and active colonies, which copied closely the laws and the institutions of the mother country. Of the twelve great cities which stood at the head of this new alliance, we know the names of but four; Adria, which lent its name to the Adriatic sea, and which, although originally built on a gulf, near the lower branch of the Adige, is now somewhat more than fifteen miles from the coast; Mantua; Felsina, now called Bologna; and Melpo.

Like the citizens of the parent state, they early directed their attention to agriculture and those arts which are most conducive to civilization. The country, constantly exposed to inundations and cut up by marshes and lagoons, could only be won to use by the slow process of draining; nor could this have been accomplished without a considerable progress in hydraulics and in the sciences on which it depends. They cultivated also those arts for which central Etruria was so renowned; and inscriptions, bronzes, and painted vases have been found, in great abundance, in almost every part of their territories. But in the second century of Rome, the great Gallic invasion, which so long separated these regions from the rest of Italy, overthrew this flourishing colony, and put an effectual stop to the progress of civilization in the north of the peninsula. Those of the inhabitants, who escaped from the sword of the barbarians, were driven for shelter to the mountains and the strong fastnesses of Rezia. Proofs of their residence there have been discovered in monuments brought to light in our own times.

By a series of wars and of conquests, which it would be not only useless but impossible to describe in detail, the confederation of central Etruria extended its power likewise in the south of Italy. The war with the Latins terminated in a firm friendship, and in the adoption by the latter of many Etruscan rites and ceremonies. The Volsci were subdued, and the conquerors gradually advanced as far as the Garigliano. The inviting aspect of the fertile tract, which lies be-

yond this river, allured them into Campania; and here also they formed a settlement by means of twelve colonies, and according to the prevailing custom of their country. The Silaro was its southern boundary; Vulturnum, subsequently called Capua, Nola, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Marcina, were among its principal cities. The original Oscan inhabitants became mingled with their conquerors, and continued to form a large proportion of the population. The Umbri were allies or auxiliaries of the Etruscans in this conquest; nor is it impossible that some Pelasgi may have accompanied them. But the theories which represent the Tyrrhenic confederation of Campania as a settlement of the Pelasgi, and that of northern Italy as founded by a people from still further north, are contradicted by the concurrent testimony of all antiquity, as well as by the constant analogy of monuments and of usages.

The most important possessions of the Etruscans were those which lay along the shore of the upper and of the lower seas, or, in other words, of the Adriatic and of the Tyrrhene. The tracts which bordered on the former, were within the territories which they had wrested from the Umbri. The latter were won by conquest from the Liguri Appuani, and included the districts of the Magra and of the Gulf of Spezia. The city of Luni is supposed to have been built in order to secure the navigation of this noble gulf. It is to the advantages of such a situation, and to the commercial activity which was its necessary result, that we must in a great measure attribute the advancement, which they made in nearly every branch of civilization.

The twelve cities which stood at the head of the confederation of central Etruria were probably Chiusi, Cortona, Arezzo, Perugia, Volterra, Vetulonia, Roselle, Tarquinia, Cere, Volsinio, and Vejo. Besides these, Fiesole, Saturnia, Populonia, and various other places, which derived more or less importance from their position or from the industry of their inhabitants, added strength to the league, and served as channels through which wealth flowed into the capitals.

During the first centuries of Rome, the power of the Etruscans seems to have been already on the decline. The union of the league, never so perfect as its situation required, had been so far weakened, that it was hardly possible to conduct any enterprise with concert and perseverance. Wealth

had been followed by its inseparable attendants, luxury and corruption. The warlike spirit, though not wholly lost, was unequal to any great effort. The cities of the league wasted their strength separately, and without regard to their common interest as members of one body. But even in this state they opposed an obstinate resistance to the successive attacks of the Gauls, of the Samnites, and of the Romans, and it was not until after their strength had been consumed by five centuries of uninterrupted warfare, that they were fully and irrevocably reduced under the Roman yoke. Even then some appearance of liberty was preserved in their municipal institutions; and wealth and activity enough remained to enable them to make still further progress in those arts to which we are so much indebted for what little we know of their character and of their customs.

8. *Aurunci*, *Opici*, and *Osci* are the names borne by the primitive inhabitants of Italy. The Greeks called them also *Ausonii*. We shall employ the word *Osci* in speaking of the first inhabitants of the southern portions of the peninsula, without regard to the other appellations, which undoubtedly refer to one and the same people.

The rough fastnesses of the Apennines, together with the fertile valleys that lie between, were the original abode of the Osci. The wants of pastoral life are few, and have ever been abundantly supplied by the meadows and vales of these mountains; nor could there have been any inducement for the inhabitants to exchange dwellings so peculiarly adapted to their mode of life, for the noxious air of the lowlands, except when an increase of population compelled them to remove their seats, and a certain progress in the arts had qualified them to contend with the difficulties of such an undertaking. Thus, in spite of the bold and independent character of the mountaineers, the coast was open to whoever was willing to submit to the toil of draining its marshes, and confining to a fixed channel the course of its numerous and impetuous streams.

The Illyrians, a hardy race of pirates, were the first to avail themselves of this opportunity. Their excursions along the coast, and their encounters with the inhabitants, were among the chief causes of the revolutions to which we have already had occasion to allude in speaking of the Umbri and of the Siculi. Traces of the establishments of the

Liburni and of other Illyrians upon the eastern coast of the upper sea, were preserved long after the total destruction of their race and name. Nearly about the same time began the incursions of the Greeks, which finally terminated in the settlement, by that nation, of Magna Grecia. These repeated invasions of a warlike and barbarous people concurred with other causes, which arose more directly from their own manner of living, in confining the Osci, for the most part, to their original seats in the interior and among the mountains. Here they lived independent and free from all subjection; although in the onset they had suffered more or less from the encroaching ambition of their neighbours.

Thus, after the Trojan war, and during the first two centuries of Rome, the population of southern Italy was divided into two distinct classes; the Greek colonies, settled on the coast, and the Osci, who occupied the upper Apennine and its numerous branches. From these last sprang the various tribes whose names figure with more or less distinction in the wars of Rome.

9. The history of the Sabines, one of the principal branches of the great Oscan trunk, carries us back to that remote period, in which the invasion of foreigners from over sea drove back the Aboriginal tribes one upon another, and gave rise to those domestic revolutions of which we have already spoken at large. Their first habitations were among the lofty mountains of upper Abruzzo, near the sources of the Velino, Tronto, and Pescara. A part of them, forcibly driven from these seats, shut themselves up in the fastnesses of the highlands between Aquila and Lionessa. The rest of the tribe, following the valley of Turano, descended to the banks of the Arno and of the Tiber. It would be vain to think of marking with certainty the extent and boundaries of their territory. But it appears, from the best accounts, to have comprised the space of about a hundred miles in the very heart of the Apennines; bounded on the northwest by Umbria, from which it was separated by the course of the Nera; on the northeast, by the chain of mountains which skirts the confines of Picinum; on the east, by the Vestini; on the south by Latium, and the banks of the Anio, up to its junction with the Tiber; and on the west, following the course of the latter, by the country of the Vegentani and Falisci. During the infancy of Rome, their dominion ex-

tended also on the left bank of the Anio, and over some portions of Latium.

In these wild dwellings, the Sabines led the lives of hardy shepherds and industrious husbandmen. Caring little for any other ornaments than such as could be displayed in war, or for any wealth but what was derived from the cultivation of the soil and from the tending of their flocks, they preserved the purity and the simplicity of their manners, even amid the general corruption of the surrounding states. Their villages covered the country in every direction. They built in the valleys and on the heights ; and ruins of their edifices have been found upon the summits of rocky and almost inaccessible mountains.

The Sabines founded several colonies by the same rite to which they owed their own origin. Such were the Piceni, who sprang from a sacred colony of Sabines, and who occupied the district between the mountains and the Adriatic, through the whole of that space which extends along the shore from the Esi to the Tronto, and thence follows the coast through the territory included between that river and the Matrino. This, even after the Roman conquest, continued to be the most populous part of central Italy.

The Petruzzi, whose dominions were geographically comprised within those of the Piceni, were, however, politically independent of them. Their situation was not distinguished by any peculiar advantages, and they are seldom mentioned in ancient history.

Both, however, took an active part in the contests which were constantly waging around them. They opposed a long and obstinate resistance to the Romans ; and, although after the departure of Pyrrhus they were apparently subdued, they were still the first to take up arms in the Marsic war.

10. The geological structure of ancient Latium shows how rough and uninviting the soil must have been in that remote period when the Siculi and Aurunci, descending from the adjacent heights, first began to feed their flocks upon the Latin hills. A considerable portion of this people, after the expulsion of the main body from the peninsula, became blended with the Aborigines, and obtained in common with them the name of Latins. The additional appellation of *Casci*, which they subsequently assumed, referred only to the antiquity of their origin.

The Latin league covered at first the small space of thirty-

five miles from Tivoli to the sea, by about twenty from the banks of the Tiber to the Alban mount. Alba was the capital of the thirty cities which composed the league, and each city had under its immediate sway a greater or less number of subject villages. The important part which religion bore in the institution of Latin society, may be argued from the tone of their mythology and of their early traditions. Janus, Saturn, Picus, Faunus, Latinus, were their first legislators and kings; and, long after a more authentic history had taken the place of these uncertain traditions, their political assemblies were held in forests, or on the borders of holy lakes and other consecrated spots.

Their early history, like that of all the nations of antiquity, was filled with the wars, either of aggression or of defence, which they waged with the neighbouring tribes. The only one worthy of mention, from the important results by which it was followed, was the Etruscan war. It was in the midst of this confederation, and on the site of Saturnia, a village of the Siculi, that Rome was built, about three hundred years, if we can trust the ancient tradition, after the foundation of Alba.

The Rutuli, a people of the same stock, but separated by domestic dissensions from the Casci, dwelt in a corner of Latium, near the mouth of the Numicius. They were a powerful and commercial people, and it was in their capital of Ardea that were to be seen those paintings, mentioned by Pliny as having been executed before the building of Rome.

11. We shall not attempt to speak in detail of the Æqui, Hernici, Volsci, Aurunci, Vestini, Marrucini, Peligni, and Marsi, of whom little is known beyond the general geographical situation of their respective territories, although they all appear to more or less advantage in the early history of Rome. One remark may be applied to all of them. Their character and habits varied according to their situation; the mountaineers being distinguished by a bold and hardy independence, while the inhabitants of the plains, and of the coast, attained to a greater degree of refinement, and even made considerable advances in commerce.

12. Samnium was that mountainous tract which lies between Campania, Puglia, and Lucania, and is crossed in an oblique line by the Apennines. The Pentri, Caudini, Hirpini, Caraceni, and Trentani composed this confederation, of which

the chief stock, the Samnites, Hirpini, Lucani, and Trentani, derived their origin from a sacred colony of Sabines. No fixed laws united these tribes in a firm bond, or moved them to act by the impulse of a common interest. Thus, although both from their situation, and from their mode of life, they deserve to be classed among the most robust and active of the ancient Italians; although they displayed a valor which might have led to the highest success, either in conquest or in defence; and although their proverbial love of independence, and the terrific rites of their superstition, combined to give new vigor and a firmer resolution to their warlike disposition; yet they shared the common lot of their country, and after incredible exertions, where, for the most part, each tribe fought singly and for itself, were permanently and indiscriminately reduced under the Roman yoke. Few monuments of ancient Samnium remain, or rather have as yet been sought after. These are the walls of some cities; money, chiefly bearing the date of the Marsic war; and a few inscriptions.

13. Campania still preserves many of those peculiarities in the character and in the aspect of its soil, which must in ancient times, have opposed no inconsiderable obstacles to its first settlers. The Opici, of whose early occupation of this tract sufficient proof exists in the name which it originally bore, gave way to the Etruscans, and to the Chalcidians of Eubœa. It is impossible to determine which of these two tribes were the first invaders of this happy region. It is probable, that there was but a short interval between the foundation of the Etruscan confederation of Campania, and that of the Greek settlements in their immediate neighbourhood. A settled hatred and constant rivalry were the natural consequence of this proximity of territory; and this circumstance alone, which is well authenticated by the history of the times, is sufficient to show, that, although a certain degree of intercourse must have existed, it could never have approached to an amalgamation of the two races.

The Etruscans, corrupted by the enervating softness of the climate, were finally subdued by the Samnites, who, in succeeding to their power, adopted also their inveterate hatred of the Greeks. The new lords of Campania escaped not the corrupting influence of its soft and luxurious clime. In them, however, its effects were displayed in their open aban-

donment to every species of vice, while their original ferocity and daring remained unimpaired. The bloody games of the circus were their chief amusement; and it was from them that the Romans borrowed their passion for this unnatural spectacle.

Capua, originally called Vulturnum, is a name which has become almost synonymous with the extreme of luxury. It would be difficult to distinguish in every case the cities of Grecian from those of Etruscan origin; yet it would be easy to point out several others of the latter, which vied in wealth and in splendor with some of the most renowned capitals of antiquity. The Greek cities were hardly less celebrated. Of these Cuma was long the first; but it seems, in the sequel, to have found a rival in Naples, which had succeeded to all the elegance of Parthenope, and which, by being built directly upon the coast, enjoyed the advantages of a more commodious situation.

14. A glance at the map of ancient Italy will give a better idea of the situation of the Lucani and Brutii, than we can possibly convey by a mere verbal description. The Coni and Œnotri, the first inhabitants of this territory, were tribes of the primitive Oscan race. The Lucani, a sacred colony of the Samnites, became subsequently the lords of the soil. But, in accordance with the invariable principles of Italian colonization, the original inhabitants, instead of being reduced to servitude, were allowed to mingle with the invaders, and became a part of the nation. Hence, during the whole course of this history, we find that neither the Sabines, the Volsci, nor the Samnites, were troubled by those domestic insurrections which proved so fatal to many other people of antiquity. The Lucani long confined themselves to their seats among the mountains, and it was not till after their conquest of Posidonia, that they began to form establishments upon the coast. This brought them more directly into contact with the Greeks. A constant hostility prevailed between the two nations; and so strong was this sentiment, that the Brutii, although they had been induced by the instigations of their crafty neighbours to separate themselves from the main body of the nation, still continued to nourish the same feelings of animosity towards that very people whose counsels they had followed. These regions had undergone so great a change before the time of Strabo, that this judicious geogra-

pher, who visited them in person, was unable to discover there any traces of their ancient inhabitants.

15. The remainder of southern Italy may be divided into two distinct portions; the first of which was occupied by the Iapyges, Dauni, Peucetii, and Messapii; while the second comprised what was long known by the name of Magna Græcia. The former, as their name indicates, were separate tribes, in which it is supposed that the original occupants of the country were intermingled with colonists from abroad. The second was composed of Greek colonies, formed at different periods, but chiefly during the first two centuries of the Roman era. The neglect of the coast by the natives favored the settlements of the first navigators, whom the chances of the sea led to their shores. As their number increased by the accession of new colonists, and their power extended by the foundation of new cities, and the gradual reduction of the soil to a fertile condition, they began to encroach upon the natives, and gradually wrested from them various important acquisitions. Here the arts and literature of Greece flourished. Here originated a school of philosophy, some of whose most remarkable tenets have been confirmed by the discoveries of modern science. Here, too, the necessary effects of an active government were seen in the flourishing aspect of the whole country; and here, when industry had given way to sloth, patriotism to individual ambition, and the love of wealth, with its debasing concomitants, had taken the place of the frugal and purifying virtues, the people sunk under that yoke, against which union and virtue are the only sure protection.

16. The origin of the Ligures is lost in the obscurity of that antiquity, which veils the beginning of nearly all the subdivisions of the human race. In vain have etymologists and antiquarians exhausted their scanty materials, in varied and ingenious conjectures. Doubts surround us on every side, and each obstacle, that is removed, seems but to make way for another still harder to surmount. Nor should we be accused of speaking irreverently of the labors of the learned, if we represent this long question of hypotheses, as an endless contest between reason and the imagination; in which the one is busied in destroying the fanciful fabric, which the other, with equal industry, is piling up.

There are many points of resemblance between northern

and southern Italy. On one hand, the Alps and the Apennines shoot out into innumerable branches, from those bleak, mountainous tracts, whose rugged wildness contrasts so beautifully with the quiet valleys that seem, as it were, to slumber in their shade. On the other, broad plains spread from chain to chain, and draw fertility from the streams that pour down upon them from every hill and mountain. In those remote periods, which lie beyond the records of authentic history, geologists have represented these fertile tracts as covered with water, and forming one vast lagoon. History seems to confirm this revelation of science, and has preserved the memory of marshes and pools which lasted even to the days of the Empire. The mountainous districts, therefore, must have been the first to be inhabited ; and it could only have been by slow and necessary steps, that their occupants descended to the plain.

Without pretending to trace the boundaries of their possessions, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to say, that they comprised a considerable portion of the plain around the Po and between the Apennines and the Alps. *Ligures* was the general name of this people ; but various additional appellations, derived from circumstances connected either with their history or with their situation, distinguished the numerous branches into which they were subdivided. But when the Etruscan colony became firmly established upon this side of the Apennines, and Marseilles had acquired sufficient strength to extend its power eastward, the territory of the Ligures was circumscribed by the encroachments of these two states, within those narrower limits which it preserved down to the age of Augustus. Of these the Po was the northern boundary ; the Alps and the Varo marked their confines toward the west ; the Arno bathed their eastern frontier, and the Mediterranean the southern. The whole of this district was divided by the Apennines into two distinct parts ; the one lying betwixt the Po and the Apennines, the other between these mountains and the sea. The valleys formed by the ramifications of this vast chain bore different names, which extended also to their respective inhabitants.

As for these, rough as the land on which they dwelt, they had no other thought than the preservation of their independence and the care of the scanty sustenance which they wrung from their ungrateful soil. A small harvest of grain

and of wine was the treasure of only one favored district; while the chase and pasturage, and the wages which they obtained for assisting at the harvests of their more fortunate neighbours, were the sole resources of the others. No progress in the arts could be made in opposition to such obstacles; and hence we cannot expect to find in Liguria cities like those, of which so many vestiges remain in other parts of Italy. Neither do we possess any written monuments, nor any remains of their language.

The indomitable courage of this people opposed an almost insuperable obstacle to the attacks of the Romans. But while the Ligures fought divided and singly, their adversaries brought against them disciplined battalions, and the firm and vigorous action of a central power. Yet it was only by transporting the fiercest tribes to different and distant parts of the country, that they could make their conquest sure, and preserve their hard-earned possession of the soil; and the appellation of *latrones*, *insidiosi*, *fallaces*, must be taken rather as an expression of the hatred engendered by a protracted and obstinate resistance, than as having any foundation in the character of the people to whom it was applied.

17. The excursions of the Illyrian pirates and the violent tempests to which it was exposed, combined to keep the Greeks in ignorance of the extent and limits of the Adriatic sea. The same ignorance prevailed among their early writers with regard to the whole of northern Italy; and few of the Grecian tales are more absurd than those, which refer to the original state and first peopling of this country. A few facts, however, may be gleaned from this mass of contradiction and fable.

The Euganei first dwelt in that tract which lies between the Rhætian Alps and the sea. They were driven from this by the Veneti, and compelled to take up their abode where we still find them in the days of Augustus, between the Adige and the lake of Como. Numerous and futile controversies have been agitated concerning the origin of each of these tribes; nor shall we weary the patience of our readers by a summary or a repetition of them. Suffice it to say, that there is ample testimony for placing them within the limits which we have assigned, although it would be presuming too far, to attempt to fix with accuracy the precise boundaries of each part of their territories. It is supposed, however, that

the extent of their district reached not beyond the Clusius on the west; and that its natural limits were the Alps on the north, the Timavus on the east, to the south the Veronese lagoons, and, thence onward, the Po to the sea; thus comprising in one compact body, one of the most fertile sections of Italy. Small, however, is the connexion of the Euganei with general Italian history; nor do they deserve to be classed with those noble spirits whom we have already mentioned as the ardent defenders of its freedom.

18. The Sicani were the first inhabitants of Sicily. No traces exist of their origin, and it is only known that the Siculian invasion, which seemed at the onset to threaten them with total extinction, terminated in the fusion of the two tribes; and that thus was formed that distinct race, which occupied the interior of the island, and held itself aloof from the foreign colonies which settled on the coast.

First among these were the Phœnicians, whose frequent voyages in every part of the Mediterranean must have led them, at a very early period, to fix their eyes upon a spot which offered so many advantages for the prosecution of their commerce. They took possession of the coast opposite Africa, and around the Cape of Lilibeo. They held also the adjacent islands of Malta, Gozo, and Capuro. This event may be placed about a century after the destruction of Troy.

Next came the Carthaginians, who inherited and enlarged the Phœnician colonies, and who derived immense advantages both from their possessions in the island, and from their commerce with it. But the most renowned and the most prosperous of all were the Greeks, who, about seventeen years before the Roman era, founded Syracuse; obtained possession of the coast around the three promontories, from which it took the name of *Trinacria;* and gradually extended their power over a considerable portion of the whole island. These conquests, although to the disadvantage, were made without the destruction, or even the absolute subjection, of the natives; and it is a phenomenon deserving of remark, that the Oscan language continued to be spoken to the last, and even gained ground upon the softer and more harmonious tones of the Greek.

19. The Ilienses, Corsi, and Baleares were the most renowned among the tribes of ancient Sardinia. The first are suppos-

ed to have been its primitive inhabitants. The second were a band of Corsican refugees, who had been driven from their homes by domestic dissensions. The last were Carthaginian mercenaries, who, dissatisfied with the service in which they had engaged, forsook their standards and fled to the mountains. They all led the lives of mountain bandits, and held the foreign colonies in constant terror by their inroads and robberies.

Here, as in Sicily, the Phœnicians led the way in colonization. The Carthaginians followed in their steps, and, prosecuting their conquest with a barbarity that has no parallel, obtained a general command over the most important parts of the island. The Etruscan possessions were for the most part confined to some spots on the coast, with which they carried on a lucrative commerce.

It has been often asserted, that Corsica originally formed a part of Sardinia, as Sicily did of the mainland of Italy. But, although the appearance of the coast goes some way towards confirming this supposition, yet, in extending the examination to the soil and the productions of the two islands, it is found that there is nothing in common between the spontaneous fertility of the one and the ungrateful barrenness of the other. The Iberians and Ligures visited Corsica at a very early period of ancient history. But the Etruscans were the first who formed permanent establishments there, and turned to account the stores of resin, of wax, and of honey, the only products that exceeded the wants of the inhabitants, and afforded a medium of commercial intercourse. The Phocian invasion was averted by the arms of the Etruscans, united with the Carthaginians of Corsica. But the motives of this alliance were any thing but friendly ; for, at the first appearance of decline in the maritime power of the Etruscans, the Carthaginians crossed over from Sardinia in a body, drove their former allies from their possessions, and established their dominion over the natives upon nearly the same footing upon which it stood in the other islands of the Mediterranean.

20. From this long and dry enumeration of the geographical divisions of ancient Italy, we pass to a subject of more general and permanent interest, the history of her progress in those arts which constitute civilization. And as, at the threshold of this inquiry, we are met by one of the most interesting questions which can occur in the history of civili-

ty, we may be allowed to hazard a few remarks concerning some of those causes, which in the early periods of society concur in forming nations for extensive progress, or in confining them to a narrow sphere of social and intellectual developement.

The first decisive change from the patriarchal to the civil state has, as far as events so remote and so obscure can be ascertained, been made under the auspices of religion. A sufficient acquaintance with a few rude arts, to enable man to derive more from his physical exertions and to count more positively upon them; such a knowledge of the true nature of power, as to lead him to found it upon combined action and general principles; feeling enough to show him how much his enjoyments may be heightened by social intercourse and a fuller developement of the domestic affections; and, above all, an entire, unrepining, unhesitating obedience to that Power in whose name these gifts are made, and consequently to those privileged beings, through whose mediation they come; these are the first lessons of theocracy, and the first steps by which man is led from his rude condition of mere animal existence, to a consciousness of higher capacities and a desire for more elevated enjoyments. This progress, if we consider how vast a distance separates the uncultivated savage from man even in the first stages of cultivation, is great and rapid. The natural tendency of the mind, when it has once felt the stimulus of exertion, is to still greater and far more rapid advancement. Action, not repose, is the state of nature. The first arousing of one faculty necessarily leads to the perception of others that had never before been dreamed of; and thus man is carried on from stage to stage of developement, his powers expanding as they find new fields of exertion, and his aspirations soaring still higher as his ideas of pleasure become purer and more refined. Could he be allowed to follow out to its utmost extent this tendency of his nature, it would be impossible to say to what unknown height he might attain. But as in the organization of inanimate matter there are certain seeds of destruction, by whose uncontrollable action it is sooner or later dissolved; so these capacities of developement and these soaring aspirations bear with them, in their own extremes, the causes of that decay, which, although we shall not venture to call it inevitable, has never yet been avoided. The interests of the

individual or of a caste, when seen from a false point of view, seem to rise up in opposition to those of society. And here a new scene begins, in which man no longer appears in that beautiful light, under which we have hitherto considered him, of the communication of knowledge and the reciprocation of its advantages; but where each individual is striving to draw around his own possessions some impassable barrier, and to hide his acquisitions from every eye, except of such as are associated with him in interest and in power. Hence comes privilege, with its long train of corruptions; and hence, in the earlier ages of society, religion and duty assume that mysterious and symbolic language, which, though understood only by the few, extends its tremendous power over all. The priesthood, who had first held out the allurements of civilization, having derived all the benefit that they desired from this partial progress, seek to check the feelings which they had awakened. They then speak of forbidden knowledge; of mysteries which all are bound to revere, but which none, except those in whose hands the awful deposite has been made, can interpret and understand. They people the streams and the groves and the whole universe with invisible agencies, which surround us on every side, watch every step, and direct every action. They tell of sudden judgments, and awful warnings, and dark manifestations of the Divine will, until every object in nature is converted into an engine of their pleasure, and every phenomenon becomes the terrific instrument of their power.

This is the decisive moment in the history of society; and happy are they who are equal to all its exigencies. A struggle now commences between the teacher and the taught; between those, who, having shown man what his powers are, would withhold his rights or terrify him from the exercise of them; and those whom the consciousness of power leads to claim for their own use all the advantages that can be derived from its exertion. But of this eventful contest we see the results alone. Its vicissitudes and details are lost in an impenetrable antiquity, or so far disfigured by the addition of fictitious circumstances as to render them too conjectural to form the proper subject of history. Yet in these dim and indistinct traditions there is still enough to show how close a connexion exists between the past and the present; between this resistance of a few half enlightened men to the preten-

sions of a cunning and selfish caste, and the deeds and events of mature and refined civilization. Wherever the caste has triumphed, fixed laws have been set to the progress of the mind, and man has become the timid and cringing instrument of an imperious theocracy. But wherever, on the contrary, the resistance has proved successful, man, both as an individual and as a member of society, has followed with a free step that career of improvement whose stages and vicissitudes are the real theme of the historian.

It is in these causes that we must look for an explanation of the great difference between early Greek and early Italian civilization. In Greece the yoke of the priesthood was so soon shaken off, that, even at the beginning of its history, we find the civil power already in the hands of a distinct class, and sustaining an energetic, though not always a successful, contest against the sacerdotal. The passions and the energies, awakened during this contest, ceased not to act when the victory had been won; and this victory was achieved at a moment when every tendency was still upward. Thus the dawn of freedom found them in entire possession of that vigor, which freshness of feeling and the healthy exercise of every faculty inspire. It was then that the mind received that wonderful developement in every department, which made Grecian literature and Grecian art the guide and the model of all succeeding ages. Poetry became the spontaneous expression of real feeling; giving a richer coloring to the sublime precepts of philosophy, and creating, as it were, the future, by its vivid record of the glories and the virtues of the past. Philosophy carried its researches into every field, mingling with its loftiest speculations the purest lessons of civil and of political wisdom. Art, from the rude and grotesque combinations of an untaught imagination, sought its inspiration in the study of nature as she actually appears, and gradually rose, from the mere representation of common life, to those ideal conceptions which it has embodied in the Jupiter, the Venus, and the Apollo.

But in Italy the arm of the priesthood weighed long and heavily upon every part of the population. Hence the developement of mind was partial, and extended only to those points in which intellectual expansion seemed less at variance with the dogmas of blind obedience. And when, at last, the power of the hierarchy, gradually undermined, but still sup-

ported by its inexhaustible resources of artifice and of fraud, was less perceptible, and left greater room for freedom of action, the moment of developement was past, and the mind, broken in to the yoke, was no longer capable of vigorous or of continued exertion.

This power, moreover, or in other words, this theocratic principle, had been indissolubly interwoven with all the civil and political rites of the state ; nor could the one be overthrown without producing a total change in the other. It was upon this that dependence was placed for strengthening those feeble ties which a community of origin may form, but which nothing short of a well-defined community of interest can preserve. Hence the annual festivals in consecrated groves, or on the banks of some sacred stream, or upon the summit of some mountain which the presence of the deity had sanctified, in which the different tribes of the parent stock assembled together, in order to partake of the flesh of the same victim, and to unite their prayers and their offerings around the same altar. Similar observances distinguished the meetings of their great political assemblies, where the members of the alliance convened to deliberate upon their common welfare. Religious rites sanctified every civil act. The walls of their cities were traced out according to prescribed forms, and dedicated to some divinity. The divisions of the soil were drawn with similar ceremonies. And, as if this intervention of the priesthood in all the more important deeds of the people were not enough to secure their dominion, the mysterious art of divination was invented, and man was taught that no present action could be successful, unless it had first met the approbation of those whom the deity had endued with the power of penetrating into the future.

Yet it would be unjust to conclude that this supremacy, how extensive soever its action and firm its yoke, was always tyrannically exercised. The chief aim of the priesthood was to make sure the authority which they had obtained, and turn to their own advantage the intellectual and physical powers, to which they had been the first to give a true direction. They only who are new in command find satisfaction in the vain ostentation of power. It is not enough for them, that their subjects wear the chain ; they must feel it too, and that at every step. But the experienced despot is more cunning and far-sighted in his use of it. He knows, that man

is won more by appearance than by realities ; and that there is no sacrifice to which he may not be led to submit, provided it be decked with some specious name, to cheat him into the belief that his obedience is spontaneous and his actions voluntary. The control, therefore, which such a ruler exercises, is so uniform and regular, that it seems to be one of the great laws of nature, and obedience to it becomes a matter of course. It is only when opposed, that its might is felt, and its true character displayed.

But, among the people of ancient Italy, the close junction of the civil with the religious authorities left little or no room for such an opposition. Nothing draws so tightly the bands of government as this corroboration of every injunction of the secular magistrate by the precepts of the guardians of faith. The mass of mankind seldom reason with sufficient accuracy to distinguish their duties as members of a political body, from their individual responsibilities as moral beings. The mysterious tenure of our existence ; that misgiving, which assails the mind in those sad and lonely hours, when it turns inward with a sense of loathing and weariness, as if to seek in the contemplation of its own capacities, some compensation for the cares and disappointments, which it meets no less in the daily intercourse of society, than in the performance of the graver duties of life ; all those checks and doubts, by which man is so constantly reminded of his dependence on some superior being ; even the ardor of his disposition, the daring elevation of his ambition, the proud consciousness of a higher destiny, with which he traces out, in the great and unchanging works of nature, some analogy with his own capacities and his own duration ; all these feelings, thus varied and contradictory in their nature, but sure and constant in their action, peculiarly fit man in the earlier stages of his political union, to render himself the willing slave of any class, that is cunning enough to govern him by the tempered command of his hopes and of his fears, without openly thwarting the one, or pushing the other to desperation.

The peculiar circumstances, under which the ancient Italian aristocracy was formed, afforded some highly plausible grounds for their assumption of authority. It was not founded upon civil usurpation, nor upon the yet more odious pretext of the right of conquest. But the men, who pretended to this superiority over their fellows, had been distinguished,

from the very origin of their institutions, by the undisputed possession of the rights which they claimed. Members of the sacred colonies, they had been consecrated from their birth to the service of the divinity. The halo of a mysterious sanctity had surrounded them, and hallowed all their actions. Protected, or rather inspired, by this sense of a peculiar destiny, they had gathered together the scattered tribes of the regions in which they had fixed their seats, and shown them the advantages of civil union and united exertion. They had instructed them in the first arts of life, and opened for them the treasures of a rich and virgin soil. For themselves were reserved the powers and the duties, to which no other portion of their community was equal. These they secured by all the means which they could command, oaths, mysterious rites, and the still stronger ties of an invariable custom, in which religious and civil duty were so intimately blended, that no common discernment could distinguish what belonged to each. They alone were eligible to offices of trust; to them only was the performance of religious functions allowed; and none but they could interpret the phenomena, by which the divine will was made known, and the mysteries of the future revealed. This general superiority, which raised them so far above the body of the people, seems not, however, to have degenerated into tyranny; and the relation of clientship, or of mutual and well-defined rights and duties, in which the two classes stood towards each other, supplied in part the want of a surer and more ignoble bond of union.

The application of this power was similar in most of the states of Italy. The interests of the community were intrusted to assemblies composed of the chiefs or head men of the state. In these all the important questions of common concern were treated. They declared war, or made peace. They received the ambassadors of foreign states, and replied to their communications. Whatever, in short, concerned the welfare of the confederacy was under the immediate control of these assemblies; and thus far we find them to have possessed clear and just ideas of the nature of a civil union. But one great principle, and that of vital importance to the state, was either too intricate or too subtile for the comprehension of these primitive politicians. In every federate body there are two kinds of rights; those which belong to

the union in its collective character, and those of the several states, which form the confederation, each taken separately and by itself. Whenever these come into collision, the alliance, however powerful in sudden emergencies, can never be permanently great, and is brought by every trifle to the brink of dissolution. Nothing but consummate skill and foresight can provide for such casualties, and so mark out and define the powers and privileges of each portion of the confederacy, that these jarring interests may move on harmoniously, and derive strength from their accordant action. The absence of this was the great defect in all the states of ancient Italy, and the seeds of destruction were implanted in them from the first organization of their system.

The Etruscan confederacy was composed of twelve separate states. Each of these was governed by a magistrate of its own choice, called by them *lucumo*, and by the Romans *rex*. His election was annual; and during his term of office, he was invested with the powers and with the insignia of royalty. A robe richly wrought, and adorned with purple; a crown of gold; a sceptre surmounted with an eagle; a curule chair; the rods and axe of the lictors; were the imposing symbols of his authority. In addition to his usual and daily duties, every ninth day was set apart for public application to the affairs of the state. Among the twelve *lucumones*, which was the number of the whole body, one was chosen to preside over their common deliberations. Each state furnished him with a lictor in testimony of the entire equality of all. During war, the supreme command devolved upon him by right of office, and this was the true field for the display of his power. But the watchful jealousy of the aristocracy seldom allowed him to enlarge or to prolong it.

But, although the chief command was thus vested in the aristocracy, the people were not wholly deprived of a share in the government. The division into tribes, *curiæ*, and centuries, which Roman history has made so familiar to every reader, was practised by the Etruscans. Besides the assemblies of the patricians, there were also popular assemblies. The manner in which the people exercised their right of voting in these, is not known. But their participation in the government, as a separate and influential body, is placed beyond a doubt by the authority of monuments and the express testimony of several facts, as related by ancient historians. It is impossible at this distance of time, and with such a

scarcity of records, to say how long these bodies continued to act in unison, and each remained content with its own privileges. But, early in the Roman era, we find that the people had so far extended their encroachments upon the patricians, that it was only by the intervention of foreign arms, that the obnoxious order succeeded in maintaining a diminished and precarious authority. Other inferior officers, who are supposed to have been more particularly charged with the guardianship of the rights and liberties of the people, are named in the monuments of Etruria. Among them we find the familiar names of *ediles*, *quæstors*, and *prefects*.

The laws of the Etruscans, so far as can be judged from the few specimens that have been preserved, seem to have been simple and just. Whatever regarded the rights of parents, of marriage, of inheritance, of guardianship, of creditors, was clearly defined. In those which relate to property, we again find the theocratic element of Tuscan society in full action. The whole earth, according to this system, was the immediate property of the Divinity, but Etruria had been especially singled out as his favorite possession. The direct command of this was of course transmissible to those who could merit and win his favor; and the Etruscans were taught to look upon themselves in this flattering light. But, in order to set bounds to human cupidity, he had commanded that the limits of each tract should be distinctly marked out; and this rite, once accomplished with all the solemnity of pompous ceremonial, fixed for ever the extent and confines of every portion of the soil. Hence the worship of the god *Terminus*, who in such a state must have been one of the most useful and important of all the gods. Yet, when the bounds of each district had thus been assigned, every freeman became the absolute master of his own possessions. The best record of the state of this part of Etruscan law is contained in the fragments of the "Twelve Tables"; a code purely Italian, and to which nothing short of the grossest credulity could ever have attributed a Grecian origin.*

Slavery was in use among them, as among nearly all the nations of antiquity. They employed their slaves in tillage,

* The law against insolvent debtors is amusing, and highly characteristic of the state of commerce. Ὅταν δέ τις ὀφείλων χρέος μὴ ἀποδιδῷ, παρακολουθεῖσιν οἱ παῖδες, ἔχοντες κενὸν θυλάκιον εἰς ἀγορὰν. — Heracl. Pont. *de Polit.* p. 213.

Among the Lucani, whoever lent money to a vicious man forfeited both principal and interest.

in domestic services, and sometimes even in war. Their labor, as well as their punishment, was regulated by music; and, although in the eye of the law they were things, not men, yet their lot seems to have been comparatively easy.

21. The earliest intelligible records of nations are contained in their mythology. It is here, that we find the first traces of their advancement, and the dim and shadowy outlines of those great characters, who first dared to claim for themselves the obedience and the veneration of mankind. This epoch is too often stained with bloody rites; and man's first impulse seems to lead him to invest the deity with his own dark and relentless passions. Time, and a community of interests and of exertions, gradually modify these ideas, and prepare the way for the developement of the kindlier feelings of our nature.

Italian mythology seems, in the beginning, to have been purely rural. The unvarying round of the seasons, seed-time and harvest, with all the various events and epochs of agricultural life, were naturally distinguished by a particular display of gratitude towards that being, of whose power they served so peculiarly to awaken the remembrance. The golden age of Saturn, the teachings of Janus, the innumerable traditions of the immediate presence of the deity upon earth, are but so many records of the early progress of agriculture, and, through this, of the advancement of the nation towards a more perfect civilization. The first deities were inhabitants of woods and founts; and it is a fact of no small importance to one who would study candidly the real character of the Italians, that their own religion consisted in pure and simple allegories, addressed to the understanding and to the feelings of the people, and thus calculated to exercise a permanent and healthy influence upon their lives and their character. The mysterious and complicated symbols, with which these same deities were subsequently invested, were the inventions of men skilled in the lore of the East, and more particularly in that of Egypt, the cradle of superstition. An entire change then took place in the theory of the divine nature. Janus, who had been worshipped by the primitive Italians, as their lawgiver and the institutor of their civil society, became the most high God, the sole and just father, the God of gods, the first to be invoked; a being, in short, who had

been rendered almost unintelligible by the multitude and the comprehensiveness of his attributes. The same natural process from the simple to the complex, from particular facts to general ideas, transformed Saturn from the planter of the vine and teacher of agriculture, bearing, by a plain and intelligible allegory, a sickle in his right hand, into the all-sufficient Deity, the universal vivifying principle, the high God, from whom time had its beginning. It was but one step more to give a foreign origin to all these native deities, and represent them as springing from the land whence their new attributes had been derived. This too was accomplished; and, although enough of their original character has been preserved to enable us to fix the true origin of their mythology, not one of the original deities of Italy has escaped this transformation.

But it is more particularly in the religious system of the Etruscans, that we find evident marks of Oriental influence. The doctrine of duality, and that which relates to the state of the soul after death, are plainly sculptured upon all their monuments.

The predominant idea of Etruscan theology and cosmogony was comprised in the dogma of a Supreme Being, who was endued with infinite power, and was reproduced in all created things. Thus, wherever the Tuscan went, he was in the presence of his God. The earth and the air, all that live and all that supply life, reminded him of this supreme and beneficent being. The first emanation of this *Demiurgus* was Jove or Time. The noblest and most imposing attributes were united in his person. He alone exercised supreme control, and hurled his thunderbolts at will upon the earth. Twelve assistant deities composed the celestial senate, and had a voice in the councils of Jove. Nor could he, all powerful as he was, avoid calling in their aid in all affairs of moment. Each of these deities had two distinct characters; the one, general, formed according to the mystical conception of his nature; the other special, and derived from the functions attributed to him in the general system of polytheism.

We again find a confirmation of what we have already observed concerning the political bearing of Italian theology. The Etruscan league was composed of twelve great cities. The Etruscan mythology taught, that the celestial senate

was formed of twelve powerful deities. What mortal could dare to claim obedience to his single word, when even the supreme arbiter of Olympus could not decide upon the weightier concerns of his government without the aid and advice of his counsellors? Nor was the lesson confined to these principles of remoter application. It was brought home to every breast by addressing itself more directly to all the immediate cares and interests of civil life. Thus while the temples of Jove, of Juno, and of Minerva, were erected within the city and held to be essential to its safety, those of Mars, the instigator of broils, of Vulcan, the principle of fire, and of Venus, whose worship so easily degenerated into lasciviousness, were placed without the walls, as if to teach, by a direct and striking symbol, that whatever endangered the safety of a community, ought studiously to be guarded against and kept at a distance.

In addition to these primary deities, there was an infinite variety of inferior ones, who were distinguished by special functions, and charged with the guardianship of particular spots. Fortune was the protector of the Volsinienses; Ancaria of Fiesole. Voltumna had still more to do, and was supposed to keep watch over the whole Etruscan league. The purest moral atmosphere surrounded all these deities; and it is a remark, which has not escaped the ancients themselves, that the gods of the Italians had nothing in common with the sensual and passionate divinities of Greece.

Another remarkable point in Etruscan theology, and which may be considered as forming the basis of their belief, was the doctrine of two adverse principles. These were emanations from the supreme divinity; his ministers in the preservation of order, and in the immediate government of the universe. But, throughout the whole of this immense field, they were constantly and directly opposed, one to the other. The desire to account for that mystery of human life, which mere reason can never explain, and which in some shape or other has proved the stumblingblock of every system, — the origin of evil, — affords a plausible explanation of the origin of this singular theory.

According to Etruscan belief, every individual, upon entering on his mortal career, was intrusted to the guidance of two spirits of an opposite nature, the one good, the other

evil. These were his guides in life ; and, when the probationary duties of this existence had been performed, they followed him to his eternal dwelling-place after death. This constant struggle is pictured upon the monuments of the Etruscans, and especially upon those which were destined for sepulchral rites, in combats between fantastic and hideous beings, and often in strange and unaccountable mixtures of the human form with that of animals. The hold which this belief had taken upon the minds of the people was so strong, that traces of it are found as late as the second and third centuries of our era. So essential is belief to the human mind. So much is it a part of our nature to require some theory, however extravagant and fanciful, which may explain at least a part of the mystery of our being, and throw, if nothing more, a few faint rays, upon the dark question of our destiny. Philosophy may reason from one degree of doubt to another, and glory in the uncertainty which her own efforts have procured. But man, weak and dependent man, oppressed with a sense of his feebleness and of his deficiencies, needs some fixed principle, some settled belief ; and, rather than forego this, he will give sensible and tangible forms to the subtile operations of his intellect, and invest the Deity with the contradictory passions of his own frail nature.

The monuments from which this imperfect account of Etruscan mythology is derived, afford at the same time a singular proof of the pure Italian origin of these deities. Apollo, as is well known, was one of the chief personages of the Grecian mythology ; hardly inferior to any for the variety and the importance of his functions. We are justified, therefore, in concluding, that, if the Italians had derived their system from the Greeks, so important a member of the celestial hierarchy would have become a prominent object of adoration among them. But so far was this from being the case, that he is nowhere mentioned in the early monuments of the country ; and, when found on those of a comparatively recent date, is written, in opposition to the invariable custom of the Italians in recording the names of their gods, with a name of evident Greek derivation.

But, amid all the revolutions of Italian mythology, it is supposed that the change hardly extended to the current belief of the people. With them, the faith of their ancestors remained unimpaired ; and the son confided, without hesita-

tion or doubt, in the truth of those doctrines which he had received from his father. Still, however, it was impossible for them to escape the influence of the solemn rites, which seemed to surround their ancient and simple tenets with a sublimer and more mysterious sanctity. And this, in fact, was all that the priesthood asked for; for it was the preservation of their own power that they aimed at, not the instruction of the people. Thus, availing themselves of the natural phenomena which abound in the volcanic soil of Italy, they invented that celebrated system of oracular revelation, which, to borrow the energetic language of Machiavelli, bound the vulgar by the fond belief, that the same deity who could foretell the destiny of man, could also mould and change it at will. It was thus that they pretended to predict the issue of any event, by the throwing of dice into the smoking and medicinal waters of Aponus. Hence also the famous Prænestian lots. Here again, we find a striking difference between the usages of the Greeks and those of the Italians; the former admitting of two kinds of oracular communication, while the Italians, no matter how the original prediction had been made, received the annunciation through the medium of special interpreters.

Whatever the early character of this institution may have been, and however much it may have been called for by the necessities of the times, it could not but degenerate into a vile and sordid superstition. At the annual festival of their deity, which was celebrated on mount Soracte, the Hirpi kept up the superstitious wonder of the vulgar by walking with naked feet over live coals.

> "Summe Deûm, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
> Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
> Pascitur; et medium, freti pietate, per ignem
> Cultores, multâ premimus vestigia prunâ." *

The science of Augury, one of the strongest weapons of the priesthood, was peculiar to the Italians. Tages † was

* Æn. xi. 785.

† The first appearance of Tages is thus described by Cicero. "Tages quidam dicitur in agro Tarquiniensi, cum terra araretur, et sulcus altius esset impressus, extitisse repente, et eum affatus esse, qui arabat. Is autem Tages, ut in libris est Etruscorum, puerili specie dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentiâ. Ejus adspectu cum obstupuisset bubulus, clamoremque majorem cum admiratione edidisset, concursum esse factum, totamque brevi tempore in eum locum Etruriam convenisse: tum illum plura locutum,

honored as its founder. The oral lessons of this divinity were collected by his followers, and committed to writing. It was thus, that were formed the celebrated Etruscan rituals, which contained the doctrine of fate, of the nature and destiny of the soul, and, in short, the most mysterious tenets of theology. These were translated into Latin, and illustrated by ample comments. So extensive did this science eventually become, that it was made to embrace the whole field of religion, of ethics, and of natural philosophy.

Of equal importance to the priesthood were the religious festivals, which they instituted with happy foresight, and observed with studious solemnity. Simple and unpretending in their origin, they were little more than a voluntary union of the inhabitants of different districts, each within its own precincts, in order to give greater solemnity to the expression of their gratitude and the offices of their devotion. Artfully availing themselves of all the advantages, that could be derived from the progress of the arts and the increase of wealth, the priesthood gradually introduced important changes into these assemblies. A more pompous ceremonial was required; offerings became richer and more numerous; the shrines of the gods were decked with greater care; and their images, choicely wrought in marble or in bronze, or in materials still more costly and precious, struck a deeper terror into the minds of their worshippers, and carried to the highest pitch their sense of awe and veneration.

Our knowledge of the various intermediate ranks of the priesthood is imperfect and unsatisfactory. The youngest assistants at the altar were called *camilli*, and this was probably an initiatory step, preparing the way to higher functions. The high priest (*pontifex*) was chosen by the votes of the twelve states; and his office seems to have been the privilege of particular families. The body of the priesthood, considered as a distinct and independent caste, was bound to the state by a double relation.

(1.) By their power and duties, as directors and ministers of public worship.

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multis audientibus, qui omnia ejus verba exceperint, litterisque mandaverint: omnem autem orationem fuisse eam quâ haruspicinæ disciplina contineretur: eam postea crevisse rebus novis cognoscendis et ad eadem illa principia referendis. Hæc accepimus ab ipsis: hæc scripta conservant: hunc fontem habent disciplinæ. Num," adds the not over-credulous philosopher, "num ergo opus est ad hæc refellenda Carneade? num Epicuro?" — *De Div.* Lib. II. 23.

(2.) By the civil and judicial constitution of the country, as guardians and interpreters of the laws.

But, however numerous the privileges of this powerful class, there was one important particular in which they were placed upon a level with the rest of the population. They were both soldiers and civil officers. Their station at the altar did not exempt them from the most hazardous and onerous duties of citizenship.

Deeply rooted as this power was, it proved unable to withstand the slow but sure influence of advancing civilization. As early as the fifth century of Rome, the authority of the priesthood had ceased to be felt. New deities and new rites had been introduced; and it must be acknowledged that morals gained nothing by the change. A closer commerce with the Greeks had given a popular currency to their sensual mythology. The pure worship of Bacchus degenerated into the infamous Bacchanalian rites; and, except among the Sabines, the Samnites, the Umbri, and the Lucani, who rigidly adhered to the worship of their fathers, we find scarce any vestiges of the primitive religion of Italy.

But, before we quit the subject of the priesthood, there is one point upon which we would wish to speak somewhat more at large, even at the risk of a little repetition. The first object of every corporation is power; and if the union be based upon human credulity, every species of dominion is its natural accompaniment. We have already spoken, with perhaps more than proportionate fulness, of the aims of the Italian priesthood, and of the measures which they employed in order to accomplish them. They may be comprised in two simple propositions.

(1.) That they preserved a rigid monopoly of all the knowledge of the age.

(2.) That they applied this science to the government of society with a view to the extension of their own influence.

Of all the distinctions which nature or art has placed between the different classes of society, none is stronger or more universally felt than that of education. Intellectual power is a shrine before which man bends more readily and more constantly, with greater sincerity and less of humiliation, than before any other. And when, to an evident superiority in the cultivation of faculties which are common to the whole race, is added the apparent command over things that exceed

the utmost stretch of human comprehension ; when the phenomena which strike terror into the breast of one individual, seem to utter an intelligible language to another, revealing objects that lie beyond the reach of mortal vision, and pointing out the course and result of enterprises yet undecided, what can man do but cast himself, an humble suppliant, at the feet of those mysterious beings, who seem to partake of only as much of his nature as is necessary in order to make him feel the immensity of the distance that separates them from him ?

It was not merely a vain and arrogant assumption, therefore, which led the Italian priesthood to teach that all knowledge was the immediate gift of the Deity. The fabric which they reared upon this foundation proved the firmest bulwark of their power. It comprised the whole range of science, and thus subjected even the ordinary arts of life to the ordeal of their judgment. These revelations of the Deity were too profound and too refined for common understandings. None but his favored servants, they who were admitted to the mystical service of his temple, could comprehend them. Nor was this knowledge the easy acquisition of hereditary right. A long course of severe discipline and of attentive study prepared them for it. They, who were to read and interpret the phenomena of nature, had first to reduce these phenomena to a fixed science by a series of exact and extensive observations. The records of these became the text-books of succeeding ages, and were successively enlarged, improved, and corrected. The predictions founded upon the phenomena of thunder and lightning must alone have required an immense series of curious and subtile observations. Their knowledge of medicine also, however imperfect, required a thorough acquaintance with the use and nature of herbs, and of the mineral waters with which their country abounds. Their frequent sacrifices, and the necessity of inspecting the bodies of the consecrated victims, opened the way for the acquisition of that skill in anatomy, which is apparent in all the works of Etruscan art. The more occult doctrines, contained in the celebrated mysteries, so often mentioned in classical literature, were reserved for the most distinguished among the priesthood ; nor could they all pretend to penetrate the darker secrets of their own art. There is a striking resemblance between their tradition of the creation and that

contained in the Mosaic record. Demiurgus employed six thousand years in the creation of the world. In the first thousand he created the heavens and the earth ; in the second, the firmament ; in the third, the sea and all the waters ; in the fourth, the great lights, the sun, moon, and stars ; in the fifth, the animals of the land, sea, and air ; in the sixth, he made man. But, not content with this luminous history of the past, Etruscan philosophy marked out the bounds of the future, with the same unerring precision. A second term of six thousand years comprised the period allotted for the duration of the human race. The whole universe then returned to its pristine chaos, and, at stated intervals, this regular process of creation and destruction was to be renewed.

22. A few words may be made to embrace all that can be said with any certainty concerning the science of the Etruscans. It has been clearly shown,* that no nation in the infancy of society have the least claim to that knowledge of astronomy which has been attributed to them. There is a vast difference between a casual attention to some of the more regular appearances in the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the founding of a satisfactory and available science upon them. Antiquaries are too apt to suppose, that, wherever they find any thing like a course of observations, there must necessarily have been a body of science.

The lunar year was generally known among the ancient Italians at a very early period. But the Etruscans added to this a knowledge of the solar year ; and there is very little reason to doubt, that the division of time which the Roman historians attributed to Numa, was borrowed by him from the Etruscans. A sense of high and mysterious import was attributed to numbers ; nor was it probably for any other reason, that we find the number twelve so often recurring in the divisions of their political and mythological orders. The figures now commonly known as Roman, were, strictly speaking, Etruscan.

Songs of various kinds were, as far as we know, the chief poetry of the Etruscans ; nor for the existence of these have we any other authority, than a casual mention of them by some ancient writers. The subjects of these compositions were probably those, which all nations in a similar state of

* Delambre, *Hist. de l'Astronomie ancienne,* Tom. I. p. 13.

society prefer; but the praises of the dead were a favorite theme, and the songs of this class were sung at the table, and in the hour of convivial freedom. The name of Volumnus has been preserved as a writer of tragedy; and the celebrated Atellian plays, acted first in Oscan, and subsequently in Latin, were admired in Rome, even under the Emperors.

The pompous ceremonies of religion, which, as has been already observed, owed so much to the progress of the arts, contributed also to the developement of those arts from which they derived their chief embellishment. Music formed an important part of religious service, and was more particularly employed in processions and in dances. The attention which they paid to music led them to invent several kinds of instruments, and the fame of their *subulones* was so high, that they were universally employed by the Romans in their sacred chants.

But there is no loss affecting the early history of Italy, which is more to be regretted than that of their native historians. In the age of Augustus, many of them were still extant. As a testimony in favor of Etruscan literature, it should be observed, that it originally constituted the first study of the Roman youth, as the Greek did in the sequel; a custom, which, among a people who were so little addicted to commerce, and who so uniformly imposed their own language upon the nations they subdued, could never have obtained without some strong attraction in the extent and in the character of the literature itself.

23. Our knowledge of the private manners and customs of the ancient Italians is too general, and contains too few of those definite peculiarities, which alone make the difference between nations, and between different states of society, an interesting inquiry, to call for any particular description. Those exquisite lines of the Latin lyric poet, in which he draws so striking a contrast between his contemporaries and their ancestry, contain perhaps the best picture of the primitive simplicity of Italian manners.

"Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare glebas, et severæ
Matris ad arbitrium recisos
Portare fustes, sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras et juga demeret
Bobus fatigatis, amicum
Tempus agens abeunte curru." *

* Hor. *Carm.* Lib. iii. 6.

24. We have reached the most difficult part of our subject; and, did we suppose that any thing more than a simple historical outline of Italian art would be looked for in a paper like the present, we should throw by our pen in despair. All men have a certain degree of feeling for art in its more advanced stages; and, although the subtler conceptions of the artist may escape common observation, yet there is an eloquence in the human form, which is understood, and felt still more than it is understood, by every one. The Medora, as pictured to the intellectual eye in the poetry of language, is even less eloquent than the same scene as brought out in all its thrilling reality by the minuter poetry of sculpture. But to discover, in the first rude efforts of an art as yet ignorant of its true object and of its real destiny, the traces of a power yet undeveloped, and of a feeling indicated rather than expressed; to distinguish, amid the rough productions of nations still struggling with barbarism, those which promise progress and developement from those for which there is no progress and no futurity, is a task, which, in spite of all the pretensions and the fancied raptures of the connoisseur, can be accomplished by those alone, who, to a natural sensibility for the beauties of art, have added a long practical acquaintance with its mechanical processes.

We have already had frequent occasion to observe the reciprocal action of the laws and the religion of the ancient Italians. It is long before mankind arrives at that period, in which, the more imperious wants of life being supplied, the mind is at liberty to seek relaxation and enjoyment in the invention of artificial pleasures. But the imitation of the objects that surround us is one of the earliest of our intellectual wants. This by slow, fluctuating, and almost imperceptible degrees of improvement leads to creation, and the representation of those visions of beauty, which float before the eye of imagination, long before art is sufficiently advanced to reproduce them upon canvass, or draw them forth from marble.

The original aim of the arts of design among the primitive Italians was the representation of national customs. It was another instrument in the hands of the all-powerful priesthood, which they wielded at will, and in strict accordance with their far-reaching ambition. The artist thought less of elegance of form and propriety of arrangement, than of the

moral or religious effect of his productions. He was not at liberty to choose from among the rites of his country, those which were best adapted to the purposes of his art; but was compelled to employ that art itself in the confirmation of those customs, which had more to fear from the silent and inevitable changes of time, than from the open attacks of innovation. Thus the same causes, which opposed the progress of Italian civilization, and prevented it from ever attaining to a full developement, retarded also the progress of the arts, and even seemed for a time to have transformed them from a means of culture into an instrument of superstitious despotism.

We would not wish to be misunderstood. We would not have it supposed, that we seek to deprive the artist of that inspiration, which is to be derived from a great moral or political aim. So far are we from this, that we firmly believe that there is no other source of great ideas. The ideal beauty, of which the artist endeavours to catch the fleeting image, is but the visible expression of some noble moral conception. It is Charity, performing her double office, of instructress and of nurse. It is triumphant Patriotism, holding in one hand the sword by which his victory was won, and pointing with the other to that Providence, in whose name he had wielded it. Form, grouping, drapery, grace of outline, and truth of anatomy, are but the clothing of these ideas. They are to the artist what language is to the poet, the medium through which he communicates his own feelings to others. But the soul of these great productions, that apparent life, which almost makes the marble yield, flesh-like, to your touch, and the flat surface of the canvass swell out with the waving lines and graceful proportions of the human form, can be drawn only from the same source with the purest inspirations of poetry.

One branch of the arts was less exposed to the influence of the abovementioned causes, than the others. Architecture is under a certain degree of restraint in every state of society. The nature of his materials, and the necessity of clipping down his conceptions to the views and the wants of his employer, have accustomed the architect to act with apparent freedom, under circumstances which would wholly repress the ardor of the sculptor or of the painter.

It is principally, or almost exclusively, among the Etrus-

cans, that we must look for monuments of art; and, in fact, it is upon these monuments that we depend for nearly all that we know of the manners and customs of the nation. A single glance at any fragment of Etruscan architecture is sufficient to show, that all its distinctive characteristics arose from the state of society among the people for whom it was formed. The first aim of the architect was security. Hence the enormous size of the materials that he employed, and, in a great measure also, the manner in which he put them together.

Their cities were built upon the summits of precipitous and almost inaccessible hills. The disadvantages of such a situation for all the purposes of commerce, or even of agriculture, were to a certain degree counterbalanced by its security. Walls of great height, and sometimes also of great extent, surrounded the whole city. Built upon the craggy sides of the mountain, or, as at Veii, upon some artificial elevation, they seemed to defy attack, and to be placed by their position alone beyond the reach of danger. The manner of their construction, and the materials of which they were composed, added, if possible, to this security. A deep foundation secured them against the changes which time and the vicissitudes of the seasons produce in the surface of the earth. Upon this arose a pile of massive blocks of stone, so cut as to fit together without cement, and of such dimensions as to have procured for this style of building the name of Cyclopean. Military and civil architecture were combined in these structures. The foundation already spoken of was in part a protection against mines; but the situation of the wall itself, upon the border of the precipice, was a still more effectual guard. Those portions of the wall, which were most exposed to the machines of the enemy, were built of the largest stones. The whole circuit was strengthened by towers, erected at regular distances, and within reach of the missiles of the defenders of the main works. Each gate was secured by a portcullis; and, as a last retreat in the hour of danger, a separate fortress, which was dignified with the name of citadel, covered the most elevated and strongest part of the city. Parts of these walls still remain, unscathed by the lapse of centuries, and preserving, amid ruins that carry us back two thousand years, the record of ages still more obscure, and of an antiquity yet more remote. Thus, although

no work of purely Etruscan architecture has come down to us entire, and although we are wholly dependent upon some passages of Vitruvius for what little we know of the form and the structure of their temples, yet the grave character and exceeding solidity of the ruins of Volterra, of Fiesole, of Cortona, and of other cities of ancient Etruria, which it would be useless to enumerate, are sufficient to show how much progress had been made in this first and most important of the arts. The name of the simplest of all the orders of architecture is a sufficient proof of its origin. The Etruscans also were the first to use porticoes ; and this, taken together with several other details which have been handed down concerning their domestic architecture, affords sufficient ground for supposing, that in their private edifices they lost not sight of those principles which gave such grace and solidity to their public monuments.

The art of the statuary was practised by the Italians from the earliest period of their national existence ; in part from the abundance of the materials which are used in moulding ; and in part from the early action of those causes which, in every age of their history, have favored the cultivation of the arts of design. Ancient history records marvels concerning the number of the statues, which were transported to Rome upon the conquest of various cities of Italy ; and we are expressly told by Pliny, that the most ancient statues of Rome were the work of Etruscans.

Clay was first used in the formation of these statues ; and it was in the management of this that the Vejentians attained to such celebrity. But the abundance of bronze, and its admirable adaptation to all the purposes of the statuary, finally obtained for it the preference over every other sort of material.

The skill of the Etruscan artist in the representation of animals is sufficiently manifest from the numerous specimens, which still remain of their productions in this branch of the art. Nor is it a fact unworthy of remark, that their attentive study of the science of divination was not wholly without its reward, since it led them to observe, and consequently to imitate with remarkable exactness, the anatomical structure of the animals used in sacrifice. It is more particularly in the works of this class, that we perceive how much imagination, like all our faculties, is dependent upon cultivation.

The skill and feeling of the artist were wasted upon strange and fantastic combinations, which have no foundation in nature, and which, consequently, require not that close and unwearied study of real life, without which no correct idea can be formed of the object and the power of art. The blame, however, of a false taste in this respect is shared by a nation, which has furnished the surest models of pure taste in every department; for if the Etruscans made these figures, the Greeks bought them, and it is well known, that, in the time of Pericles, the bronze works of Etruria were held in the highest estimation in Athens itself.

The works of ancient Italian sculpture, which are still in existence, may be assigned to three different epochs of the art, each of which is distinguished by characteristics that cannot be mistaken.

Many of these monuments belong to the very infancy of the arts. You see that the artist has, as yet, no clear conception of the real character of imitation, and no distinct perception of the beauties of the human form. He is struggling with the expression of indefinite and exaggerated ideas. You here find statues with stiff, rectilinear outlines. The feet are closely united. The eyes are flattened. The mouth is oblique. The chin projects nearly as far as the nose. The limbs are protracted to an excessive length, and the drapery is drawn close and fitted tight and stiff to the body. They not only have no appearance of motion, but seem incapable of it. They are, in short, a coarse representation of the lineaments of the body, without any idea of strength, or of agility, or of any of the higher qualities of art. In looking at these grotesque caricatures, it is with difficulty that you can persuade yourself that the artist can have seriously undertaken to imitate the human form as we now see it. It would seem, that any eye must have been sufficiently formed to distinguish the gross errors of such copies. But, happily for the progress of art, our ideas of beauty keep pace with the efforts that we make to represent it. Could man feel at once the full force of the beautiful, he would be overwhelmed by his own impotence, and lost in barren amazement. But drawn onward, step by step, by the gradual discovery of new graces, though every effort bring him nearer to the point at which he first aimed, that very effort serves to reveal some new and some higher quality; and it is only as he approaches the truth, that

he feels the full force of natural beauty, and begins to rise to the contemplation of ideal perfection.

The Egyptian origin of Italian culture is strikingly apparent in the monuments of this age. The fighting animals, the monsters of various forms, which are so often repeated in the productions of both nations, all of them symbols of the same religious system, belong, either by date or by imitation, to this epoch. But, although in these works of the Etruscans there is a certain degree of natural expression, and a certain pleasing simplicity, yet they fall far short of the real feeling, which, in spite of all their roughness, distinguishes the Egyptian compositions of the correspondent age.

The most important period of Etruscan art was that which gave rise to a new and purely national style, if this name can be with propriety admitted, where traces of Egyptian influence are still visible. This school was particularly distinguished by its rigid adherence to method. Strength is here represented by over-action. The figures start and strain with the theatrical movement, which gives so peculiar and unnatural a character to the French school. The muscles are developed beyond the fulness of nature, and marked with great distinctness and precision. Art has evidently made progress, but rather in the correctness of anatomical representation, than in the conception of ideal beauty. The severest decency is observed throughout all the works of this class. The subjects are for the most part allusive to sacred and domestic rites ; and the cast of countenance which prevails in all of them is so peculiar, and so evidently copied from life, that it might almost be called provincial.

As early as the first century of Rome, the Etruscans began, by means of their colonies in Campania, to hold some intercourse with the Greeks. Commerce enlarged it. But the small profit, which they could derive from the Greek art of that age, is sufficiently apparent from the specimens of it which have come down to our own times. As Grecian art advanced, its influence upon that of the Etruscans became more decided ; and when the works of Zeuxis and of Phidias had raised the former to that pitch which has never yet been passed in any age or in any country, the latter also acquired a new and more elevated character. This was its longest, as well as its brightest period. It is to this, that antiquaries assign the "Orator" of the Florentine gallery,

and the "Child" of the Vatican. Many delicate gems, the "Tyrrhena sigilla" perhaps of Horace, of which numerous specimens still remain, concur in giving us the highest opinion of the taste and skill of the Etruscans during this happy epoch.

The finest specimens of the art of this period are in bronze; but the most numerous are in the stone of the country. The alabaster of Volterra, then as now, was held in especial estimation. We have not been equally fortunate in our remains of Etruscan painting; and the situation alone of these works is sufficient to show, that they could only have been the productions of the journeymen of the art.

But the most important branch of our subject, for its bearing upon the history of Etruscan manners, as well as upon that of art, is the examination of the painted earthen vases, which are drawn forth in incredible abundance from the ancient sepulchres, that have been opened in almost every section of the country.

(1.) The first in the order of time are certain vases of black earth, which, though not baked, were dried in such a manner as to render them fit for use, and make them susceptible of a kind of lead-like polish. The most remarkable of them have upon the body, the handles, or the foot, drawings in low relief, allusive to the symbolical rites of religion, and chiefly of burial. And, as the custom of depositing beside the urn of the deceased the objects, which he had valued most in life, was almost universal in the infancy of society, it is not surprising that the deities, to whose watchful care the sacred repose of the sepulchre was intrusted, should have been depicted under the most hideous and terrifying forms. These vases were set apart for sepulchral rites. They are found in Clusium, the Volscian territory, Tarquinii, and Cære. They belong, by style and form, to the earliest epoch of Etruscan art; a fact, which is strikingly confirmed by several peculiarities in the allegories with which they are adorned.

Of equal antiquity are the baked earthen vases of a reddish color. These are covered with figures of animals, traced in fanciful and often in terrific shapes. They bear no marks of a purely Grecian mythology; and the common, though improper usage, calls them Egyptian. They are found in tombs, not in Etruria only, but in Campania; nor is there any reason to doubt, that they were used, like the first-mentioned vases

of unbaked earth, for funeral rites. The Oriental origin of the symbols which they bear is apparent from their evident analogy with the doctrines of the East.

(2.) The transition from these fantastical images to the symbols of a more poetical and a more ideal mythology was not only natural, but, among a people qualified for progressive civilization, necessary. Hence the adoption of the Greek fables, which are easily recognised upon the vases of a more recent date. Bacchus, however, not merely the Grecian, but the Etruscan Bacchus, or, in other words, not only as god of the vine, but as the father of agriculture and of the arts, and at the same time the awful deity of the world of spirits, continues to be the chief personage in these symbols. These vases also were, for the most part, used in the numerous ceremonies of burial. But this usage was not exclusive; and many of them are readily distinguished as having served for domestic purposes, or as rewards for the victors in the games and exercises of the gymnasium.

The number of them, which has been recently discovered upon the territories of the ancient Volsci, has occasioned a renewal of the question concerning their origin; one school asserting that they are all Greek; the other maintaining, with equal zeal and learning, that they are all Etruscan.

The first circumstance which strikes the impartial observer is, that they evidently belong to different schools and epochs. No one who considers the state of the commercial and colonial relations, which began so early and subsisted so long, between the Greeks and the Italians, can hesitate to acknowledge, that many of these vases are the work of Grecian artists. But, at the same time, the Etruscan names and inscriptions, which are engraved upon so large a proportion of them, show that many were of Etruscan manufacture. The abundance, also, in which they are found, goes far in confirmation of this opinion. No subject, however, can be harder to decide by mere force of argument. Long practice in observation and comparison, supplies the surest standard of judgment.

The most ancient of these are certain vases of a dry, stiff style, in which the figures are placed upright, one after the other, with a symmetrical uniformity, although they are not wholly devoid of vivacity and life. The angular cut of the dress, and the richness of its embroidery, are well worthy of remark. None of the works of this school can have belonged

to the best epoch of Grecian art. They are evidently of a much earlier date ; and, from the strong tincture of Orientalism which they retain, it would seem probable that this style, originated among the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, was carried from thence to the mother country, and was subsequently introduced into Italy. It was particularly in Corinth and in Sicyon, that this art attained to its perfection. As early as the first century of Rome, the intercourse between Etruria and Corinth was frequent; and the vases of the latter formed for a long time an important staple of commerce. Now the eldest and most revered deities of Corinth and Sicyon, viz. Apollo, Diana, Hercules, and Minerva, are precisely those which we meet with most frequently upon the earthen wares of Volsci. They are found also in Sicily and in many parts of Magna Græcia. The flourishing state of Etruria during the first two centuries of Rome, and the excess to which the inhabitants carried the pomp and luxury of their funeral rites, will easily account for the activity which prevailed in this branch of commerce.

This art was practised not only in Etruria, but throughout the whole of Italy. Even in the earthen vessels which were solely employed for ordinary domestic purposes, we find a striking attention to variety and grace of form.

The vessels of which we are now speaking were in common use from the first to the third century of Rome. During the fourth, the art underwent an important change, and was much improved. The cultivation of it was still continued through the fifth and sixth centuries of the same era ; but, upon the suppression of the Bacchanalian rites, it fell into disuse, and probably soon after ceased entirely. When, therefore, in the age of Augustus, a large number of them was discovered in the tombs of Capua, they must have excited almost as much surprise and dispute as they now do. Towards the end of the republic they were again brought into use in funeral ceremonies. Then followed a period of rough and awkward imitation, the productions of which are easily distinguished from those of every other age.

25. In the infancy of society, agriculture is one of the first and most important steps in the path of civilization. While men roam free and unfettered from spot to spot, with no passions but those of animal life, and no other care than the daily provision of a precarious subsistence, there is no

foundation even for the first coarse rudiments of civility. But no sooner do they become attached to one place by the ties of cultivation, than a total change ensues in all their feelings. Life becomes a new scene. The domestic affections begin to expand. Individual attachments are formed. Love extends from animate to inanimate objects; and the spot that has witnessed the budding of affection, becomes, by the most natural and forcible of associations, a sharer in all its pleasures and all its endearments. By degrees the circle enlarges, and begins to embrace a wider range of duties. The obligations of a parent, of a husband, of a child, prepare the way for a fuller sense of the duties of man towards man; and the tie that binds him to his home is the first and the strongest link in that holy chain of affections which attaches him to his country.

The state of the agriculture of a country, therefore, affords one of the surest data for judging of its civilization, as well as of the character and the aims of those by whom that civilization was founded. No part of a population adheres so rigidly to ancient maxims and primitive customs, as that which is devoted to the cultivation of the soil. And hence we constantly find, among the men of this class, a variety of usages, which, if attentively considered, would throw much light upon the remoter periods of their history. This inquiry, therefore, is of primary importance in every attempt to arrive at a satisfactory judgment concerning a people, whose history is founded upon scattered traditions and obscure and difficult monuments.

Agriculture, among the ancient Italians, was under the immediate safeguard of religion. The possessions of the husbandman were protected by the solemnity of holy rites, and his toil cheered and lightened by the grateful recurrence of pious festivals and public games. As each season called for the renewal of its appropriate labors, it brought with it also its peculiar relaxations. Nor were the labors and the pleasures of the field of mere human institution. The gods themselves had partaken of them, had hallowed them by their presence, and directed them by their instructions.

The whole political system of the country was supported by that of its agrarian laws. By the first of these, the civil dominion of the soil was secured to the Patricians. From them the extensive class of clients received certain tracts for

cultivation, from the tillage of which they derived their own subsistence, and contributed by the payment of a fixed tribute to that of the lawful owners. Slaves were sometimes employed in these services, but their number cannot have been great.

The position and the climate of Italy fitted it for the cultivation of a variety of fruits and of grains. Many trees of Asia have become nearly indigenous in this congenial soil. Many animals, also, of Asiatic origin have thrived in Italy, and multiplied with amazing rapidity. Etruria, the Volscian territory, Picenum, Campania, and Apulia were renowned for their abundant harvests of grain. The vine was carefully cultivated, and the most luxurious of the ancients asked for no choicer wines than those of his own country. Bees, also, were tended with great care, and their rich stores of honey and of wax were highly prized.

Grazing early came to be a leading object of attention. The wools of several districts were in great repute for their softness and their brilliant white. Then, as now, the shepherd tended his flock, during the heats of summer, high upon the sides of the mountains, where an abundant pasturage and clear springs of the purest water supplied all their wants. But, upon the approach of winter, and before the first snowfall, he led them down to the sheltered valleys and fertile maremmas, and, erecting his hut in the midst of his grazing-ground, awaited the return of the milder season. Autumn and spring still present the same spectacle of migrating flocks to the traveller in modern Italy. Day after day, in these seasons, the highways, from the mountains to the low lands, are filled with long trains of sheep, proceeding by slow stages to their summer or their winter quarters. The veterans of the flock move on with a measured gate and demure aspect, while their younger and more active companions climb every hedge and leap every ditch, to pluck the grass and green shoots that border the way. Behind comes the shepherd, in his coat of skins ; his legs bound as high as the knee with strong, coarse leggings ; with breeches of thick woollen, and sometimes of skin with the fleece outward ; a hat with a broad brim and cone-like crown ; and in hand his crook or wand of office. But the most interesting object in this annual caravan is the shepherd's dog. The form and size alone of this animal are sufficient to excite attention. The

nose is long, and, unlike the rest of the head, free from hair. The ears are pricked; the legs large and strongly set; and the whole body covered with a thick coat of shaggy hair, which is no less a protection against the inclemencies of the season, to all the vicissitudes of which he is constantly exposed, than a guard in his frequent contests with his natural enemy, the wolf. This animal relieves the shepherd from more than half his responsibility. He never loses sight of the flock. On a march he is incessantly in motion; now at the head, now on the sides, now behind; and woe to the luckless straggler that dares to wander from his path. When noon brings the hour of repose, he takes his stand at some point where he can be ready for his charge, and at the same time snatch a moment's rest. At night he watches on the outskirts of the fold. The incautious traveller finds him at his throat before he can call for assistance. The wolf dreads him, and never, unless when goaded by the extremity of hunger, ventures to approach his watch. Nor even then can he succeed, if he come singly to the attack. The faithful animal will sometimes hold even two at bay, and give his master time to come to his assistance; and, if this be delayed, it is only after a long and fierce struggle, and over the mangled body of their guardian, that the ravenous prowler of the forest can seize his trembling and defenceless victims.

Many of the peculiar customs of pastoral life were deeply rooted in the feelings of the people. The Palian and Lupercalian games, by which the shepherd sought to propitiate the deity towards himself and his flock, preserve the memory of an age anterior to the foundation of Rome. By a strange engrafting of Pagan rites upon the simple usages of Christianity, traces of these ancient institutions have been preserved down to our own times; and the fires, which were once lighted for a heathen goddess, now blaze in honor of the Virgin.

The part of the herdsman was nearly as important as that of the shepherd. The oxen of Italy were highly esteemed by the ancients for their strength and their size; and it is well known that many have supposed this circumstance to afford a sufficient explanation of the origin of the actual name of the country. The race of horses, also, was in high repute; and the woods of Lucania, of Etruria, and of upper Italy, were filled with innumerable herds of wild hogs. Even the forests

were placed under the immediate protection of the divinity; and, no one being allowed to touch them except for some public purpose of acknowledged utility, they formed a rich source of national commerce.

But no feature in the agricultural history of ancient Italy gives so high an idea of its progress in civilization, as the reduction of vast tracts of marsh to a state of high cultivation. Many portions of the country, which now exhale noxious and pestilential vapors, were then thickly peopled. Others, now partially redeemed from inundation, and verdant with an unavailable fertility, were among the most populous and productive of the ancient states.

The Middle Ages witnessed a partial and transient return of this prosperity. The Tuscan marshes were drained; towns and cities arose amid the banks and canals which led off the noxious waters; and the whole coast, from the borders of the Genoese to the confines of the Roman states, was covered with a hardy and thriving population, who drew from the soil they had won, enough to meet all their own wants, and contribute to the support of an extensive and gainful commerce.*

26. But the success of agriculture alone would be insufficient to account for the wealth and power, to which the nations of Italy had already attained in the first centuries of Rome. Commerce went hand in hand with the tillage of the soil, conveying its superabundant products to distant lands, and bringing in a rich return of foreign commodities.

The situation of their country must have called the attention of the Italians to navigation at a very early period. But the first navigators were pirates; and this is the not very enviable appellation, that we find frequently coupled by the ancients with the name of the Tyrrheni. Such, however, must necessarily have been the case, when men, ignorant of the legitimate object of nautical science, ventured to launch their barks upon an untried element, and to trust their persons and their property to the mercy of the winds and the waves. The very qualities, which fitted them for such an effort, prepared them to consider themselves as fairly entitled to what-

* A very interesting exposition of this fact, though from a point of more extensive view than we can take, may be found in an early work of Sismondi, *Tableau de l'Agriculture Toscane*, pp. 284 *et seq.*

ever they could make their own ; * and the hazards, to which they unhesitatingly exposed their own lives, must have taught them a lesson of stern indifference to the security of others. The chances, too, were equal. Strength and skill were the arbiters of the contest. The prize of victory and the consequences of defeat were known and weighed before the sword was drawn.

But, although the commencement of nautical commerce was thus rough and unpromising, yet it was not long ere it began to feel the benign influence of advancing civilization. And no sooner was it perceived, that far more was to be gained by an equitable exchange of the products of one country for those of another, than by these predatory excursions, which, although sometimes successful, were always attended with double exposure, than it became an object of general attention, and was prosecuted with such ardor and address as rapidly carried it to a very high pitch of prosperity.

Here again the Etruscans took the lead. The beak or pointed prow, so terrible in the shock of naval combat, was invented by them. The double-fluked anchor, also, was an Etruscan invention. Even had the voice of history been silent, the names borne by the two seas which bathe the Italian peninsula would form an imperishable monument of the nautical enterprise of the Etruscans. Their colonies in Corsica and Sardinia have already been mentioned. Their first treaties with the Carthaginians were of a very early date ; and, up to the third century of Rome, they not only competed with them for the command of the Mediterranean, but even attempted to follow their track in the more difficult and adventurous navigation of the Atlantic.

The materials by which this commerce was supplied were, in a great measure, derived from their own soil. Grain was exported from the fertile districts that border on the sea. Their forests furnished the best of timber. The iron of the vast mines of Elba was wrought at Populonia, and formed an important staple of traffic. The

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* Such may have been the meaning of Horace ;

"Illi robur et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus," &c.

mines of Volterra and of the territory of Siena gave copious supplies of copper, which was used in the construction of arms and of various utensils and instruments of labor, and was also coined as money. The native stores of wax, of honey, and of pitch, were enlarged by the annual tribute from Corsica, and exchanged in the course of commerce for various foreign productions. But the most active branch of commerce was the exportation, into different countries, of bronze images and domestic utensils of Etruscan make, which were eagerly bought up at high prices, to the great advantage of their manufacturers. Among the principal objects of importation, were the ivory of Nigritia, and the amber of the north, which were furnished, either directly or indirectly, by foreign merchants. The seaports were provided with extensive arsenals, public warehouses, and convenient docks.

Other states, also, shared in this lucrative commerce. The Rutuli, Volsci, Ligures, and Campani traded along the western coasts and among the islands of the Mediterranean. The Volsci and the Ligures ventured in their light barks as far as Africa, Gaul, and Spain. Timber, gums, wax, honey, and skins, were the exports of the Ligures; in return for which they received grain, oil, wine, and other necessaries of life, which their own soil did not produce. Their only manufactures were of coarse woollen. Other districts carried on a fruitful traffic in finer wools, and the Brutii drew ample returns from their exportations of pitch and tar. Thus, in ancient times, as among the republics of the Middle Ages, woollens, iron, pitch, and timber, were the great sources of Italian wealth.

A lucrative and active commerce was also everywhere carried on, from the coast to the interior, and thence back again to the sea. Commodious roads, of parts of which the solid paving still exists, facilitated and gave security to this intercourse. Small fees, on entering and clearing a port, and on the passage of a river or bridge, were the only taxes to which the merchant was subjected; and moderation in these was held to be the surest test of a good government.

Such a commerce as that, of which we have traced the outline, necessarily supposes the existence of an established currency. The first medium of general exchange was cumbersome and awkward, but still well enough adapted to the limited wants of its inventors. As the enlarging circle of

commerce afforded room for the introduction of more valuable wares, the coin of the country underwent a correspondent change. Copper was the first metal whose value was fixed by coinage, and the same practice was soon extended to silver and gold.

27. There is no art to which uncivilized man takes so readily as that of war; and yet none is more dependent upon civilization for its progress and its perfection. Savages rush to arms from the instinct of revenge; exhaust their strength in irregular efforts; and only lay by their weapons, when their passions have been satisfied, or their blind impulse spent. Civilized nations begin by formal denunciations of hostility; regulate their movements by the rules of art; and retire when their object has been obtained, or when the chances of failure overbalance the hopes of success. The savage trusts to his ambush; to the darkness of midnight; to the terror which he strikes by a sudden and violent attack. The civilized warrior, although he rejects not the advantages of an unexpected onset, confides in the skilful execution of well-directed manœuvres, and in the overwhelming impulse of closely-united and concurrent squadrons. The former seeks to destroy; the latter, to secure some immediate advantage, or to avert some distant and contingent evil. Hence, while war with the one is the unmitigated scourge of human kind, with the other it assumes a character connecting it with the arts of an improved society.

The military science of the ancient Italians was in the midway between these two extremes. The necessities of their situation made them soldiers; while the exposures of a hard and laborious life fitted them for the toils of service. But their progress in the more difficult and important principles of the art was limited by their imperfect knowledge of the science on which they depend. It would be unjust, then, to look for great discoveries, or to pretend that leading theories were understood, where their scientific basis was, as yet, incomplete. Still they enlarged the bounds of the art by several important discoveries, and it was to them that the Romans were indebted for many parts of their discipline.

Their arms, both offensive and defensive, varied according to the service for which the particular class of troops that bore them was destined, and were often very different among different tribes. The heavy-armed infantry, upon whose

firm lines the chief reliance for victory was placed, were clad in a strong and weighty armour, which protected nearly the whole person. The light-armed troops, as their name shows, wore a lighter armour, which, although unfit for the shock of a close attack, was well adapted to the distant contest which they waged with their slings, their bows, and their javelins. But, whatever the class to which he belonged, or the armour that he bore, the Italian soldier prided himself upon his equipment, and took pains to deck it with his richest and costliest ornaments.

The mode of levying troops and organizing the army, was established by law. A solemn oath bound the soldier to his standard ; and the religious veneration, with which this oath was observed, is singularly illustrated by several facts of ancient history. The legion was subdivided into cohorts, and contained a proportionate number of heavy and of light armed foot, together with the necessary train of musicians and of artisans, as well as a distinct body for the protection of the baggage. Military service, like taxation, was regulated by the census. The soldiers of the first rank, and the cavalry, which was always composed of the first class of citizens, were bound to equip themselves at their own expense. In cases of extreme danger, and when the ordinary number of regulars was not adequate to the urgency of the moment, others were added by individual choice. A corps was formed, composed solely of the most distinguished soldiers. Each member of this body then chose an assistant, for whom he became personally responsible. This assistant named a second upon similar conditions ; and this was continued until the required number had been obtained. Besides these bands of citizen-soldiers, there were mercenary leaders, who let themselves out to the highest bidder.

Campaigns were usually short and sudden excursions. The general led his troops directly up to the enemy, and either measured his strength in a pitched battle, or laid waste his territory. Camps were chosen with great care, and strongly fortified ; each band raising its own works, and destroying them again before it marched. The same method of encampment was followed by the Romans, until the war with Pyrrhus gave them the model of a more scientific form.

In preparing for battle, the troops were usually drawn up in three bodies ; a centre and two wings. The cavalry was stationed according to the nature of the ground, and most

frequently as a covering to the wings. The usual mode of advancing was in parallel lines; a form less adapted to complex manœuvres than the oblique, but admirably suited to those conflicts in which victory is decided by the struggle of man with man. Ambuscades, and all the devices to which a skilful general resorts in a mountainous or wooded country, were in frequent use.

While advancing towards the foe, they sought to terrify him by their warlike songs and the martial sound of their trumpets. The attack began by a discharge of missiles from the slings and bows of the light-armed troops; a shower of javelins followed, carrying terror and confusion into the ranks of the enemy; the heavy-armed infantry then advanced to the onset, with their short, heavy swords, which inflicted deep and fatal wounds; and the cavalry, hovering on the wings and watching the moment to charge, decided by its impetuosity the fate of the day. A crown of gold, and, if we can trust Florus, even the triumphant march, in which the victor was borne in a car richly gilded and drawn by four horses, were the rewards of distinguished bravery.

Roman history alone throws light enough upon the military character of the other people of Italy. The bloody annals of this warlike city nowhere record such desperate conflicts, such interminable struggles, such vigor in defence, and such perseverance in resistance, as in the long story of their Italian wars. Five centuries scarcely sufficed for the subjection of the peninsula; but, its hardy inhabitants once subdued, and from enemies converted into allies and assistants, the whole ancient world was soon bowed to the yoke.

28. Every reader who has attempted to follow, with any degree of accuracy, the earlier periods of ancient or of modern history, must have been struck with the exceeding difficulties which attend every system of reasoning, that is founded upon etymology and the original structure of language. So flexible is this great instrument of human thought, that there is scarce any theory, be it ever so wild and extravagant, which, with a little ingenuity and a proper share of credulity, it may not be made to support. And yet so close is the connexion between the character of a nation and that of its language, that it is impossible to enter to any extent upon the examination of the one, without giving at least an inquiring glance at the other.

Hitherto the study of the ancient languages of Italy has

been attended with small success. The inscriptions in Etruscan are hardly any better known, than when the monuments that bear them were first discovered. Years were spent in the study of the alphabet, and treasures of erudition consumed in searching for analogies in all the tongues, whose written words bore the slightest resemblance to it. After various ingenious and contradictory theories, each of which enjoyed its hour of reputation, the great enigma was solved, and all the letters of the Etruscan alphabet were reduced to a uniform and intelligible system. This step, however, notwithstanding its importance, has left us nearly as much in the dark as before. We can follow those letters through their different combinations, supply many of their conventional omissions, and give them sounds like those of other tongues; but these sounds are still unintelligible, and the words, which they form, fall strange and indistinct upon the ear. It is only to the East that we can reasonably look for the solution of this problem.

We know nothing of the grammatical foundation of the Etruscan language; but long and patient observation has noted several interesting circumstances in the orthography, and in the inflexion of words. Among these are the custom, which prevails in sepulchral monuments, of writing from right to left; the superabundance of consonants; the uniform omission of the quiescent and short vowels. Several radical syllables, moreover, have been observed, of which the signification would seem to be fixed; several derivatives have been followed up to these, with a sufficient degree of evidence; and certain fixed laws have been discovered in the inflexion and termination of various words. These inscriptions have also been of considerable use to the genealogist, and enabled him to trace back a long series of family names.

The languages of ancient Italy may be divided into two classes; if it be not yet more proper to consider the Etruscan and the Oscan, which are the heads of this division, as the two principal languages, and all the others as dialects of these. The use of the Etruscan was not confined to the territory from which it derived its name; but was extended by conquest and by colonization, through various other districts of the peninsula. From the Sabine territory southward, the predominant language was the Oscan. To these should be added a variety of dialects, formed from one or the other of the parent tongues, and preserving, in spite of their changes, more or

less evident traces of their origin. The primitive Illyrian, a language totally different from the Sclavonic, and of which many themes have been preserved in the dialect of the Skypetars of Albania, might throw much light upon this curious subject.

In proportion as the dominion of the Romans became enlarged and confirmed, their own language obtained the ascendant. It was long, however, before the original languages of the country fell into disuse ; and they seem to have held their place among the people, long after they had been abandoned by the higher classes. The Oscan was spoken at Herculaneum and at Pompeii, up to the day of their destruction ; the Etruscan was in use under the earlier emperors ; and, at the same period, the popular Oscan comedies were performed upon the Roman stage.

The fragments, which have been handed down to us of the primitive Latin, are strongly marked with Etruscan and with Oscan. In the fragments of Ennius, we find not only Oscan words, but even whole forms of speech. The practice of shortening words by a rough abbreviation or contraction, was common to both. Sabine words also are cited by the ancient grammarians.

Will not these facts, when taken together with the history of the origin of Rome, lead to at least a plausible conjecture concerning that of the Roman language ? It is well known, that the first inhabitants of Rome were an aggregation of native Italians, drawn together by various motives, and from different parts of the country. Each brought with him his native tongue, and the customs and usages of his original dwelling-place. The Etruscan and the Oscan, with their long train of dialects, were mingled together and spoken within the same walls, and by a people who, however different in their origin, were now united by the ties of a common interest. Hence there must have gradually arisen one common dialect, partaking largely of each, but in some respects differing from all. The same phenomenon was repeated during the Middle Ages, when the modern languages of Europe were formed from a similar conjunction of different elements. The earliest specimen of Latin differs so much from its subsequent form, as to be utterly unintelligible. Such as it was, it was adequate to the wants of the age. As these increased, the necessary enlargements and improvements were made ; and when, at last, it came to be employed in

poetry, in history, and as the vehicle of a more polished eloquence, the fathers of Roman literature drew freely from the same abundant source, which supplied their literary models.

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ART. II. — *The Life of Father Marquette.* By JARED SPARKS. (Library of American Biography. Vol. X.)

WE need say nothing here of the services which Mr. Sparks has rendered to American history. His Lives of Ledyard and Morris and Washington; his editions of the writings of Washington and Franklin, and of the Diplomatic Correspondence; and his collection of American Biographies, which has now reached the tenth volume, are all known through this country and in Europe. He has done more than any other one man to preserve for posterity the undoubted records of our early history; and we trust a long life may be granted him, wherein to pursue his labors; for, with the advance already gained in a knowledge of the details of past times, his labors are becoming every year more and more valuable.

Among his various publications, the series of American Biographies ranks high in interest and utility; through it, many have been made known to the world, who might otherwise have found no historian; and we hope he may be able to continue it through many more volumes. Among those persons, who but for this work might have remained without their deserved celebrity, is Father Marquette, whose brief story is now before us. His Journal, giving an account of the discovery of the great Mississippi Valley, was published in France in 1681, and a poor translation of it was given in the Appendix to Hennepin's volumes, printed in London in 1698; but all knowledge of his doings slept in these dusty works, and in a few pages of Charlevoix's "New France," until Mr. Sparks drew up an abstract of the original Journal, for the second edition of Butler's "History of Kentucky." This abstract he has now somewhat altered and enlarged, and put into a wider circulation, through his "Biography." It is curious and interesting; and as Marquette's discovery is but little known, and the labors of those that followed him but

slightly appreciated, we have thought it worth while to give our readers a sketch of the progress of the French in the knowledge and settlement of the Mississippi valley.

The advantages of water communication were never more perfectly shown, than in the rapid progress of the French in Canada, when first settled. During the years in which John Eliot was preaching to the savages of Natick and Concord, the Jesuits were lifting their voices upon the furthest shores of Lake Superior; while a journey from Boston to the Connecticut was still a journey through the heart of the wilderness, Allouez and Dablon had borne the cross through that very "Mellioki" (Milwaukie) region, to which our speculators have just reached.* With strong hearts those old monks went through their labors; sleeping, in mid winter, under the bark of trees for blankets, and seasoning their only food, "Indian corn, grinded small," with "little frogs, gathered in the meadows."† They were very different men from "the apostle" of the Puritans; but, to all appearance, were as pure, and as true, and as loving; the Miamis were "so greedy to hear Father Allouez, when he taught them," says Marquette, "that they gave him little rest, even in the night."

Among those who were foremost in courage and kindness, was Marquette himself; a modest, quiet man, who went forward into unknown countries, not as a discoverer, but as God's messenger; who thought all his sufferings and labor fruitful, because among "the Illinois of Perouacca," he was able to baptize one dying child; and who took such a hold of the hearts of those wild men, through the inspiration of love, that for years after his death, when the storms of Lake Michigan swept over the Indian's frail canoe, he called upon the name of Marquette, and the wind ceased and the waves were still.‡

In the year 1671, this Jesuit missionary led a party of Hurons to the point of land which projects from the north, at the strait between Lakes Michigan and Huron, and there

* In the library of Harvard College is a map, published in Paris by N. Sanson d'Abbeville, in the year 1656, in which are given portions of Lakes Superior and Michigan; the southern part of the map is the north of Florida, as discovered by Fernando de Soto, and as it is drawn in the map accompanying the History of his adventures by Garcilaso de la Vega.

† Hennepin, *Nouvelle Decouverte.*

‡ Charlevoix's *Letters*, 2d, p. 97. London Ed. 1761. — *Nouvelle France*, Vol. VI. p. 21. Paris Ed. 1744.

founded the old settlement of Michillimackinac.* Here, and along the neighbouring shores, he labored with noiseless diligence until 1673, when the Intendant-general of the colony, M. Talon, a man of great activity and enterprise, and who was upon the point of closing his career in Canada, determined that the close should be worthy of his character, and called upon Marquette to be the leader of a small party, which was to seek for that great river in the West, of which the Indians had so often spoken.† The representative of the government in this undertaking was M. Joliet, a substantial citizen of Quebec, and with them went five other Frenchmen. ‡

Upon the 13th of May, 1673, this little band of seven left Michillimackinac in two bark canoes, with a small store of Indian corn and jerked meat, wherewith to keep soul and body in company, bound they knew not whither.

The first nation they visited, one with which our reverend Father had been long acquainted, being told of their venturous plan, begged them to desist. There were Indians, they said, on that great river, who would cut off their heads without the least cause; warriors who would seize them; monsters who would swallow them, canoes and all; even a demon, who shut the way, and buried in the waters, that boiled about him, all who dared draw nigh; and, if these dangers were passed, there were heats there that would infallibly kill them. "I thanked them for their good advice," says Marquette, "but I told them that I could not follow it; since the salvation of souls was at stake, for which I should be overjoyed to give my life."

Passing through Green Bay, from the mud of which, says our voyager, rise "mischievous vapors, which cause the most grand and perpetual thunders that I have ever heard," they entered Fox River, and toiling over stones which cut their feet, as they dragged their canoes through its strong rapids, reached a village where lived in union the Miamis, Mascoutens, and "Kikabeux" (Kickapoos). Here Al-

* Charlevoix's *History of Canada, (Nouvelle France,)* Vol. II. p. 239.

† *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 248.

‡ Marquette's *Journal*, Vol. I. p. 8. In this place he says, I told them that he (Joliet) "estoit envoyé de la part de Monsieur, notre Gouverneur, pour découvrir des nouveaux pays, et moy de la part de Dieu, pour les éclairer des lumières du Saint Evangile."

louez had preached, and behold! in the midst of the town, a cross, (*une belle croix*,) on which hung skins, and belts, and bows, and arrows, which "these good people had offered to the great Manitou, to thank him because he had taken pity on them during the winter, and had given them an abundant chase."

Beyond this point no Frenchman had gone; here was the bound of discovery; and much did the savages wonder at the hardihood of these seven men, who, alone, in two bark canoes, were thus fearlessly passing into unknown dangers.

On the 10th of June, they left this wondering and well-wishing crowd, and, with two guides to lead them through the lakes and marshes of that region, started for the river, which, as they heard, rose but about three leagues distant, and fell into the Mississippi. Without ill-luck these guides conducted them to the portage, and helped them carry their canoes across it; then, returning, left them "alone amid that unknown country, in the hand of God."

With prayers to the mother of Jesus they strengthened their souls, and then committed themselves, in all hope, to the current of the westward-flowing river, the "Mescousin" (Wisconsin); a sand-barred stream, hard to navigate, but full of islands covered with vines, and bordered by meadows, and groves, and pleasant slopes. Down this they floated with open eyes, until, upon the 17th of June, they entered the Mississippi, "with a joy," says Marquette, "that I cannot express."

Quietly floating down the great river, they remarked the deer, the buffaloes, the swans, — "wingless, for they lose their feathers in that country," — the great fish, one of which had nearly knocked their canoe into atoms, and other creatures of air, earth, and water, but no men. At last, however, upon the 21st of June, they discovered upon the bank of the river the foot-prints of some fellow mortals, and a little path leading into a pleasant meadow. Leaving the canoes in charge of their followers, Joliet and Father Marquette boldly advanced upon this path toward, as they supposed, an Indian village. Nor were they mistaken; for they soon came to a little town, toward which, recommending themselves to God's care, they went so nigh as to hear the savages talking. Having made their presence known by a loud cry, they were graciously received by an embassy of four old

men, who presented them the pipe of peace, and told them, that this was a village of the "Illinois." The voyagers were then conducted into the town, where all received them as friends, and treated them to a great smoking. After much complimenting and present-making, a grand feast was given to the Europeans, consisting of four courses. The first was of hominy, the second of fish, the third of a dog, which the Frenchmen declined, and the whole concluded with roast buffalo. After the feast they were marched through the town with great ceremony and much speech-making; and, having spent the night, pleasantly and quietly, amid the Indians, they returned to their canoes with an escort of six hundred people. The Illinois, Marquette, like all the early travellers, describes as remarkably handsome, well-mannered, and kindly, even somewhat effeminate. The reverend Father tells us, that they used guns, and were much feared by the people of the South and West, where they made many prisoners, whom they sold as slaves.

Leaving the Illinois, the adventurers passed the rocks upon which were painted those monsters of whose existence they had heard on Lake Michigan, and soon found themselves at the mouth of the Pekitanoni, or Missouri of our day; the character of which is well described; muddy, rushing, and noisy. "Through this," says Marquette, "I hope to reach the Gulf of California, and thence the East Indies." This hope was based upon certain rumors among the natives, which represented the Pekitanoni as passing by a meadow, five or six days' journey from its mouth, on the opposite side of which meadow was a stream running westward, which led, beyond doubt, to the South Sea. "If God give me health," says our Jesuit, "I do not despair of one day making the discovery." Leaving the Missouri, they passed the demon, that had been portrayed to them, which was indeed a dangerous rock in the river, and came to the Ouabouskigou, or Ohio, a stream which makes but a small figure in Father Marquette's map, being but a trifling water-course compared to the Illinois. From the Ohio, our voyagers passed with safety, except from the mosquitoes, into the neighbourhood of the "Akamscas," or Arkansas. Here they were attacked by a crowd of warriors, and had nearly lost their lives; but Marquette resolutely presented the peace-pipe, until some of the old men

of the attacking party were softened, and saved them from harm. "God touched their hearts," says the pious narrator.

The next day the Frenchmen went on to "Akamsca," where they were received most kindly, and feasted on corn and dog till they could eat no more. These Indians cooked in and eat from earthen ware, and were amiable and unceremonious, each man helping himself from the dish and passing it to his neighbour.

From this point Joliet and our writer determined to return to the North, as dangers increased toward the sea, and no doubt could exist as to the point where the Mississippi emptied, to ascertain which point was the great object of their expedition. Accordingly, on the 17th of July, our voyagers left Akamsca; retraced their path, with much labor, to the Illinois, through which they soon reached the Lake; and "nowhere," says Marquette, "did we see such grounds, meadows, woods, buffaloes, stags, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beavers," as on the Illinois river.

In September the party, without loss or injury, reached Green Bay, and reported their discovery; one of the most important of that age, but of which we have now no record left except the narrative of Marquette, Joliet (as we learn from an abstract of his account, given in Hennepin's second volume, London, 1698,) having lost all his papers while returning to Quebec, by the upsetting of his canoe. Marquette's unpretending account, we have in a collection of voyages by Thevenot, printed in Paris in 1681.* Its general correctness is unquestionable; and, as no European had claimed to have made any such discovery at the time this volume was published, but the persons therein named, we may consider the account as genuine.

Afterwards Marquette returned to the Illinois, by their request, and ministered to them until 1675. On the 18th of May, in that year, as he was passing with his boatmen up Lake Michigan, he proposed to land at the mouth of a little stream running from the peninsula, and perform mass. Leaving his men with the canoe, he went a little way apart to pray, they waiting for him. As much time passed, and he did not return, they called to mind, that he had said something of his death being at hand, and anxiously went to seek

* This work is now very rare.

him. They found him dead; where he had been praying, he had died. The canoe-men dug a grave near the mouth of the stream, and buried him in the sand. Here his body was liable to be exposed by a rise of water; and would have been so, had not the river retired, and left the missionary's grave in peace. Charlevoix, who visited the spot some fifty years afterward, found that the waters had forced a passage at the most difficult point; had cut through a bluff, rather than cross the lowland where that grave was. The river is called Marquette.*

While the simple-hearted and true Marquette was pursuing his labors of love in the West, two men, differing widely from him, and each other, were preparing to follow in his footsteps, and perfect the discoveries so well begun by him and his shadowy compeer, the Sieur Joliet. These were Robert de la Salle and Louis Hennepin.

La Salle was a native of Normandy, and was brought up, as we learn from Charlevoix,† among the Jesuits; but, having lost, by some unknown cause, his patrimony, and being of a stirring and energetic disposition, he left his home, to seek fortune among the cold and dark regions of Canada. This was about the year 1670. Here he mused long upon the pet project of those ages, a short-cut to China and the East; and, — gaining his daily bread, we know not how, — was busily planning an expedition up the great lakes, and so across the continent to the Pacific, when Marquette returned from the Mississippi. At once the hot mind of La Salle received from his and his companion's narrations, the idea that, by following the Great River northward, or by turning up some of the streams which joined it from the westward, his aim might be certainly and easily gained. Instantly he went towards his object. He applied to Frontenac, then governor-general of Canada, laid before him an outline of his

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* Charlevoix's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 96. *New France*, Vol. VI. p. 20. — Marquette spells the name of the great western river, "Mississipy"; Hennepin made it "Meschasipi"; others have written "Meschasabe," &c. &c. — There is great confusion in all the Indian oral names; we have "Kikabeaux," "Kikapous," "Quicapous;" "Outtoauets," "Outnovas;" "Miamis," "Oumamis;" and so of nearly all the nations. Our "Sioux," Charlevoix tells us, is the last syllable of "Nadouessioux," which is written, by Hennepin, "Nadoussion" and "Nadouessious," in his "*Louisiana*," and "Nadouessans" in his "*Nouvelle Découverte*."

† Charlevoix's *New France*, Paris Edition of 1744, Vol. II. p. 263.

views, dim but gigantic, and, as a first step, proposed to rebuild of stone, and with improved fortifications, Fort Frontenac upon Lake Ontario, a post to which he knew the governor felt all the affection due to a namesake. Frontenac entered warmly into his views. He saw, that, in La Salle's suggestion, which was to connect Canada with the Gulf of Mexico by a chain of forts upon the vast navigable lakes and rivers which bind that country so wonderfully together, lay the germ of a plan, which might give unmeasured power to France, and unequalled glory to himself, under whose administration he fondly hoped all would be realized. He advised La Salle, therefore, to go to the king of France, to make known his project, and ask for the royal patronage and protection; and, to forward his suit, gave him letters to Seignelay, who had succeeded his father, the great Colbert, as minister of marine.

With a breast full of hope and bright dreams, the penniless adventurer sought his monarch; his plan was approved by the minister, to whom he presented Frontenac's letter; La Salle was made a Chevalier; was invested with the seignory of Fort Catarocouy or Frontenac, upon condition he would rebuild it; and received from all the first noblemen and princes assurances of their good-will and aid. His mission having sped so well, on the 14th of July, 1678, La Salle, with his lieutenant, Tonti, an Italian, and thirty men, sailed from Rochelle for Quebec, where they arrived upon the 15th of September; and, after a few days' stay, proceeded to Fort Frontenac.*

Here was quietly working, in no quiet spirit, the rival and co-laborer of La Salle, Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, of the Recollet variety; a man full of ambition to be a great discoverer; daring, hardy, energetic, vain, and self-exaggerating, almost to madness; and, it is feared, more anxious to advance his own holy and unholy ends than the truth. He had in Europe lurked behind doors, he tells us, that he might hear sailors spin their yarns touching foreign lands; and he profited, it would seem, by their instructions. He came to Canada, some three years before La Salle returned from his visit to the court, and had to a certain extent prepared himself,

* Charlevoix's *New France*, Vol. II. p. 264, 266. What La Salle was about from the close of 1673, when Joliet returned, till July, 1678, Charlevoix tells us only in the most general terms.

by journeyings among the Iroquois, for bolder travels into the wilderness. Having been appointed by his religious superiors to accompany the expedition which was about to start for the extreme west under La Salle, Hennepin was in readiness for him at Fort Frontenac, where he arrived, probably, some time in October, 1678.*

The Chevalier's first step was to send forward men to prepare the minds of the Indians along the lakes for his coming, and to soften their hearts by well-chosen gifts and words; and also, to pick up peltries, in which, under the king's patent, he had the almost, if not entirely exclusive right to trade in those quarters. For, it must be understood, that our hero, having had nothing in the outset, was forced to look throughout to his own good management, in order to raise funds wherewith to carry on his operations; a thing not always done with ease; indeed, few mortals seem to have been more dunned than he; and, at one time, Hennepin tells us, his property was actually under execution.† He therefore began operations by sending forward a party to collect skins, from which he might realize enough to cover his winter's expenses, which promised to be somewhat heavy. First, Fort Catarocouy was to be altered and repaired; then Lake

* Hennepin's *New Discovery*, Utrecht Edition of 1697, p. 70. — Charlevoix's *New France*, Vol. II. pp. 266.

It may be as well here, once for all, to give the names of the lakes and rivers as they appear in the early travels.

Lake Ontario, was also Lake Frontenac.

Lake Erie, was Erike, Erige, or Erie, from a nation of Eries destroyed by the Iroquois; they lived where the State of Ohio now is (Charlevoix's *New France*, Vol. II. p. 62); it was also Lake of Conti.

Lake Huron, was Karegnondi in early times (*Map of* 1656); and also, Lake of Orleans.

Lake Michigan, was Lake of Puans (*Map of* 1656); also, of the Illinois, or Illinese, or Illinouacks; also Lake Mischigonong, and Lake of the Dauphin.

Lake Superior was Lake *Supérieur*, meaning the Upper, not the Larger lake, — also, Lake of Condé.

Green Bay, was Baie des Puans.

Illinois river, in Hennepin's *Louisiana*, and Joutel's *Journal*, is River Seignelay; and the Mississippi River, in those works, is River Colbert; and was by La Salle called River St. Louis.

Ohio river was Ouabouskigou, Ouabachi, Ouabache, Oyo, Ouye, Belle Rivière.

Missouri river, was Pekitanoni, Rivière des Osages, and Massourites; and by Coxe is called Yellow River.

† *New Discovery*, p. 102. We follow Hennepin, whose early *Journal* has not been disputed; it is the same in his *Louisiana* and his *New Discovery*.

Ontario was to be crossed ; a new fort was to be built upon Lake Erie, and a bark of unexampled magnitude for those seas established thereon, to carry forward the trade which he hoped to set on foot ; and some twenty or forty men to be kept alive and hammering, while all these things were doing ; for all which purposes he had we know not what funds, but unhappily small ones at the best. However, La Salle was a man with a large heart in his bosom ; he had drawn for himself a grand outline, — the discovery, conquest, fortification, possession, and commercial union, of that immense country which lies along the greatest lakes and rivers of the world, from Ontario to Superior, from the falls of Niagara to the Gulf of Mexico ; and small obstacles were to him none at all.

Cheerfully he sent forward his pioneers, therefore, to seek for him beaver skins and other valuables ; and, upon the 18th of November, 1678, embarked with his followers in a little vessel of ten tons, to cross Lake Ontario. This, says one of his chroniclers, was the first ship that ever sailed upon that fresh water sea. The wind was strong and contrary, and four weeks nearly were passed in beating up the little distance between Kingston and Niagara. Having forced their brigantine as far toward the Falls as was possible, our travellers landed ; built some magazines with difficulty, for at times the ground was frozen so hard that they could drive their stakes, or posts, into it only by first pouring upon it boiling water ; and then made acquaintance with the Iroquois of the village of Niagara, upon Lake Erie. Not far from this village La Salle founded a second fort, upon which he set his men to work ; but, finding the Iroquois jealous, he gave it up for a time, and merely erected temporary fortifications for his magazines ; and then, leaving orders for a new ship to be built, he returned to Fort Frontenac, to forward stores, cables, and anchors for his forthcoming vessel.

Through the hard and cold winter days, the lake lying before them "like a plain paved with fine polished marble," some of his men hewed and hammered upon the *Griffin*, as the great bark was to be named, while others gathered furs and skins, or sued for the good-will of the bloody savages amid whom they were quartered : and all went merrily until the 20th of January, 1679. On that day, the Chevalier arrived from below ; not with all his goods, however, for his

misfortunes had commenced. The vessel in which his valuables had been embarked was wrecked through the bad management of the pilots; and, though the more important part of her freight was saved, much of her provision went to the bottom, which caused the carpenters, who were working upon somewhat thin diet, to groan and even grumble. And, worse than this, those who were jealous of La Salle's monopoly, and apparent good luck, had stirred up the Iroquois, some of whom, feigning drunkenness, attacked the blacksmith of the expedition, and would have killed him, had not he, Nicol-Jarvie-like, caught a red-hot bar from the fire, and put them to flight. But Hunger and Hate had a strong soul to deal with in our Chevalier; he pushed every thing forward, while Father Hennepin did his share by preaching, and all seemed on the road to success. During the winter, also, a very nice lot of furs was scraped together, with which, early in the spring of 1679, the commander returned to Fort Frontenac to get another outfit; while Tonti was sent forward to scour the lake coasts, muster together the men who had been sent before, collect skins, and see all that was to be seen. In thus coming and going, buying and trading, the summer of this year slipped away, and it was the seventh of August before the *Griffin* was ready to sail. Then, with *Te-Deums*, and the discharge of arquebuses, she began her voyage up Lake Erie, while the Iroquois looked on in horror and amazement, which they hastened to communicate to the Dutch at "Nouvelle Jorck." †

Over Lake Erie, through the strait beyond, across St. Clair, and into Huron, the voyagers passed most happily. In Huron they were troubled by storms, dreadful as those upon the ocean, and were at last forced to take refuge in the road of Michillimackinac. This was upon the 28th of August. At this place, which is described as one "of prodigious fertility," La Salle remained till the middle of September, founded a fort there, and sent men therefrom in various directions to spy out the state of the land. He then fell down to Green Bay, the "Baie des Puans," of the French; and, finding there a large quantity of skins and furs collected for him, he determined to load the *Griffin* therewith, and send her back to Niagara, and so stop the mouths of some of his many credi-

* Hennepin.

tors, who were becoming noisy. This was done with all promptness; and, upon the 18th of September, she was despatched under the charge of a pilot, supposed to be competent and trustworthy, while the Norman himself, with fourteen men, proceeded down Lake Michigan, paddling along its shores in the most leisurely manner; Tonti, meanwhile, having been sent to hunt up stragglers, with whom he was to form the main body at the bottom of the lake.

From the 19th of September till the 1st of November, the time was consumed by La Salle in his voyage down the sea in question. On the day last named, he arrived at the mouth of the river of the Miamis; a spot the position of which is thus clearly described by one claiming to have been there; "This country," says he, meaning that of the Miamis, "is bounded to the east by Virginia and Florida, and on the other side by the Iroquois and Illinois." * At the mouth of this stream, La Salle built the fort of the Miamis.

What river this "of the Miamis" was, has been a little questioned. Butler, in his "History of Kentucky," having no original account before him, pronounces it the Fox River of Green Bay, — an obvious mistake; † Peck says, it is supposed to have been the Chicago; ‡ and, upon a first view of Hennepin's map, one would think it the Calumet, which runs into Lake Michigan from the southwest. A little examination, however, makes it clear that it was the St. Joseph's. Hennepin describes it as coming from the southeast, (the English translation makes it south*west*, perhaps that the text and map may correspond,) and says the Illinois rises a short distance, not from its source, but from its main stream; and to this the map corresponds exactly. Now, no stream from Lake Michigan has a branch of the Illinois rising near its main current except the St. Joseph's, near which the Kaukakee rises; whence we conclude, that the Miamis river was the former, and the Illinois the latter stream. To render this the more certain, we have the maps of Joutel, La Hontan, Coxe, and some anonymous English ones of that time, all of which represent the Miamis river in the place occupied by the St. Joseph's; and that of Charlevoix, made in 1744,

* *An Account of M. De La Salle's Last Expedition and Discoveries.* New York Historical Collections, Vol. II. p. 233.

† *History of Kentucky*, Introduction, 2d edition, p. xviii.

‡ *Gazetteer of Illinois*, p. 103.

which gives us the Fort of the Miamis, on the river "St. Joseph's"; which we must regard as decisive.

We have, then, La Salle and his little band driving palisades near the mouth of the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan, upon the 1st of November, 1679. They were sounding the entrance of the river, too, to learn its bars and shoals, that they might warn therefrom their long-delayed *Griffin*, which ought now to be near at hand; and scouring parties were abroad in the forest for game, and for information touching the country, and their further course. And game was indeed wanting, for nothing could be had but bear's flesh, very fat and oily, for the bears had been feeding upon grapes till they were full; and this, being too rank for digestion, made the men dyspeptic and desponding. Winter began to moan in the woods, too; and the *Griffin* was still missing; "why?" men asked, and the answers which suggested themselves were far from comforting. The Iroquois might have sacked her, or creditors seized her; or her timbers, hard wrought as they had been, might have found a hard bed upon some rocky shore. Nevertheless, La Salle, nothing fearing, stuck up bear-skins upon long poles on all the shallows; and Father Hennepin preached perseverance, courage, and hope; and, by and by, Tonti dropped in to their relief, not with news of the missing ship, nor even with all the missing people, but with a canoe-full of good dry venison, most relishing to oil-deluged stomachs.

It was clear to La Salle, that he was in an awkward position; his vessel gone, no one knew how nor whither, and winter close upon him. If the rivers froze before he could get to the south, ruin and starvation were like to be his fireside comforters. So he made up his mind at once to push on without waiting for the *Griffin*.

On the 3d of December, therefore, having mustered all his men, he placed a garrison of ten in his Fort of the Miamis, and with the remainder, thirty working men and three monks, started again upon his "great voyage and glorious undertaking."*

By a short portage they passed to the Illinois, and "fell down the said river by easie journeys, the better to observe

* Charlevoix, *New France*, (Vol. II. p. 269,) tells us, that La Salle returned from the fort of the Miamis to Fort Frontenac; but Hennepin, and the journal published as Tonti's, agree that he went on, and tell a more consistent story than the historian.

that countrey." This country consisted, in the main, of quaking bogs, where with great difficulty could a man find footing; all which answers to that about the Kaukakee. Through this swamp our adventurers floated on leisurely, sometimes in great straits for food, and, about the last of December, reached a village of the Illinois Indians containing some five hundred cabins, but, at that moment, no inhabitants. The Sieur La Salle, being in great want of bread-stuffs, took advantage of this absence of the Indians to help himself to a sufficiency of maize, of which large quantities were found hidden in holes under the huts or wigwams. This village was, as near as we can judge, not far from the spot marked on our maps as Rock Fort, in La Salle county, Illinois. The corn being got aboard, the voyagers betook themselves to the stream again, and toward evening on the 4th of January, 1780, fell into a lake, which must have been the lake of Peoria, where they caught "some excellent fish," wherewith to season their corn. While the prospect of a good supper was filling all minds, unluckily bands of savages appeared, one on each bank of the river, and they found their evening meal was likely to be a stomach full of fighting, instead of fried fish. But, as it soon seemed, the Indians were as much and as disagreeably surprised as the whites; and, when all were waiting the onset, "contented themselves," as we are told, "to ask us who we were; being naturally inclined to peace." The Frenchmen having answered this appropriate question in a satisfactory manner, the Illinois received them, "not as savages use to do, but as men well-bred and civilized." Indeed, they brought out for the new comers, "beef and stag, and all sorts of venison and fowls," which politeness the Europeans, (in a most typical manner,) repaid by bumpers of brandy, and discharges of fire-arms; and the feast lasted three whole days, the white and red men fraternizing and embracing in a manner most entirely French; so that, says the writer from whom we quote, "we discovered in the Illinois a great humanity, and a good disposition to civil society."* This tribe, if we may credit the early writers, had really something very French in them; they were "flatterers, complaisant, cunning, and dexterous." Hunting was

* *Last Discoveries of La Salle*, published with Tonti's name. See *post* as to authority.

their great delight, and their habits were effeminate and dissolute ; yet they knew the character of their conduct, and paid a kind of homage to virtue by preserving appearances.

In the midst of this nation, La Salle determined to build another fort, for he found that already some of the neighbouring tribes were trying to disturb the good feeling which existed ; and, moreover, some of his own men were disposed to complain. A spot upon rising ground, near the river, was accordingly chosen about the middle of January, and the fort of *Crèvecœur* (Broken Heart), commenced ; which doleful name was expressive of the very natural anxiety and sorrow, which the pretty certain loss of his *Griffin*, and his consequent impoverishment (for there were no insurance offices then), the danger of hostility on the part of the Indians, and of mutiny on the part of his own men, might well cause him.

Nor were his fears by any means groundless. In the first place, his discontented followers, and afterwards emissaries from the Mascoutens, tried to persuade the Illinois that he was a friend of the Iroquois, their most deadly enemies ; and that he was among them for the purpose of enslaving them. But La Salle was an honest and fearless man, and, as soon as coldness and jealousy appeared on the part of his hosts, he went to them boldly and asked the cause, and by his frank statements preserved their good feeling and good will. His disappointed enemies, then, or at some other time, for it is not very clear when,* tried poison ; and, but for "a dose of good treacle," La Salle might have ended his days in his Fort Crèvecœur.

Meanwhile the winter wore away, and the prairies were getting to look green again ; but our discoverer heard no good news, received no reinforcement ; his property was gone, his men were fast leaving him, and he had little left but his own strong heart. The second year of his hopes, and toils, and failures was half gone, and he further from his object than ever ; but still he had that strong heart, and it was more than men and money. He saw that he must go back to Canada, raise new means, and enlist new men ; but he did not dream, therefore, of relinquishing his projects.

* Charlevoix says, it was at the close of 1679 ; Hennepin, that they did not reach the Illinois, till January 4th, 1680. We have no means of deciding, but follow Hennepin, who is particular as to date, and was present.

On the contrary, he determined that, while he was on his return, a small party should go down to the Mississippi and explore that stream toward its sources ; and that Tonti, with the few men that remained, should strengthen and extend his relations among the Indians.

For the leaders of the Mississippi exploring party, which was to consist of eight, he chose M. Dacan and Father Louis Hennepin ; and, having furnished them with all the necessary articles, started them upon their voyage on the last day of February, 1680.

And here we must stop our narrative, and indulge our readers with a little criticism. One of the historians of La Salle's progress so far, and the one whom we have chiefly followed, has been the worthy Recollet, Father Louis Hennepin. This same personage was the historian of the expedition to which, as we have just stated, he was attached. In the narrative of this expedition as first printed, generally known as his "Louisiana," he claimed to have done what was ordered, that is, to have gone from the mouth of the Illinois *up* the Mississippi ; but some years after, claimed to have gone *down* the Father of Waters, and discovered its mouth, and published the journal of his voyage, in the volume known as his "New Discovery." The authenticity of this journal was doubted, of course ; but the friar said, that La Salle was so jealous lest he should forestall him in his discoveries, that he dared not publish that journal in France, where his first account was put forth. People still shook their heads at Father Louis, however, and have continued to shake them to this day. Mr. Sparks, in the work before us, denies Hennepin's claim entirely, and so have many other historical scholars ; but we are not aware of any thorough critical statement of the grounds which exist for thinking the reverend Father so great a liar.* As we have no doubt that he was distinguished in that line, we will ask our reader's patience while we state them.

And, in the first place, we would remark, that the long-existing desire which Hennepin had felt to be a discoverer, and which seems to have been a passion with him, gives us a motive for his claim to be a discoverer, which, though no

* Partial statements may be found in the *Journal* of Andrew Ellicott, Philad. 1803, and in Stoddard's *Sketches of Louisiana.*

argument against his veracity, adds weight to the circumstantial evidence upon which we have to rely for a conviction. Another circumstance worthy of note for the same reason, is the importance which the Recollet assumes to himself throughout his narrative. La Salle is sent from below with provisions for the ship which "*we*" were building; all the forts are joint work; all plans are joint plans; for his "we" does not refer to the party, but to La Salle and himself; evidently they appear in his eyes to be joint commanders. This mode of self-glorification reaches its height at the point where La Salle determines to send men to the Mississippi, while he returns to Canada; for not only does Father Louis make the whole thing result from a consultation between himself and the commander, but he entirely drops poor M. Dacan, who, from the narrative claiming to be by Tonti, and the history of Charlevoix, appears to have been the head of the band; does not mention his name even; but makes himself sole commander, historian, and lieutenant, having under him two canoe-men. And a strong evidence of looseness in his ideas of truth-telling is to be found in the fortieth chapter of his "New Discovery," where he assures us, that Joliet had often informed him, that he had never been further west than the land of the Hurons and Ottawas, (Outtawaats.) Now there is falsity here somewhere, and far more reason to think that it came from Hennepin than from Joliet.

Turning to the Journal, the veracity of which is in question, we are at once struck by the mode in which it is interpolated into the midst of the first published volume on Louisiana. For the "New Discovery" is not a new work, but is, in the main, a reprint of the "Louisiana," as far as the close of the thirty-sixth chapter, the last sentence of which begins the new Journal; the paragraph preceding, which in the "Louisiana" had been followed by the second paragraph of the forty-fourth chapter of the "New Discovery," being in substance repeated at the beginning of that forty-fourth chapter, in order to keep up the old connexion. Looking a little further, we find, that in this interpolating no change of dates has been made, to suit the altered circumstances. In the "Louisiana" * we are told, that on the 29th of February, 1680, Hennepin and his comrades left Fort Crèvecœur; that

* We use the Amsterdam edition, of 1688.

on the 7th of March they met with the Tamaroa Indians, about two leagues from the mouth of the Illinois ; that the ice in the Mississippi detained them at the mouth of the stream they had descended, until the 12th of March ; that they then began to sound and examine the Mississippi, which, with its tributaries, is described at some length ; and finally, that, upon the 11th of April, they were taken by the savages, two hundred miles above the Illinois. In the "New Discovery" the same account is given as to the time of leaving the Fort, the events of the 7th of March, and the delay until the 12th, in consequence of ice ; then comes the interpolated journal, and it begins by saying, that on the 8th they started to go down the Mississippi. Then follow the events of the 9th, 10th, and 11th of March ; and all this is related without any perception apparently, that the story contradicts itself. But the close of the inserted Journal is worse than the beginning ; for we are told, that, upon the 1st of April, the voyagers left the mouth of the Mississippi upon their return to the north, that, upon the 9th of that month, they reached the Arkansas, and upon the 12th were taken by the savages one hundred and fifty leagues above the Illinois river ; and then follow the events of the 13th ! So fearless is Father Hennepin, that he does not hesitate to insert into his old account a new one, which informs us, that he and two men paddled a canoe upon the Mississippi, at the rate of sixteen or eighteen miles an hour, for sixty hours without cessation. His first account is not in any point incredible so far as we have examined it, and, in respect to dates and distances, is quite reasonable. According to that we have him going up the Great river at the rate of five leagues a day, about the usual distance made by canoe-men, including stoppages, as we learn from Charlevoix ; but when, in the thirty days which passed between our Reverend narrator's leaving the Illinois, and his seizure by the Indians, we have to go with him over eight hundred and twenty leagues (according to his own account), that is, twenty-seven a day, it makes our souls faint.

Nor is the substance of the inserted Journal down the Mississippi any more in its favor than are its dates. It was published in Utrecht in 1697, the very year in which the account claiming to be written by Tonti was printed in Paris. This last-named work, whatever may be its authenticity (of which more anon), was written by one well acquainted with

the facts of La Salle's journey ; and when we find, as we do, a strong resemblance between Hennepin's story and Tonti's, and also discover that the former contains nothing, not so much as the name of any tribe, which the latter does not, while it omits some things and names which the latter contains, we cannot but suspect that our Recollet copied his tale from the narrative just published under Tonti's name. Where, for instance, Tonti tells us that the Indians were absent from their town in 1683, Hennepin says they were so in 1680. Where Tonti found a village with dead bodies in the wigwams, Hennepin did also three years before. Where La Salle was received with ceremony and kindness, Father Louis had been so. Where the former heard only the drums of a nation, and saw nothing of them, the latter also heard their drums. In short, all of Hennepin's Journal, except what relates to his own actions, may have been taken from Tonti's, the general accuracy of which is confirmed by all contemporary accounts ; and, though we have no means of knowing which was published earliest in the year 1697,* we have, upon the whole, little doubt that Tonti's was, and that Father Louis quietly helped himself therefrom, and in his haste omitted to preserve the due consistency of time.

Having thus examined the claims to credit of Hennepin's Journal down the Mississippi, let us take a look at that published under Tonti's name.

In our July number we referred to this work incidentally, as being but little known to our writers on Western History.† We had not, at that time, examined its claims, but took it upon the faith of the New York Historical Society, and Mr. Adams ; and it may be, that in our remarks we did that generally accurate writer, Dr. Holmes, wrong, as he may have examined and rejected the volume. That Flint, Hall, or Butler had made any such examination, we think altogether improbable. Our confidence in Tonti's Journal was increased by the coincidence of its statements with those of Charlevoix, who, though he calls it a romance and fiction, confirms it in almost every detail, so far as he gives details. Three distinct charges he brings against it ;‡ one relating to

* The printing of Tonti's, we see by the original edition, was finished January 21st.

† *North American Review*, Vol. XLVII., p. 5.

‡ *New France*, Vol. II. pp. 271, 277.

Hennepin's voyage up the Mississippi, which was given by the writer of Tonti's journal at second-hand of course; another touching the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi, a point very open to error, and where an error of great importance had been made in printing, as is proved by the map, which gives this latitude four degrees nearer the truth than the text does;* and a third, of a more tangible kind, namely, that it is said, the canoes were paddled up stream fifty leagues in one day. This, however, we found to be a mistake by Charlevoix himself, the Journal stating that seven days were consumed in going the fifty leagues to the point where the Mississippi divides into separate channels, and one to where these unite near the sea;† Charlevoix misread the Journal, and applied the one day's journey to the point of separation instead of the point of union. Finding this to be the case, we were not disposed to reject the Journal on Charlevoix's testimony; but more lately have learned some facts that are more to the point, and which we will now lay before our readers in few words.

In the third volume of Charlevoix's history, at page 385, we find it written, that when D'Iberville visited the mouth of the Mississippi after La Salle's death, he there met with Tonti, and having asked him about the *Relation* published with his name, Tonti replied, that he had no hand in that work, but that it was prepared by some Parisian adventurer from imperfect documents, and that his name had been put to it to make it sell. It is not very clear whence the historian got this fact, but if, as is probable, from one of D'Iberville's letters, (for he speaks of having seen some of them,) there is no more to be said.

Nor is this all, for in the eleventh volume of the *Lettres Edifiantes*, at page 308, (we use the original Paris edition, published from year to year,) is a letter from Marest, a missionary, stating that Tonti had likewise denied the work in question to him.

It is undeniable, therefore, that the volume originally published in Paris in 1697, as by Tonti, is of very doubtful authenticity, though in most points it must be correct, as it

* Joutel's *Journal*, Preface. The only original copy of the *Journal* published as by Tonti, which we have seen, (that in Harvard College Library,) has no map.

† *New York Historical Collections*, Vol. II. p. 281.

agrees in most points with Charlevoix's account, which was drawn from independent sources.*

Here we are, therefore, upon the banks of the Illinois, without an historian of personal experience to guide us beyond this 1st of March, 1680. Hennepin, whom we have followed (under Charlevoix's eye, however,) thus far, is off upon his own travels northward ; and Tonti, whose aid we fondly hoped for, vanishes utterly. In this strait we have no resource left us but to follow the historian of New France, on whom alone we henceforth rely.

A few words, however, should be given to our old, but false friend, the Recollet, who, with his two canoe-men, to say nothing of the mysterious M. Dacan and four nameless shadows, was, upon the 11th or 12th of April, taken by the Indians. This seizure was made somewhere near Black River, and they were forthwith carried into unknown regions in the north, going as high, at any rate, as the Falls of St. Anthony, which Father Louis named.† They, or some of them, returned to Canada in a year from that time, coming by the route pursued by Marquette when going ; and, in 1683, we have the Friar in Paris, publishing his "Louisiana." After that time, he made no stir in America ; but continued to put forth his "Voyages in France and Holland," and is soon lost to our sight.

Once more, then, we turn to that not undeserving person, our Chevalier ; who remained, when Dacan was sent away, at Fort Crèvecœur. Here, to what end we know not, he stayed till the following November, as though he had been a man of fortune and leisure ; and then started for Canada again, leaving Tonti and his men among the Illinois. Upon his way up the river, he was struck by the advantages of a high rock upon the bank, and at once determined to have a fort there. He accordingly laid one out, and, sending the plan to Tonti by some stragglers, desired him to complete it. This the lieutenant tried to do ; but had scarce struck spade into the earth, when those he had left at Fort Crèvecœur revolted, and he was forced to return thither at once, or all

* We thought at one time, that we were about to save our friend Tonti after all, as we got trace of a work with his name, called *Relation de la Louisiane*, &c. which we hoped might prove the fraudulent work ; but the *Biographie Universelle*, Paris edition of 1811 to 1837, informs us, that this is the old volume under a new name. See Art. *Tonti*.

† See Schoolcraft's *Travels ;* and Long's *Second Expedition*.

would be lost ; so the new fort on the hill remained unfinished. This new fort was afterwards called Fort St. Louis, and was the place under Tonti's command when La Salle returned to France. It was, as far as we can judge, at the spot called in our day, Rock Fort, La Salle county, Illinois.

The truth was, these French among the Indians led too easy a life altogether, and became too much attached to it to be willing to make new forts or defend old ones ; so that our lieutenant found himself left with seven or eight men. This was at the close of 1680 ; and with this diminutive garrison, to which a stray Frenchman, or a spoiled Indian, now and then joined himself, Tonti worried along till September, 1681,* when, to his surprise and horror, there came in sight a large body of Iroquois warriors, irritated, not wearied, by their long journey across the wilderness. Of the various doings with these savages, the self-constituted M. Tonti gives a full account, while Charlevoix only tells us, that the Italian tried to act as a mediator between the Iroquois and Illinois, for whom, and not for the French, the visit seems to have been intended, but tried to little purpose, the New York savages being very unappeasable. The end of the matter, however, by all accounts, was, that Tonti found himself under the necessity of abandoning the Illinois, and quietly creeping back to Canada with five men. This was in the middle of September, 1681 ; and in October he reached Lake Michigan, upon the shores of which he remained through the winter.

La Salle, meanwhile, had returned to Canada, as we have said ; there he busied himself in his old way, raising recruits, gathering funds, and building vessels wherewith to carry on the trade upon which he must live ; and, in the spring of 1682, we find him once more upon the Illinois, manning Crèvecœur, finishing Fort St. Louis, and in one way or another killing time until August, when once more he must back to Fort Frontenac, and muster all his forces for his Second Voyage.

This second voyage commenced upon the Illinois river, in January, 1683 ;† but, as there was much ice to impede our

* Charlevoix says 1680, but La Salle did not go back till November, 1680.

† The Introduction to Joutel's *Journal* (p. xx.) tells us, that even then, in 1714, the second voyage of La Salle was variously represented as in 1682 and 1683, and Charlevoix writes it as in 1682 ; but, by examining his

voyagers, it was the 2d of February when they reached the Mississippi, and the 9th of April when they came to its mouth; that is, it took them twice as long to go down the Mississippi as it did Hennepin (on paper) to go and come again. Of this passage Charlevoix gives us no details; but the professed Tonti is more generous, and displays for our entertainment and edification, the banks of the Illinois river, "covered over with pomegranate-trees, orange-trees, and lemon-trees"; the "Chicacha" Indians, with "faces flat like plates, which is reckoned among them for a stroke of beauty"; the "crocodiles" which come "into the world but like a chicken, being hatched of an egg"; the Indian women of the Tacucas, to one of whom he gave a pair of "cizars," who in return squeezed his hand so hard as to give him reason to think, that those women "might easily be tamed by us, and taught the politer arts of conversation"; and, also, the pearl oysters of the Natchez, the shells of which "you may see on a fair day open themselves to receive the dew of heaven; which dew breeds the first seeds of the pearl within the shells."

It is grievous to think, that all these details must be put aside as not legitimate, even if true; and nothing be left us of La Salle's second voyage but the barren date of his arrival at the seashore, and the yet more unsatisfactory statement, that he returned to Quebec some time in 1683, (it is by no means clear when, for Charlevoix has his dates tangled,) and that afterwards he embarked for France on the 9th of November, 1683, as we learn from the Baron Hontan. To these husks is plain history unhappily confined.*

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dates, it is made evident that he dropped a year; and the Journal of Tonti, in the main facts of which, whoever wrote it, we have great confidence, makes 1683 the year; we therefore adopt that. In our 99th Number, (p. 417,) it was stated, on Charlevoix's authority, that La Salle reached the Mississippi in 1682. This we may here correct; and also a misprint in our 94th Number, p. 64, where the year of this discovery is printed 1681.

* Charlevoix's dates stand thus; The summer of 1679 was spent in preparing to get off the *Griffin;* she was finished in August; on the 28th of February, 1680, Dacan left Crèvecœur; La Salle stayed there till *November* (1680 of course); *not long after* came the Iroquois, and Tonti was forced away, *September* 11th, 1680 (Tonti's narrative says 1681); a year passes, and in February, 1682, the Mississippi is reached; on the 15th of May (1682), La Salle falls sick coming up the Mississippi, and does not reach Quebec till the spring of 1683, and embarks some months after. But Tonti's account (so called) is clearer; a year is passed in Crèvecœur after La Salle leaves it; the Mississippi is reached in 1683; in May, 1683, La Salle falls

One other and very familiar thing we find on record; trouble in Canada; the governor and the intendant quarrelling, and both recalled; the Indians threatening; and a new governor appointed, M. de la Barre, who began his administration by accusing La Salle of being a rogue, a rioter, a fomenter of discord, and a general nuisance in the colony.*

But La Salle had, fortunately, a most able advocate in France, for he was there in person; and the whole nation being stirred by the story of the new discoveries, of which Hennepin had published his first account some months before La Salle's return, our hero found ears open to drink in his words, and imaginations warmed to make the most of them. The minister, Seignelay, desired to see the adventurer, and he soon won his way to whatever heart that man had; for it could not have required much talk with La Salle to have been satisfied of his sincerity, enthusiasm, energy, and bravery. The tales of the new governor fell dead, therefore, and the king listened to the prayer of his subject, that a fleet might be sent to take possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, and so that great country of which he told them be secured to France. The king listened; and soon the town of Rochelle was busy with the stir of artisans, ship-riggers, adventurers, soldiers, sailors, and all that varied crowd which in those days looked into the dim West for a land where wealth and life were to be had for the seeking.

Of this third voyage of La Salle, let us be thankful that we have a full and true history. We no longer follow the fame and not truth loving Hennepin, the ghost of a Tonti, or the somewhat inaccurate and second-hand Charlevoix. We have now as our guide and comforter the worthy Monsieur Joutel, a commander and actor in that same expedition; a man of accuracy and unquestioned truth, and whose volume, as translated into English, and published in London by A. Bell, at the "Cross Keys and Bible," Cornhill, in 1714, now lies before us.

On the 24th of July, 1684, twenty-four vessels sailed from Rochelle for America, four of which were for the discovery

sick, and in September of that year reaches Michillimackinac, and in a month or more sails for France; to bring him out right Charlevoix has to keep him sick a year.

* Charlevoix's *New France*, Vol. II. p. 286.

and settlement of the famed Louisiana. These four carried two hundred and eighty persons, including the crews ; there were soldiers, artificers, and volunteers, and also "some young women." There is no doubt that this brave fleet started full of light hearts, and vast, vague hopes ; but, alas ! it had scarce started when discord began ; for La Salle and the commander of the fleet, M. de Beaujeu, were well fitted to quarrel one with the other, but never to work together. In truth, our hero seems to have been nowise amiable, for he was overbearing, harsh, and probably selfish to the full extent to be looked for in a man of worldly ambition. However, in one of the causes of quarrel which arose during the passage, he acted, if not with policy, certainly with boldness and humanity. It was when they came to the Tropic of Cancer, where, in those times, it was customary to baptize all green hands, as is still sometimes done under the Equator. On this occasion, the sailors of La Salle's little squadron promised themselves rare sport and much plunder, grog, and other good things, the forfeit paid by those who do not wish a seasoning ; but all these expectations were stopped, and hope turned into hate, by the express and emphatic statement on the part of La Salle, that no man under his command should be ducked, whereupon the commander of the fleet was forced to forbid the ceremony.

With such beginnings of bickering and dissatisfaction the Atlantic was slowly crossed, and, upon the 20th of September, the island of St. Domingo was reached. Here certain arrangements were to be made with the colonial authorities ; but, as they were away, it became necessary to stop there for a time. And a sad time it was. The fever seized the newcomers ; the ships were crowded with sick ; La Salle himself was brought to the verge of the grave ; and, when he recovered, the first news that greeted him, was that one of his four vessels, the one wherein he had embarked his stores and implements, had been taken by the Spaniards. The sick man had to bestir himself thereupon to procure new supplies ; and, while he was doing so, his enemies were also bestirring themselves to seduce his men from him, so that what with death and desertion, he was like to have a small crew at the last. But energy did much ; and, on the 25th of November, the first of the remaining vessels, she that was

"to carry the light," sailed for the coast of America. In her went La Salle, and our writer, Joutel.

For a whole month were our disconsolate sailors sailing, and sounding, and stopping to take in water and shoot alligators, and drifting in utter uncertainty, until, on the 28th of December, the mainland was fairly discovered. But "there being" as Joutel says, "no man among them who had any knowledge of that Bay," it was not strange, that they went feeling and trembling like one that in the dark seeks for a door; and so, feeling and stumbling, and ever fearful of knocking their noses by venturing too near the wall, they went past the very Mississippi-door which they sought; and in a most useless and melancholy manner, quarrelling and bickering, wore away the whole month of January, 1685. At last, La Salle, out of patience, determined to land some of his men, and go along the shore toward the point where he believed the mouth of the Mississippi to be, and our friend Joutel was appointed one of the commanders of this exploring party. They started on the 4th of February, and travelled eastward, (for it was clear that they had passed the door,) during three days, when they came to a great river which they could not cross, having no boats. Here they made fire-signals, and, on the 13th, two of the vessels came in sight; the mouth of the river, or entrance of the bay, for such it proved to be, was forthwith sounded, and the barks sent in to be under shelter. But, sad to say, La Salle's old fortune was at work here again; for the vessel which bore his provisions and most valuable stores, was run upon a shoal by the grossest neglect, or, as Joutel thinks, with malice prepense; and, soon after, the wind coming in strong from the sea, she fell to pieces in the night, and the bay was full of casks and packages, which could not be saved, or were worthless when drawn from the salt water. From this untimely fate our poor adventurer rescued but a small half of his second stock of indispensables.

Who can help pitying this unlucky La Salle? Full of genius, he plans one of the grandest of modern operations,—the union of Canada with the Gulf of Mexico. Full of energy, dogged perseverance, undaunted courage, he tries to execute his plan; at every step he meets some difficulty; his own men, his fellow-countrymen, the Iroquois, the very elements throw blocks in his way, and he falls again and

again. But from each fall he rises with new strength. Having nothing at the outset, he builds vessels, and raises and equips men; when the vessels are lost, he builds others; when the men desert, he musters new recruits; and so, during four long years, battles with Fortune unweariedly, and at length makes known the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to the mouth. And now, when it would seem that his future might be easier, and his fortune milder, again, all things conspire against him; two outfits are lost before his enterprise is under way; one company of followers has mostly deserted him, and now another threatens to do likewise. But was it indeed Fortune that for ever heaped evil on his head? Not wholly; we see enough of La Salle, dim as his features are to us, to see that loveliness was no trait of his. He bound none to him by the only indissoluble cord, affection. Men stood aloof, or worked with, not for him; from fear, or selfish ambition, never (unless somewhat in Tonti's case) from that personal reverence and love, which bound men to Washington; and of his misfortunes a large proportion came from the ill-will of his enemies.

But leaving such thoughts, let us look at our friend the Chevalier's condition in the middle of March, 1685. Beaujeu, with his ship, is gone, leaving his comrades in the marshy wilderness, with not much of joy to look forward to. They had guns and powder and shot; eight cannon, too, "but not one bullet," that is, cannon-ball, the naval gentlemen having refused to give them any. And here are our lonely settlers, building a fort upon the shores of the Bay of St. Louis, as they called it, known to us as the Bay of St. Bernard. They build from the wreck of their ship, we cannot think with light hearts; every plank and timber tells of past ill luck, and, as they look forward, there is vision of irritated savages (for there had been warring already), of long search for the *Hidden River*,* of toils and dangers in its ascent when reached. No wonder, that "during that time several men deserted." So strong was the fever for desertion, that, of some who stole away and were retaken, it was found necessary to execute one, while the others were condemned "to serve the King ten years in that country"; a mode of

* So the Spaniards called the Mississippi.

punishment, which may be termed nominal, probably, it being a sort of forced enlistment on the part of our Chevalier.

And now La Salle prepares to issue from his nearly completed fort, to look round and see where he is. He has still a good force, some hundred and fifty people; and, by prompt and determined action, much may be done between this last of March and next autumn. In the first place, the river falling into the Bay of St. Louis is examined, and a new fort commenced in that neighbourhood, where seed is planted also; for the men begin to tire of meat and fish, with spare allowance of bread, and no vegetables. But the old luck is at work still. The seed will not sprout; men desert; the fort goes forward miserably slow; and at last, three months and more gone to no purpose, Joutel and his men, who are still hewing timber at the first fort, are sent for, and told to bring their timber with them in a float. The float or raft was begun "with immense labor," says the wearied historian, but all to no purpose, for the weather was so adverse, that it had to be all taken apart again and buried in the sand. Empty-handed, therefore, Joutel sought his superior, the effects being left at a post by the way. And he came to a scene of desolation; men sick, and no houses to put them in; all the looked-for crop blasted; and not a ray of comfort from any quarter.

"Well," said La Salle, "we must now muster all hands, and build ourselves 'a large lodgment.'" But there was no timber within a league; and not a cart nor a bullock to be had, for the buffaloes, though abundant, were ill broken to such labor. If done, this dragging must be done by men; so, over the long grass and weeds of the prairie-plain, they dragged some sticks, with vast suffering. Afterwards the carriage of a gun was tried; but it would not do; "the ablest men were quite spent." Indeed, heaving and hauling over that damp plain, and under that July sun, might have tried the constitution of the best of Africans; and of the poor Frenchmen thirty died, worn out. The carpenter was lost; and, worse still, La Salle, wearied, worried, disappointed, lost his temper and insulted the men. So closed July; our Chevalier turned carpenter, marking out the tenons and mortises of what timber he could get, and growing daily more cross. In March we thought much might be done before

autumn, and now autumn stands but one month removed from us, and not even a house built yet.

And August soon passed too, not without results, however; for the timber that had been buried below was got up, and a second house built, "all covered with planks and bullock's hides over them."

And now once more was La Salle ready to seek the Mississippi. First, he thought he would try with the last of the four barks with which he left France; the bark *La Belle*, "a little frigate, carrying six guns," which the King had given our Chevalier to be his navy. But, after having put all his clothes and valuables on board of her, he determined to try with twenty men to reach his object by land. This was in December, 1685. From this expedition he did not return until March, 1686, when he came to his fort again, ragged, hatless, and worn down, with six or seven followers at his heels, his travels having been all in vain. It was not very encouraging; but, says Joutel, "we thought only of making ourselves as merry as we could." The next day came the rest of the party, who had been sent to find the little frigate, which should have been in the bay. They came mournfully, for the little frigate could not be found, and she had all La Salle's best effects on board.

The bark was gone; but our hero's heart was still beating in his bosom, a little cracked and shaken, but strong and iron-bound still. So, borrowing some changes of linen from Joutel, toward the latter end of April he again set forth, he and twenty men, each with his pack, "to look for his river," as our writer aptly terms it. Some days after his departure, the bark *La Belle* came to light again; for she was not lost, but only ashore. Deserted by her forlorn and diminished crew, however, she seems to have been suffered to break up and go to pieces in her own way, for we hear no more of the little frigate.

And now, for a time, things went on pretty smoothly. There was even a marriage at the fort; and "Monsieur le Marquis de la Sablonière" wished to act as groom in a second, but Joutel absolutely refused. By and by, however, the men, seeing that La Salle did not return, "began to mutter." There were even proposals afloat to make way with our friend Joutel, and start upon a new enterprise; the leader in which half-formed plan was one Sieur Duhaut, an

unsafe man, and inimical to La Salle, who had, probably, maltreated him somewhat. Joutel, however, learned the state of matters, and put a stop to all such proceedings. Knowing idleness to be a root of countless evils, he made his men work and dance as long as there was vigor enough in them to keep their limbs in motion; and in such manner the summer passed away, until in August La Salle returned. He had been among the Indians in the north of Mexico, and also toward the Mississippi, had traded with them, and brought home five horses; but, of the twenty men he had taken with him, only eight returned, some having fallen sick, some having died, and others deserted. He had not found "his river," though he had been so far in that direction; but he came back full of spirits, "which," says our writer, "revived the lowest ebb of hope." He was all ready, too, to start again at once, to seek the Mississippi, and go onward to Canada, and thence to France, to get new recruits and supplies; but "it was determined to let the great heats pass before that enterprise was taken in hand." And the heats passed, but with them our hero's health, so that the proposed journey was delayed from time to time until the 12th of January, 1687.

On that day started the last company of La Salle's adventurers, seventeen in number. Among them went the discontented Duhaut; and all took their "leaves with so much tenderness and sorrow as if they had all presaged that they should never see each other more." They went northwest along the bank of the river on which their fort stood, until they came to where the streams running toward the coast were fordable, and then turned eastward, as in that direction they hoped to find the Mississippi. From the 12th of January till the 15th of March did they thus journey across that southern country, crossing "curious meadows," through which ran "several little brooks of very clear and good water," which, with the tall trees, all of a size, and planted as if by a line, "afforded a most delightful landskip." They met many Indians too, with whom La Salle established relations of peace and friendship. Game was abundant, "plenty of foul, and particularly of turkeys," was there, which was "an ease to their sufferings"; and so they still toiled on in shoes of green bullocks' hide, which, dried by the sun, pinched cruelly, until, following the tracks of the buffaloes,

who choose by instinct the best ways, they had come to a pleasanter country than they had yet passed through, and were far toward the long-sought Father of Waters.

On the 15th of March, La Salle, recognising the spot where they then were as one through which he had passed in his former journey, and near which he had hidden some beans and Indian wheat, ordered the Sieurs Duhaut, Hiens, Liotot the surgeon, and some others, to go and seek them. This they did, but found that the food was all spoiled, so they turned toward the camp again. While coming campward they chanced upon two bullocks, which were killed by one of La Salle's hunters, who was with them. So they sent the commander word that they had killed some meat, and that, if he would have the flesh dried, he might send horses to carry it to the place where he lay ; and, meanwhile, they cut up the bullocks, and took out the marrow-bones, and laid them aside for their own choice eating, as was usual to do. When La Salle heard of the meat that had been taken, he sent his nephew and chief confidant, M. Moranget, with one De Male, and his own footman, giving them orders to send all that was fit to the camp at once. M. Moranget, when he came to where Duhaut and the rest were, and found that they had laid by for themselves the marrow-bones, became angry, took from them their choice pieces, threatened them, and spoke harsh words. This treatment touched these men, already not well pleased, to the quick ; and, when it was night, they took counsel together how they might best have their revenge. The end of such counselling, where anger is foremost, and the wilderness is all about one, needs scarce to be told ; " we will have their blood, all that are of that party shall die," said these malcontents. So, when M. Moranget and the rest had supped and fallen asleep, Liotot the surgeon took an axe, and with few strokes killed them all ; all that were of La Salle's party, even his poor Indian hunter, because he was faithful ; and, lest De Male might not be with them (for him they did not kill), they forced him to stab M. Moranget, who had not died by the first blow of Liotot's axe, and then threw them out for the carrion-birds to feast on.

This murder was done upon the 17th of March. And at once the murderers would have killed La Salle, but he and his men were on the other side of a river, and the water for two days was so high they could not cross ; so they sat, eat-

ing of their bullocks, and meditating what they had done and must yet do. There was, beyond doubt, less sweetness in those marrow-bones which they had won so dearly, than they had hoped for.

La Salle on his part was growing anxious too; his nephew so long absent, what meant it? and he went about asking if Duhaut had not been a malcontent; but none said, Yes. Doubtless there was something in La Salle's heart, which told him his followers had cause to be his foes. It was now the 20th of the month, and he could not forbear setting out to seek his lost relative. Leaving Joutel in command, therefore, he started with a Franciscan monk and one Indian. Coming near the hut which the murderers had put up, though still on the opposite side of the river, he saw carrion-birds hovering near, and, to call attention if any were there, fired a shot. There were keen and watching ears and eyes there; the gun told them to be quick, for their prey was in the net; so, at once, Duhaut and another crossed the river, and, while the first hid himself among the tall weeds, the latter showed himself to La Salle at a good distance off. Going instantly to meet him, the fated man passed near to the spot where Duhaut lay hid. The traitor lay still till he came opposite; then, raising his piece, shot his commander through the brain, "so that he dropped down dead on the spot, without speaking one word."

Thus fell La Salle, on the threshold of success. No man had more strongly all the elements that would have borne him safe through, if we except that element which insures affection. "He had a capacity and talent," says Joutel, one of his staunchest friends, "to make his enterprise successful; his constancy, and courage, and extraordinary knowledge in arts and sciences, which rendered him fit for any thing, together with an indefatigable body, which made him surmount all difficulties, would have procured a glorious issue to his undertaking, had not all those excellent qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a behaviour, which sometimes made him insupportable, and by a rigidness toward those that were under his command, which at last drew on him an implacable hatred, and was the occasion of his death."

La Salle died, as far as we can judge, upon a branch of Trinity River.*

* Map in Charlevoix, Vol. III., where the spot is marked.

And now, the leader being killed, his followers toiled on mournfully, and in fear, each of the others, — Duhaut assuming the command, — until May. Then there arose a difference among them as to their future course ; and, by and by, things coming to extremities, some of La Salle's murderers turned upon the others, and Duhaut and Liotot were killed by their comrades. So blood is still washed out by blood, and there is ever a stain behind. This done, the now dominant party determined to remain among the Indians, with whom they then were, and where they found some who had been with La Salle in his former expedition, and had deserted. These were living among the savages, painted, and shaved, and naked, with great store of squaws and scalps. But our good Monsieur Joutel was not of this way of thinking ; he and some others still wished to find the Great River and get to Canada. At last, all consenting, he did, with six others, leave the main body, and take up his march for the Illinois, where he hoped to find Tonti, who should have been all this while at Fort St. Louis. This was in May, 1687.

With great labor this little band forced their heavy-laden horses over the fat soil, in which they often stuck fast ; and, daring countless dangers, at length, upon the 24th of July, reached the Arkansas, where they found a post containing a few Frenchmen, who had been placed there by Tonti. Here they stayed a little while, and then went forward again, until, upon the 14th of September, they reached Fort Louis, upon the Illinois. At this post, Joutel remained until the following March, — that of 1688, — when he set off for Quebec, which city he reached in the last of July, just four years having passed since he sailed from Rochelle.*

Thus ended La Salle's third and last voyage, producing no permanent settlement ; for the Spaniards came, dismantled the fort upon the Bay of St. Louis, and carried away its garrison, and the Frenchmen who had been left elsewhere in the southwest intermingled with the Indians, until all trace of them was lost.

And so ended our adventurer's endeavours, in defeat.

* We have followed throughout Joutel alone ; Charlevoix vouches for him, (*New France,* Vol. III. 56.) Hennepin gives a second-hand account, drawn from the monks of his order who were with La Salle, which in most points agrees with Joutel's. That given in the *Journal* under Tonti's name is wholly different, and is also professedly second-hand from Cavalier.

Yet he had not worked and suffered in vain. He had thrown open to France and the world an immense and most valuable country; had established several permanent forts, and laid the foundation of more than one settlement there. Peoria, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, to this day, are monuments of La Salle's labors; for, though he founded neither of them, (unless Peoria was built upon the site of Fort Crèvecœur,) it was by those whom he brought into the West, that these places were peopled and civilized. He was, if not the discoverer, the first settler of the Mississippi Valley, and as such deserves to be known and honored.

And now, having buried the gentle Marquette and stout Sieur La Salle, what little interest there may have been in our sketch of western travel in old times is passed away. For, dim as have been the features of these our adventurers, those that succeed to them are ghosts indeed; and our interest in a tale is ever in proportion to the flesh and blood that walk and speak in it; whence novels chain our attention more than history, though there is no doubt, that the events of the true ever surpass in wonder those of the fictitious story.

We have now, among our foremost personages in this shadowy band, the genuine Tonti. Tonti, left by La Salle when he sailed for France, after reaching the Gulf of Mexico, in 1683, remained as commander of that Rock Fort of St. Louis, which he had begun in 1680, and which he now finished. Here he stayed, swaying absolutely the Indian tribes, and acting as viceroy over the unknown and uncounted Frenchmen who were beginning to wander through that beautiful country, making discoveries of which we have no records left. In 1685, looking to meet La Salle, he went down to the mouth of the Mississippi; of which going we have a full account in his apocryphal *Relation*, and an undoubted proof in a letter from him to La Salle, dated April 20th, 1685, written at the village of the Quinipissas, and mourning that they had not met at the mouth of the Mississippi, as had been expected.* Alas! at the very moment that the faithful Tonti was writing his regrets, his friend and commander was looking, with heavy heart, at his men as

* Given in Charlevoix, Vol. III. 383.

they toiled together building, from the wreck of his vessel, the fated fort upon the Bay of St. Louis !

Finding no signs of his old comrade, Tonti turns northward again, and reaching his fort on the Illinois, finds work to do ; for the Iroquois, long threatening, were now in the battle-field, backed by the English, and Tonti, with his western-wild allies, was forced to march and fight. Engaged in this business, he appears to us at intervals in the pages of Charlevoix ; in the fall of 1687 we have him with Joutel, at Fort St. Louis ; in April, 1689, he suddenly appears to us at Crèvecœur, revealed by the Baron La Hontan ; and again, early in 1700, D'Iberville is visited by him at the mouth of the Mississippi. After that we see him no more, and the *Biographie Universelle* tells us, that, though he remained many years in Louisiana, he finally was not there ; but of his death or departure thence no one knows. So vaguely lives and dies the Chevalier Tonti, an Italian by birth, and an old soldier. He had lost his hand by a grenade, at some famous siege of those times, and was, upon the whole, noted in his generation.

Next in sequence, we have a glimpse of the abovenamed Baron La Hontan, discoverer of the Long River, and, as that discovery proves, drawer of a somewhat long bow. By his volumes, published *à la Haye*, in 1706, we learn, that he too warred against the Iroquois in 1687 and 1688 ; and, having gone so far westward as the Lake of the Illinois, thought he would contribute his mite to the discoveries of those times. So, with a sufficient escort, he crossed, by Marquette's old route, Fox River and the Wisconsin, to the Mississippi ; and, turning up that stream, sailed thereon till he came to the mouth of a river, called *Long River*, coming from the West. This river emptied itself (as appears by his map) nearly where the St. Peter's does in our day. Upon this stream, one of immense size, our Baron sailed for eighty and odd days, meeting the most extensive and civilized Indian nations of which we have any account, that is to say, in those regions ; and, after his eighty and odd days' sailing, he got less than half-way to the head of this great river, which was, indeed, not less than two thousand miles long, and, as he learned from the red men, who drew him a map of its course above his stopping-point, led to a lake, whence another river led to the South Sea ; so that at last the

great problem of those days was solved, and the wealth of China and the East thrown open by the Baron de la Hontan.* And why, we might ask the Baron, did you not go and bathe in that South Sea, instead of floating down the Long River again, and paddling up the comparatively inconsiderable Missouri? Probably this question was asked in those days, for we find the Baron's story much doubted and denied, though he was not, like La Salle, an adventurer, but a man in authority, governor of Newfoundland in after days, and well known at home and abroad. Poor Baron, he was, and is well known; but it is as the foolish inventor of a lie, which, lifting him for the moment above his level, made his fall to earth again, deadly. And so he passes.†

And now our sketch becomes dimmer than ever. "La Salle's death," says Charlevoix, in one place, "dispersed the French who had gathered upon the Illinois;" but in another, he speaks of Tonti and twenty Canadians, as established among the Illinois three years after the Chevalier's fate was known there.‡ This, however, is clear, that about 1700 or 1705, the reverend Father Gravier began a mission among the Illinois, at the spot, as the historian of New France says, where Fort St. Louis had been; or, as we should suppose from the letter of Father Gabriel Marest, dated at Cascasquias, November 9th, 1712, somewhere in the neighbourhood of that settlement.§ At any rate, Gravier, and Marest his fellow-laborer, succeeded in gathering a little flock of converted Indians about them, and laid the corner-stone of that permanent French settlement in Illinois, the remains of which astonish the traveller at this day. In 1750, as we are told by one of the missionaries, Vivier, then laboring "aux Illinois," there were in that country five French villages, containing one hundred and forty families, and three villages of colonized natives, numbering not less than six hundred.‖

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* *Voyages de La Hontan*, Vol. I. p. 194.

† See the Preface to Schoolcraft's *Travels*, and Long's *Journey up the St. Peter's*. These men knew the whole ground over which La Hontan says he went; and yet we have at times thought that the Baron may have entered the St. Peter's when filled with the back waters of the Mississippi, and heard from the Indians of the connexion by it and the Red River with Lake Winnipeg, and the communication between that lake and Hudson's Bay, by Nelson River, and, looking westward all the while, turned Hudson's Bay into the South Sea. — See map in Long's *Second Expedition up the St. Peter's*, and La Hontan's maps.

‡ *New France*, Vol. III. pp. 395, 383.

§ *Lettres Edifiantes*, (original edition,) Vol. XI. ‖ Id. Vol. XXVIII. p. 36.

An attempt was also made to build up a settlement at the point where the Ohio and Mississippi join, at all times a favorite spot among planners of towns, and at this moment, if we mistake not, in the process of being made into a town. The first who tried this spot was the Sieur Juchereau, a Canadian gentleman, assisted by Father Mermet, who was to christianize the Mascoutens, of whom a large flock was soon gathered.* But these savages were less docile, pliable, and French, than the Illinois, and with superstitious ardor placed all faith in their magicians or jugglers. Our worthy Father Mermet thought his first step should be to corner and confound these pseudo-priests ; so, in the presence of the assembled colony, he opened an argument with one of them, one whose god was the Buffalo. With cunning questions the wise European puzzled his antagonist, and forced him, at length, to own publicly and directly, that it was not the beast, Buffalo, to which he bowed, but that Spirit which had charge of the beast, and which was unseen, unknown ; nay, still further, the unwise juggler was led to acknowledge, that the Spirit of the Buffalo was worshipful because it was good, and that this was known by the excellency of its charge, the beast in question. "Ah ha!" said the wily schoolman, "now I have you ; for if the excellency of the animal signifies that of its Spirit, and therefore is worshipful, then must you own that the Spirit of man, who is better than any other animal, is better than any other spirit ; and therefore you must worship God." Nothing could be more logical, and no logical "must" more imperative. But the poor wild men laughed at demonstration, and went on worshipping the Buffalo ; for he, and not the God of Father Mermet, had been kind to them ; *he had made the buffaloes, which had supplied them with meat and clothing!* Would not our good Father have done well to try the argument, that he and they were worshipping one Being, the Giver of good gifts ?

But the attempt of our Canadian gentleman and his reverend assistant failed. Sickness came, and, as the savages were ready to believe the white man's God *stronger* than theirs, they (very likely at the suggestion of Father Mermet himself) looked on the epidemic as the effect of his wrath,

* Charlevoix, Vol. III. p. 393. — *Lettres Edifiantes* (selected). Paris Edition of 1809, Vol. VII. p. 127.

kindled by their conduct. So, after trying without success to kill his minister, our missionary, and then to appease him by a procession and prayers, they at last deserted the low and sickly land, and took to their woods and free life again.

Of the date of these doings we find no mention ; but from Vivier's letter, already quoted, it is clear, that, previous to 1750, no settlement existed upon the Ohio or any of its branches, as he enumerates all then in being. The cause of this is not clear, as Hennepin was aware of the existence of "a great river, called Hoio, which passes through the country of the Iroquois," in 1673 or 1674. Indeed, we are told the route from the Lakes by that great river had been explored in 1676 ;* and in Hennepin's volume of 1698 is a short journal, professing to be that sent by La Salle to Count Frontenac, in 1683, which mentions the Maumee and Wabash as the most direct road from Canada to the Mississippi. And yet, though we hear of journeying by this way, there is no record of any attempt at a settlement above the mouth of the Ohio before 1750. †

In thus running over the progress of things in Illinois, we have far outrun all dates and times, and must turn back and make known to our readers the doings of the successor of La Salle in the attempt to find the mouth of the Mississippi, Monsieur D'Iberville.

This officer, who from 1694 to 1697 distinguished himself not a little by battles and conquests among the icebergs of the "Baye d'Udson" or Hudson's Bay, ‡ having, in the year last named, returned to France, proposed to the minister to try, what had been given up since La Salle's sad fate, the discovery and settlement of Louisiana by sea. The Count of Pontchartrain, who was then at the head of marine affairs, was led to take an interest in the proposition ; and, upon the 17th of October, 1698, D'Iberville took his leave of France, handsomely equipped for his expedition, and with two good ships to forward him in his attempt. §

Of this D'Iberville we have no very clear notion, except that he was a man of judgment, self-possession, and prompt action. Gabriel Marest presents him to us in the "Baye d'Udson,"

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* *Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, Vol. XIV. p. 758.

† The details of this subject may be presented by us in another paper.

‡ *New France*, Vol. III. pp. 215, 299.— *Lettres Edifiantes*, Vol. X. p. 280.

§ *New France*, Vol. III. p. 377.

his ships crowded and almost crushed by the ice, and his brother, a young, bright boy of nineteen, his favorite brother, just killed by a chance shot from the English fort which they were besieging ; — and there the commander stands on the icy deck, the cold October wind singing in the shrouds, and his dead brother waiting till their lives are secured before he can receive Christian burial, — there he stands, "moved exceedingly," says the missionary, — but giving his orders with a calm face, full tone, and clear mind. "He put his trust on God," says Father Gabriel, "and God consoled him from that day ; the same tide brought both his vessels out of danger, and bore them to the spot where they were wanted."*

Such was the man who, upon the 31st of January, 1699, let go his anchor in the Bay of Mobile. Having looked about him at this spot, he went thence to seek the great river called by the savages, says Charlevoix, "Malbouchia," and by the Spaniards, "la Palissade," from the great number of trees about its mouth. Searching carefully, upon the 2d of March our commander found and entered the Hidden River, whose mouth had been so long and unsuccessfully sought. As soon as this was done, one of the vessels returned to France to carry thither the news of D'Iberville's success, while he turned his prow up the Father of Waters. Slowly ascending the vast stream, he found himself puzzled by the little resemblance which it bore to that described by Tonti and by Hennepin. So great were the discrepances, that he had begun to doubt if he were not upon the wrong river, when an Indian chief sent to him Tonti's letter to La Salle, on which, through fourteen years, those wild men had been looking with wonder and awe. Assured by this that he had indeed reached the desired spot, and wearied probably by his tedious sail thus far, he returned to the Bay of Biloxi, between the Mississippi and the Mobile waters, built a fort in that neighbourhood, and, having manned it in a suitable manner, returned to France himself. †

While he was gone, in the month of September, 1699, the lieutenant of his fort, M. De Bienville, went round to explore the mouths of the Mississippi, and take soundings. Engaged in this business, he had rowed up the main entrance

* *Lettres Edifiantes*, Vol. X. p. 300. † *New France*, Vol. III. p. 380, *et seq.*

some twenty-five leagues, when, unexpectedly and to his no little chagrin, a British corvette came in sight, a vessel carrying twelve cannon, slowly creeping up the swift current. M. Bienville, nothing daunted, though he had but his leads and lines to do battle with, spoke up, and said, that, if this vessel did not leave the river without delay, he had force enough at hand to make her repent it. All which had its effect; the Britons about ship and stood to sea again, growling as they went, and saying, that they had discovered that country fifty years before, that they had a better right to it than the French, and would soon make them know it. This was the first meeting of those rival nations in the Mississippi Valley, which, from that day, was a bone of contention between them till the conclusion of the old French war. Nor did the matter rest long with this visit from the corvette. Englishmen began to creep over the mountains from Carolina, and, trading with the Chicachas, or Chickasaws of our day, stirred them up to acts of enmity against the French.

When D'Iberville came back from France, in January, 1700, and heard of these things, he determined to take possession of the country anew, and to build a fort upon the banks of the Mississippi itself. So, with due form, the vast valley of the West was again sworn in to Louis, as the whole continent through to the South Sea had been previously sworn in by the English to the Charleses and Jameses; and, what was more effectual, a little fort was built, and four pieces of cannon placed therein. But even this was not much to the purpose; for it soon disappeared, and the marshes about the mouth of the Great River were again, as they had ever been, and long must be, uninhabited by men.

And now we must turn aside for a time, and let our readers know something of these English claims and attempts.

"King Charles the First, in the fifth year of his reign (1630), granted unto Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general, a patent of all that part of America," which lies between thirty-one and thirty-six degrees north latitude, from sea to sea. Eight years afterwards, Sir Robert conveyed this very handsome property to Lord Maltravers, who was soon, by his father's death, Earl of Arundel. From him, by we know not what course of conveyance, this grant, which formed the Province of Carolana (not Carolina), came into the hands of Dr. Daniel Coxe, who was, in the opinion of the attorney-

general of England, true owner of that Province in the year of D'Iberville's discovery, 1699.*

In support of the English claim, thus originating, we are told by Dr. Coxe, that, from the year 1654 to the year 1664, one "Colonel Wood in Virginia, inhabiting at the Falls of James River, above a hundred miles west of Chesapeake Bay, discovered at several times, several branches of the great rivers, Ohio and Meschasebe." Nay, the Doctor affirms, that he had himself possessed, in past days, the Journal of a Mr. Needham, who was in the Colonel's employ, which Journal, he adds, "is now in the hands of," &c. The Doctor also states, that about the year 1676, he had in his keeping a Journal, written by some one who had gone from the mouth of the Mississippi, up as far as the Yellow or Muddy River, otherwise called Missouri; and he says, this Journal, in almost every particular, was confirmed by the late travels. And still further, Dr. Coxe assures us, that, in 1678, "a considerable number of persons went from New England upon discovery, and proceeded so far as New Mexico, one hundred and fifty leagues beyond the river Meschasebe, and, at their return, rendered an account to the government at Boston;" for the truth of all which he calls Governor Dudley, who was still living, as witness. Nor had he been idle himself; "apprehending that the planting of this country would be highly beneficial," he tried to reach it first from Carolina, then from "Pensilvania, by the Susquehannah river," and "many of his people travelled to New Mexico." He had also made discoveries through the great river Ochequiton, or, as we call it, Alabama; and "more to the northwest, beyond the river Meschasebe," had found "a very great sea of fresh water, several thousand miles in circumference," whence a river ran into the South Sea, about the latitude of forty-four degrees, and "through this," he adds, "we are assured the English have since entered that great lake."

These various statements are, it must be owned, somewhat startling; but, leaving them undisturbed for the present, we can see clearly the bearing of what follows, namely, that the Doctor, in 1698, fitted out two vessels, well armed and manned, one of which (when, we hear not) entered

* *A Description of the English Province of Carolana,* &c. by Daniel Coxe, Esquire. London, 1722. pp. 113 *et seq.*

the Mississippi and ascended it above one hundred miles, and then returned, — wherefore, is not specially stated. This was, doubtless, the corvette which M. Bienville turned out of what he considered French domains ; as Charlevoix tells us, that the vessel, which Bienville met, was one of two which left England in 1698, armed with thirty-six guns, the same number which Daniel Coxe, the Doctor's son, tells us, were borne by his father's vessels. The English, having thus found their way to the Meschasebe, wished to prosecute the matter, and it was proposed to make there a settlement of the French Huguenots, who had fled to Carolina ; but the death of Lord Lonsdale, the chief forwarder of the scheme, put an end to that plan, and we do not learn from Coxe, whose work appeared in 1722, that any further attempts were made by England, whose wars and woes nearer home kept her fully employed.

And now, what are we to say to those bold statements by Coxe ; statements contained in his memorial to the King in 1699, and such as could hardly, one would think, be tales *à la Hontan ?* Colonel Wood's adventures are recorded by no other writer, so far as we have read ; for, though Hutchins, who was geographer to the United States when the western lands were first surveyed, refers to Wood, and also to one Captain Bolt, who crossed the Alleghanies in 1670, his remarks are very vague, and he gives us no one to look to, as knowing the circumstances. Of the Boston expedition we know still less ; the story is repeated from Coxe by various pamphlet writers of those days, when Law's scheme had waked up England to a very decided interest in the West ; but all examinations of contemporary writers, and the town records, have as yet failed to lend a single fact in support of this part of the Doctor's tale.

But what makes us suspect the whole, is his account of discoveries to the northwest which were never made, and which account, in all probability, was taken direct from the author of the Long River. We must own, therefore, that we are disposed to doubt all Dr. Coxe's statement relative to English travellers upon the Mississippi, and to think that he was guided and spurred on, in his undertaking of 1698, by the two spurious narratives of Hennepin and Tonti, published in 1697.

Resuming our sketch of French endeavours, we have next

to record the project of our friend D'Iberville to found a city among the Natchez, which nation he visited in 1700, — a city to be named, in honor of the Countess of Pontchartrain, *Rosalie*. Indeed, he did pretend to lay the corner-stone of such a place, though it was not till 1714 that the fort called *Rosalie* was founded, where the city of Natchez is standing at this day.

Having thus built a fort at the mouth of the Great River, and begun a settlement upon a choice spot above, D'Iberville once more sought Europe, having, before he left, ordered M. Le Sueur to go up the Mississippi in search of a copper mine, which that personage had previously got a clue to, upon a branch of the St. Peter's river ; * which order was fulfilled, and much metal obtained, though at the cost of great suffering. Mining was always a Jack-a-lantern with the first settlers of America, and our French friends were no wiser than their neighbours. The products of the soil were, indeed, scarce thought valuable on a large scale, it being supposed that the wealth of Louisiana consisted in its pearl-fishery, its mines, and the wool of its wild cattle.† In 1701 the commander came again, and began a new establishment upon the river Maubile, one which superseded that at Biloxi, which thus far had been the chief fort in that southern colony. After this things went on but slowly until 1708 ; D'Iberville died on one of his voyages between the mother country and her sickly daughter, and after his death little was done. In 1708, however, M. D'Artagnette came from France as commissary of Louisiana, and, being a man of spirit and energy, did more for it than had been done before. But it still lingered ; and, under the impression that a private man of property might do more for it than the government could, the King, upon the 14th of September, 1712, granted to Crozat, a man of great wealth, the monopoly of Louisiana for fifteen years, and the absolute ownership of whatever mines he might cause to be opened.

Crozat relied mainly upon two things for success in his speculation ; the one, the discovery of mines ; the other, a lucrative trade with New Mexico. In regard to the first,

* Charlevoix, Vol. IV. pp. 162, 164. In Long's *Second Expedition*, p. 318, may be seen a detailed account of Le Sueur's proceedings, taken from a manuscript statement of them.

† Charlevoix, Vol. III. p. 389.

after many years' labor, he was entirely disappointed; and met with no better success in his attempt to open a trade with the Spaniards, although he sent to them both by sea and land.

His agent in the land enterprise was the Sieur Juchereau, probably the same that tried with Mermet to colonize and convert the Mascoutens. He, with great labor and hazard, found his way to the Viceroy of Mexico, who dwelt in the city of that name; but, no sooner had he presented himself to the Spanish grandee, than he was seized and cast into prison, where he lay three months. At length, some French officers, who were in the Spanish service, prevailed upon the Viceroy to let him come into free air again; and, as he was thrown into the company of that personage, the Spaniard's heart was touched by the noble and honest character of the Sieur Juchereau, and he took him kindly by the hand, and made him eat at his own table. As they thus came closer in contact, the Spaniard ever found the more to love and admire in his prisoner. He began to try to persuade him to leave the French service, and remain where he was; and the French officers added their persuasions. It was no slight temptation to a man like the Sieur Juchereau, without property or prospect; but he was a true man, and declined all offers. "Well," said the Spaniard, when all other argument failed, "are you not already half Spanish? Do you not love a Spanish maiden at Fort St. Jean? Will not the hope of gaining her hand win you over?" "I cannot deny," answered the gallant Frenchman, "that I love the damsel, though I have no hope of winning her." "But you shall win her," said the Viceroy. "Hearken! for two months you may think of my offer; then join us, and you shall be wedded to the lady of your love, and made an officer in our ranks." The two months slowly pass; and now how is it with our Sieur Juchereau? "I cannot desert my king," is his constant answer. The Viceroy, more touched than ever, gives him his liberty; places in his hands a purse with a thousand piastres in it, "to defray," he said, "his wedding expenses, for he still hoped Doña Maria would persuade him;" and, with a firm and melancholy face, the Frenchman turns northward.

A few days' travel brings him to the Fort St. Jean, where he finds Don Pedro de Velascas, the father of the damsel, plunged in grief, because certain of the Indian tribes within

his jurisdiction had determined to remove elsewhere, which he knew would call down upon him the anger of his superiors, and probably cost him his life. Juchereau, hearing how things stood, offered his services, to go to the savages, and try to persuade them to stay. "But they will kill you!" cries the astonished Don Pedro. "I have no fear," replies the Sieur; and on the morrow, with his friend Jallot, a surgeon, he mounts and seeks the red men, who had already left their old homes. On their swift horses, the fearless Frenchmen make rapid progress, and soon overtake the moving multitude; and, with his white handkerchief held aloft as a flag of friendship, the Sieur asks a conference with the chiefs. Long skilled in Indian ways, and, above all, true as the sun, he soon persuades the wild men that they are acting unwisely; he appeals to their love of their old homes; paints the dangers of the course they are taking; and guaranties them good treatment, if they will but go back. The chiefs consult, hesitate, listen, and consult again; and the next day, Don Pedro, looking anxiously abroad, sees the two Europeans return with all the Indians at their back. And now was Doña Maria won indeed; not by battle, but by peace-making; and soon the little Spanish frontier town was all astir to celebrate the nuptials of the fair daughter of its governor, and her true Christian knight.*

But, happy as the Sieur Juchereau's mission had been for himself, it had done nothing for his employers; for the Viceroy's last words had been, "I can allow no trade between Mexico and Louisiana." Crozat, therefore, being disappointed in his mines and his trade, and having, withal, managed so badly as to diminish the colony, at last, in 1717, resigned his privileges to the King again. Then was formed Law's famous West India Company, who sent out settlers in 1717 and 1718, in one of which years New Orleans was laid out.† This company was to have had a monopoly of the commerce of the Mississippi for twenty-five years; but, at the end of fourteen, they were very glad to resign to the King in their turn. During these years, the history of Louisiana is mostly a detail of quarrels with Spaniards, English, Choctaws, and Natchez; all which we have not room to write here,

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* Charlevoix, Vol. IV. p. 170.

† Charlevoix, Vol. IV. p. 196, says, 1717; Du Pratz says, 1718

even if we had the inclination. It may be found in the work of Du Pratz, who was an eminent man in the colony, from 1718 to 1734, or in the pages of Charlevoix. Passing by the battles and conspiracies of these times, and of the next nineteen years, we leave our imperfect sketch at the middle of the century, as then began a new era, the struggle of the French and British for the region beyond the Alleghanies.

In 1749, there were no other French settlements in the West, than those upon the Illinois, already referred to ; that at New Orleans, including its various dependences, where, according to Vivier, were twelve hundred persons ; and some small posts among the Arkansas and Alibamons.

In closing, we cannot but express a hope, that some of our Historical Societies will reprint from Thevenot the original French *Journal* of Marquette, from the Paris edition of 1683 (if it can be had) ; Hennepin's *Louisiana ;* Joutel's *Journal*, (from the French if it can be found, if not, from the English) ; the most interesting of the *Lettres Edifiantes* relating to the West ; and any other valuable original accounts now extant ; — together with lithographic fac-similes of the map of 1656 ; of that of 1660, in Du Creux's work on Canada (*Hist. Canadensis, a* P. F. Creuxio ; Paris, 1664) ; of Marquette's ; of Hennepin's, of 1683 ; of Joutel's ; of Coxe's, and Charlevoix's. We would also suggest the appointment of committees to examine and report upon works of doubtful authenticity, such as Hennepin's *New Discovery*, Tonti's *Journal*, and La Hontan's *Account of the Long River ;* thus placing, in an accessible and permanent form, what, in our pages, must soon pass out of view, even supposing our researches and hints to be of value to the historical reader.

ART. III. — *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde fines de Siglo XV., con varios Documentos inéditos concernientes á la Historia de la Marina Castellana y de los Establecimientos Españoles en Indias, coordinada é ilustrada* por Don MARTIN FERNANDEZ DE NAVARRETE, Caballero de la Orden de San Juan, &c. Tom. I. — VI. Madrid. 1825 – 1837. 8vo.

WE rejoice to perceive, that, notwithstanding the disastrous civil war raging in Spain, this great national work is still carried on by its learned author, and we earnestly hope it may not fail of completion.* The fifth and sixth volumes relate to Spanish voyages in the Pacific, ending with that of Loaysa. We avail ourselves of the occasion to do justice to the character of Spain, in a matter deeply important to the United States.

There is no European government, which, in its relations with other civilized powers, either in Europe or America, is so loud in its professions of disinterestedness and moderation, as that of Great Britain. For twenty years, it persevered in a war of strenuous hostility against Napoleon, because he was a conqueror, and therefore dangerous to the peace and liberty of nations. Even if Napoleon carried his arms into Egypt, and away from the territory and states of Europe, still England relentlessly pursued him thither. Nay, when France had run her race, and had been thoroughly beaten and humbled by the coalesced arms of all Europe; when she had ceased to be an object of dread or suspicion to surrounding powers; and when, at such a period, she proceeded to inflict punishment, well deserved and too long delayed, on the piratical state of Algiers, and that insignificant country fell into her power by the just right of war; — Great Britain undertook to demand of her that she should abstain from holding it, made it cause of sober diplomatic remonstrance, and indulged at home in the most extravagant complaints against her, because she had presumed to make a single petty conquest in Africa. And, whenever Russia has happened to engage in war with Turkey, or any of the lesser

* For notices of the first two volumes, see *North American Review*, Vol. XXIII. pp. 484 *et seq.*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 265 *et seq.*

states around the Black Sea, the English press and the English Parliament have been thrown into a perfect ecstasy of horror at the ambitious and encroaching spirit, which (they allege) animates the councils of the Czar.

Meanwhile, in the midst of all these *professions*, what has been the actual conduct of Great Britain? That government has, for more than half a century, pursued a career of conquest by force of arms, on a scale of magnificence unparalleled in the history of modern nations, and scarcely surpassed by the Roman Republic. To be satisfied of this, and without reckoning the colonial establishments she has formed in the new continent of Australia, and which she has scattered all over the globe in other countries considered barbarous, like the coasts of Africa and America, and the islands of the Indian, Pacific, and Atlantic seas, — without reckoning these, which alone constitute a vast empire in extent and resources, — to be satisfied of the ambitious career of Great Britain, we have only to advert to the fact, that, within the one hundred years last past, she has got possession of Malta and the Ionian Islands in Europe, of the Cape of Good Hope, covering a great part of Southern Africa, and of numerous kingdoms and nations in Asia, containing a population of about *one hundred and thirty million* inhabitants. That is to say, during the period assumed, she has made conquests at the average rate of *a million and a half of souls per annum*; all these conquests, moreover, having been mere money-getting speculations of trade.

We do not complain of this. We only state the fact. Whether it be right and just for Great Britain, or any other power, to subjugate half the world by unprovoked war; whether it be consistent and honorable to be for ever preaching abstinence, and liberality, and beneficence, and good faith in Europe, and to be for ever practising the reverse of all this in Asia; are questions we leave to the unbiassed judgment of mankind. We do not discuss them here. Nor, though Great Britain should proceed to consummate the enterprise, which it is said she has just now entered upon, of invading and dismembering Persia; though she should make her way into China, as she did into India, by asking space of land for a trading factory, and taking a great empire to supply it, — by pretending commerce, and pursuing conquest; and though, by the same combination of proved and confessed fraud and force, by which she has gained one hundred and

thirty million subjects in the latter, she should gain other one hundred and thirty millions in the former ; even then, we do not know that the United States have any lawful ground of umbrage at the continued march of her dominion. But we have good cause to complain, — it is our right and our duty, — when the same system of universal aggrandizement is carried by her into the affairs of North America. The mischief is then brought home to our own doors, and it behoves us to look to it.

We make these remarks in no unfriendly spirit towards Great Britain, but simply for the sake of our own national rights, in the defence of which we mean that this Journal shall continue to speak out plainly and fearlessly, as it always has done ; believing that nothing is gained to the cause of peace by the timid suppression of the truth.

During the whole time which has elapsed since the restoration of peaceful and (to both parties) beneficial relations between Great Britain and this country, that government has been insensibly and quietly obtaining the wrongful possession of extensive portions of the United States, namely, a part of the State of Maine, and the wide territory of Oregon. We do not propose, at the present time, to enter into a discussion of our rights in this matter. We have done this already in previous volumes ; and, in regard to one of the questions at least, — the northeastern boundary, — in very ample detail. Moreover, the recent discussions in Congress of the latter question, and the unanimous resolutions of both Houses, affirming the rights of the United States, have rendered it the less necessary. And, in regard to the other, — the northwestern boundary, — our object at present is, not to go over that either, but only to investigate a single one of the important points involved in it, and that rather an incidental point.

This great question, also, has recently been called up in Congress, and our readers may rest assured, that it will not be suffered to go to sleep there. Our title, it is sufficient for the purpose now to observe, is founded partly on our rights by discovery, exploration, and possession. But we have other sources of title, and, more especially, the right under the Florida Treaty ; by which, in consideration (among other things) of our cession to Spain of our pretensions west of the River Sabine, Spain ceded to us all her pretensions north of the forty-second parallel of latitude. We propose

to show that, independently of our own intrinsic rights, and so far as discovery or exploration could confer rights on any other power, that power was *Spain*, to the exclusion of Great Britain.

It has been the policy of Great Britain to depreciate the rights of Spain in this respect. That was natural, and in the ordinary course of things, for the government to do. But the injustice of the government of Great Britain towards that of Spain, in this thing, has entered into and poisoned the literature of Great Britain. Her geographers have extensively pursued the system of suppressing the names given to capes, rivers, and inlets, on the northwestern coast of America, by early Spanish navigators, and substituting the names given to the same localities by later English navigators; so that the maps convey the false implication of prior discovery on the part of the latter nation. Nor is this all. There is, in many of the English books of geography, a practice of dwelling at much length on the English voyages, and either touching slightly, or wholly omitting, those performed under the authority of Spain.

We have a most notable instance of this now before us, in a popular work, entitled "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions," by Professor Leslie, Professor Jameson, and Hugh Murray, Esquire, of Edinburgh; names which ought to be a warranty for the truth, and the whole truth. This book, the historical part of which was written by Mr. Murray, contains the following paragraph;

"Spain, which had made the discovery of America, and from that success derived so much glory and wealth, might have been expected to take a peculiar interest in every thing connected with its farther exploration. The fact, however, appears to be, that, revelling among the rich plains and glittering treasures of Mexico and Peru, she felt little attraction towards the bleak confines of the northern pole. Only one very early voyage is mentioned, that, namely, by Gomez, with a view of discovering a shorter passage to the Molucas. He is said to have brought home a few of the natives; but no record is preserved, either of the events which attended his enterprise, or even of the coast on which he arrived. There remains of it, as has been observed, only a jest, and one so indifferent as not to be worth repeating. The chief exertions of Spain for a passage, were made from Mexico along the northwest coast of America; but these we do not propose to include in the present narrative."

Is it just, in a book purporting to give a *general* account of discovery in the northwestern seas of America, thus to slur over the voyages of other nations? Is it consistent with *common honesty?* "The chief exertions of Spain were made from Mexico along the northwest coast of America; but these we do not propose to include in the present narrative." And why not? The next sentence tells. "Britain," it says, "now took up this train of discovery, and made it almost exclusively her own." What? have Russia and Spain done nothing to explore the northwest coast? France nothing? The United States nothing? It would seem so, according to this book; for Russia, important as her northwestern voyages have been, is treated by Mr. Murray still more cavalierly than Spain. To be sure, the Preface apologizes for the omission to give "an account of the expeditions performed *by land or in boats*, to ascertain the northern boundaries of America and Asia;" but this explanation cannot apply to the great nautical explorations of Russia and Spain. Well might this copartnership of authors say of the Spanish voyagers from Mexico, "These we do not propose to include in the present narrative;" for, if they had been included, they would have proved, that instead of Britain having "made it almost exclusively her own," Spain and Russia had done as much at least in this respect as Great Britain.

But then what shall we say to the solemn and circumstantial statement, that Spain furnishes only one very early voyage (that of Gomez) to the northern seas? Was this ignorance? It must have been. Yet, as authentic accounts existed, and those very curious and interesting ones, of *several* early Spanish voyages, the total ignorance exhibited in this particular, is not less remarkable than the bad faith betrayed in the other. And this is history, the history of American affairs, by British writers! There is another popular modern work, the "History of Maritime and Inland Discovery," in Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia," wherein we shall have occasion, by and by, to signalize the same kind of suppression in regard to the enterprises of other nations, while every English expedition of the least note, national, commercial, or piratical, is described with edifying particularity. They are no unapt examples of the political tendency of that modern

English literature, which constitutes the chief reading of the people of the United States.

In addition to the great mistake, or misrepresentation, pervading the passage cited, which will appear from the narrative we shall presently give, it contains others, of less importance, but of the same complexion.

The first sentence implies a volume of untruth, namely, that Spain took no particular interest in the general exploration of America. The reverse is the fact. All our most familiar histories, as the writings of Robertson, Irving, and Southey, abound with details of the extraordinary daring, perseverance, and disregard of hardship and personal suffering, with which the Spaniards pursued the exploration of the coasts, mountains, rivers, and interior wilds of the entire continent of South America, in the period immediately following its discovery. These incidents are now incorporated in the popular literature of all Europe ; and not to know them, argues a singular ignorance of American history and geography. Nor, in later times, has the government of Spain been neglectful of such objects. The treasures of the Depósito Hidrográfico, at Madrid, as we ourselves know from personal examination, may well compare with what even modern France or England has done of this kind ; and quite put to shame the as yet imperfect efforts of the United States in the same line. It is true, Spain did not, in the middle period of her empire over the New World, make *ostentation* of the voyages or journeys of exploration in South America, undertaken by her people. The accounts of many of these remained unpublished in the archives of the government. The reason of this is obvious. The piratical expeditions of other European powers, and especially of England, against the settlements in the Spanish colonies, — expeditions in all respects resembling the ravages of the old Danes and Normans along the coasts of Holland, England, and France, — these enterprises, in connexion with the contraband trade of the same nations, and their continual attempts to wrest from Spain her colonies by force, compelled her to adopt a policy of reserve and partial concealment, in regard to her possessions in America. But there is an end of all this, since the separation of those colonies from the mother country ; and Professor Leslie and his associates could have known this, if they had sought the knowledge in the proper quarter.

As to North America, the case is still stronger. We reserve the Pacific side of it for detailed explanation ; and it will then be seen, whether "the glittering treasures of Mexico and Peru" withdrew the attention of Spain from "the bleak confines of the northern pole." But neither did Spain neglect the Atlantic side of North America. To say nothing of minor expeditions into the interior of the United States, it is sufficient to indicate the remarkable one of Hernando de Soto, who spent several years at the head of an army, exploring the whole of the vast region now occupied by the Southern States.* Spain, however, could not supply men to colonize the entire New World at once ; in the progress of events, the northeastern parts of it fell into the hands of England and France ; and of course these two nations were more naturally impelled to explore the coasts of their own possessions. But Spain had her share in the earlier discoveries. Forster even suggests whether the Biscayans, in common with the Bretons, had not visited Newfoundland prior to the voyage of Columbus.† But Navarrete, with his accustomed candor, after careful inquiry into this point, comes to the conclusion, that such is not the fact ; and that the resort of the Biscayans to the Grand Bank, dates only from the voyage of Esteban Gomez.‡

England has the honor of projecting and conducting the voyages, in which the Cabots discovered and explored the northeastern coast of America. Their discoveries immediately attracted the notice of Spain ; and Navarrete supposes that the enterprise contemplated by Juan Dorvelos, under the protection of the Catholic Kings, in 1500, had for its object to follow the track of the Cabots.§ Certain it is, that a contract was made by Ferdinand with Juan de Agramonte, a Catalan, in the year 1511, for a voyage of discovery to Newfoundland ; though what came of this is unknown.‖ But the expedition of Esteban Gomez, also undertaken by the government, and for the express object of discovering a northwest passage to the Pacific, in 1525, is described by Herrera and Gomara ; and, as he explored the entire Atlantic coast of North America, it hardly de-

* Garcilaso de la Vega, *Florida.*
† *Northern Voyages*, Book III. chap. iii. and v.
‡ *Viages*, Tom. III. p. 176.
§ Ibid. Tom. III. p. 41.
‖ Ibid. Tom. III. p. 42.

serves to be summarily dismissed, in the manner Purchas treats it, and after him Professor Leslie and his associates, as memorable only for a jest. Purchas tells the story in these words ;

"Of Stephen Gomez little is left but a *jeast.* This Gomez having been with Magellan, a few years before, in his discoverie of the South Sea, enlarged with hopes of new straits, in the yeare 1525 set forth to search this northerly passage. But finding nothing to his expectation, he laded his shippe with slaves, and returned. At his returne, one that knew his intent was for the Moluccas by that way, enquiring what he had brought home, was told *esclavos*, that is, slaves. He, forestalled with his owne imagination, had thought it was *clavos*, and so posted to the court to carrie first newes of this specie discoverie, looking for a great reward. But the truth being knowne caused hereat great laughter."— *Pilgrims*, 620.

But we must hasten to our main object. The conquerors of Mexico were very far from being disposed to revel among its rich plains, to the neglect of the northwestern region of America. On the contrary, their expeditions by sea and land in that direction were numerous ; and the Great Conqueror himself set the example by undertaking several of the earliest of these at his own charge, and conducting one of them in person. The Emperor had exhorted him to explore the northern seas in search of "the secrete" of a strait, which should abridge the voyage from Spain to the East Indies. Unquiet and ambitious in temper, and disgusted with the spectacle of inferior persons administering the rich realms which his courage and skill had conquered, Cortes willingly engaged in the new enterprise of extending the Spanish power into other and (as yet) unexplored regions, and perhaps of solving the long-studied problem of a direct passage by the north to Cathay. He fitted out, first, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza ; then, Diego de Becerra and Hernando de Grijalva.* In one of these voyages, Cortes, through Hernando de Grijalva, his lieutenant, discovered California, in 1534. In another, Cortes himself, and in defiance of infinite hardships, and obstacles without number, explored the Gulf of California.† Returning in safety, after

* Gomara, *Con. de Mex.*, fol. 116; Herrera, *Hist. de las Ind.*, Dec. IV. and V.

† Gomara, fol. 117.

the general belief in Mexico that he had perished, he continued the progress of discovery,* by fitting out Francisco de Ulloa in the same direction. These voyages, of which the common books, such as Herrera and Robertson, give an account, were munificently carried on by Cortes, at an expense of two hundred thousand ducats, out of his own private property. The discoveries thus made would alone have sufficed to immortalize any meaner man than Cortes ; but the fame of them is comparatively lost in the splendor of his other great achievements. He thus led the way to the eventual settlement of California by the Spaniards, and to subsequent voyages of discovery along the northwestern coast of America.

At this period, the northwestern expeditions of the Mexican Spaniards began to be animated by very peculiar inducements. We have already seen, that they hoped to find a northern passage to connect the two oceans. In addition to which, a travelling monk, Fray Marcos de Nizza, had propagated the idea, that to the north of California, there was a magnificent city called Cibola, of great population, and equal in riches and civilization to Mexico. The particulars of Nizza's story are contained in Ramusio † and in Hakluyt.‡ Humboldt conjectures, that these fables may have had relation to the extensive ruins of an old Aztec city, existing on the banks of the river Gila, in Sonora.§ Associated with, or succeeding to, this story of the wonders of Cibola, there was another, which combined the two ideas, of a northwestern passage, and of a great city upon its waters. It is briefly related by Torquemada, as follows ;

" His Majesty (Philip the Third) found among certain other papers the information, which certain foreigners had given to his father, in which are told some notable things, which they had seen in that land (the northwest coast), driven thither by stress of weather, in a vessel from the coast of Labrador, which is by Newfoundland ; giving account therein of how they had passed from the North to the South Sea, by the Strait of Anian, which is beyond Cape Mendocino ; and that they had seen a populous and rich city, well fortified and walled, and very rich in people, politic and court-like, and well-treated ; and other

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* Herrera, Dec. VII.
† Tom. III. p 356.
‡ Vol. III. p. 366.
§ *Nouv. Esp.*, Tom. I. pp. 287, 310.

things, worthy to be known and seen. For these and many other causes, he commanded the Conde de Monte-Rey, Vice-Roy of New Spain, that the said discovery should be made with all care and despatch, at the King's charge." — *Monarq. Ind.*, Lib. V. c. 45.

Torquemada then proceeds to describe at length the important expedition of Sebastian Vizcaino, hereafter referred to, and afterwards adds ;

"There is reason to suppose, that this river" (speaking of the river of Martin de Aguilar, hereafter described) "is that which leads to a great city, discovered by some Hollanders, driven out of their course ; and that this is the Strait of Anian, by which the vessel, which discovered it, penetrated and passed from the North Sea to the South Sea ; and that, undoubtedly, in this region or vicinity is the said city, called of *Quivira ;* and of this situation or place it is of which treats the relation which his Majesty read ; by which he was moved, and induced to command, that with much care this discovery should be made, and sure advice given him of the whole." — *Monarq. Ind.*, Lib. V. c. 55.

There occurs considerable difference of opinion in the books, as to the true origin and signification of the expression *Strait of Anian.* It is used, all agree, to designate a northwestern passage, real or supposed, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But who was the first to use or apply the name ? Did it originate in mere fable and misconception, like the idea of the cities of Cibola and Quivira ? Or was it in the outset the name of Behring's Strait, whose place it occupied in the maps for a century or two ? Or that of Hudson's Bay ? These points are involved in some obscurity. Humboldt says, it was the appellation given to the opening now called Hudson's Bay, after the name of one of two brothers, who embarked in Gaspar de Cortereal's Portuguese expedition to Labrador, in 1500.* The London Quarterly Review, on the other hand, conceives, that when Gaspar de Cortereal entered Hudson's Bay, he supposed it to be the continuation of an opening on the Pacific side of North America, already known as the Strait of Anian.† And this is the more probable view of the subject, because, in the old charts of the sixteenth century, *Anian* is a *country* at the northwestern angle of North America.‡ Whatever the fact as to that matter, the other

* *Nouv. Esp.* Vol. I. p. 330.
† *Quarterly Review*, No. XVI. p. 154.
‡ Burney's *Voyages*, Vol. I. p. 5.

point is certain, that this expression came to denote the long talked-of direct route from Europe to China, which it was the anxious object of the Mexican Spaniards to discover.

Nor was this all. In Peru, the opinion prevailed for many years, that, in the heart of South America, between Peru and Brazil, there was a rich and powerful empire, called Paitaiti, to which the Incas retired with immense treasures, after their overthrow by Pizarro and his companions. Among the old Spaniards, Juan de Salinas and Pedro de Ursua distinguished themselves in the search after this new empire of the Incas ; and it was the object of the expedition of Benito de Ribera y Quiroga, so late as the reign of Charles the Second (of Spain). This gentleman, says one author (Feijoo), after squandering a great estate, and toiling three years, returned, bringing with him a thing much more precious than the gold he sought, though less esteemed in the world, to wit, *el desengaño*. North of the fabulous Paitaiti, was the equally fabulous land of El Dorado, which Father Acosta speaks of, in 1590, as if there were no doubt of its existence.* The schemes and adventures of the gallant and misused Sir Walter Raleigh have rendered the name of this imaginary country a proverb for such delusions. South of Paitaiti again, there was a third of these regions of abounding wealth, with house-tiles and plough-shares of solid gold, called the city of the Cæsars. And superstitions of precisely the same kind were current in Mexico, with regard to the interior regions of North America. The belief was, that after the victories of Cortes had prostrated the Mexican empire, Tatarrax, a brave prince of the royal family of Montezuma, retired from the ruins of his country, with a proud band of followers, who disdained to bow the neck to foreign conquerors ; that they carried with them the treasures of Montezuma ; and that they founded a new and flourishing empire on the Lake Teguayo, by the name of Quivira, or, as the Spaniards usually call it, *La gran Quivira.* † And there was the more of plausibility in this story, inasmuch as the monarch race in Mexico, the Aztecs, were declared by themselves, and universally believed, to have descended on the plains of Anahuac, from the far northwestern parts of America. ‡ And to the old Spaniards, who had fallen as it were by chance upon the opulent

* *Hist. Nat.* Lib. II. c. 6. † Feijoo, *Teat. Crit.* Tom. IV. Disc. 10, s. 12 – 15.
‡ *Compagnoni*, Tom. VI.

states of Peru, Bogotá, and Mexico, when they reflected on the immense extent of those interior parts of the New World of which they knew so little, there seemed nothing improbable in the idea of other communities as populous and as rich as those they had already discovered and conquered. It was an age of marvels to any but them; and the events, in which they had figured, were so extraordinary, that there had ceased to be a fixed standard of the credible either in discovery or in achievement. All that was most improbable in fact, or most romantic in fiction, had become the sober truth of their own personal experience. After Hernan Cortes, or Francisco Pizarro, or Gonzalo de Quesada, at the head of a handful of adventurers, had subdued great empires, and amassed vast treasures of pillage, what might not be dreamed of the unexplored regions of that New World, which the genius of Columbus had made known? It might be said of them, as the common saying is of the people of La Mancha, that the most exhilarating wine was the water of their daily intellectual life. Hence the boldness and the unshrinking resoluteness of their expeditions of discovery and conquest. Hence, also, the chimerical nature of some of their undertakings; there being exhibited in the pursuit of Ponce de Leon's fountain of Bimini, pouring forth its waters of immortality, or in the exploration of the lost empires of Paitaiti and Quivira, the same intoxicated ardor, which had transferred to Spain the sceptres of Montezuma and of Manco-Capac.

These illusory expectations of the Spaniards, in regard to the great cities of Cibola and Quivira, were dispelled in time, by ample exploration of New Mexico and California. With what indefatigable perseverance the Spaniards pursued these enterprises, an opinion may be formed from the fact, that, in 1537, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made his appearance on the coast of Caliacan, in the Gulf of California, with two of his companions, remnants of the expedition of Pamfilo de Narvaez, having landed in Florida, and forced their way across the whole breadth of the continent through such immense waters, woods, and deserts, and so many savage tribes of Indians.

Nor was the government idle in this matter. Emulous of the efforts of Cortes, his successor, the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, fitted out several expeditions by sea and land, the memory of which still remains in the name of Cape Mendocino, derived from him. In 1540, he sent Hernando de

Alarcon by sea, and Francisco Vasquez de Coronado by land, in search of Marcos de Nizza's great city of Cibola, and three realms of Marata, Aacus, and Tontoteac.* In this expedition, Coronado found abundance of privations and perils, which he bravely struggled through;† but he ascertained conclusively by his researches, that the twenty thousand high-terraced stone houses of Cibola, with its white inhabitants, well clothed in cotton garments, and dressed furs, richly ornamented with emeralds and turquoises, and their gems circulating as money, existed only in the imagination of Friar Nizza.‡

Without pausing any longer on the Spanish land expeditions in California and New Mexico, we proceed to their voyages along the coast; among which, next after the surveys of Cortes, those of Cabrillo and Gali are the most important in the order of time.

Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo explored the outer coast of California, as far as 37° 10′ N. with great care. He died on the island of San Bernardo, in 1543; but his pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo, continued his discoveries on the coast to Cape Blanco, in 43° N.§ Burney is of opinion, that Cabrillo gave its name to Cape Mendocino.‖

Spain having, some time before this, formed settlements in the Philippine Islands, there naturally grew up a direct intercourse between Manila and Acapulco. In sailing from Macao to Acapulco, in 1582, Francisco Gali visited the northwest coast as high up as 57° 30′, his description of that region being of manifest veracity and accuracy. At least, such is the representation of Humboldt¶ and of Navarrete;** though Burney makes some citations from a Dutch author, Linschoten, which lead him to the conclusion, that Gali went no farther than 37° 50′ N.††

We pass over the mere hearsay accounts of the supposed discoveries of the Spaniard, Andres de Urdaneta, in 1554, and of his countryman Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, in 1574; both which are described, but not admitted as genuine, by Navarrete.‡‡ The same of Martin Chack, the Portuguese, spoken of by Purchas.§§ We add, that the evidence concern-

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* Herrera, Dec. VI.; Gomara, f. 116; Ramusio, Tom. III.
† Torquemada. ‡ Venegas, Cal. Pt. II.
‖ *Voyages*, i. 224.
** *Viage de la Sutil, int.*
‡‡ *Viage de la Subtil, int.* pp. 38, and 43.
§ Herrera, Dec. VII.
¶ *Nouv. Esp.* Lib. III.
†† *Voyages*, Vol. V. p. 164.
§§ Vol. III. bk. 4.

ing these persons is fairly stated by Burney ; who, indeed, in contrast with the compilers referred to by us in other parts of this article, seems disposed to do all justice to the early Spanish navigators.*

Next come accounts of two voyages, which some have considered apocryphal, but one at least of which, if not both, we incline to rely upon as authentic.

Nicolas Antonio, a Spanish author of great credit, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana*,† says, that he had seen in the hands of the Bishop of Segovia, who was a member of the Council of the Indies, the manuscript narrative of a voyage, being the relation of the discovery of the *Strait of Anian*, in 1588, by a Spaniard of the name of Ferrer Maldonado. That there was in that period a skilful navigator and geographer of that name, is abundantly authenticated by various evidence. A general belief in such a voyage seems to have obtained among the Spaniards ; for, in 1789, it was particularly referred to as one of the inducements of Malaspina's expedition, hereafter described ; at which time Maldonado's journal existed in the library of the Duque del Infantado, who furnished a copy of it to Malaspina. In 1812, Amoretti, an Italian scholar, published a manuscript, found by him among the manuscripts of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, of which he was librarian, purporting to be Maldonado's account of his voyage. The London Quarterly Review, after a very critical discussion of the question, comes to the conclusion, from internal proofs, that the manuscript, which Amoretti found and published, was a fabrication of some old writer. We will not quarrel with this conclusion ; the rather, since the Review also pronounces, that, though the particular manuscript was false, yet substantially such a voyage did actually take place.‡ That is to say, we have the best of English authority for the belief, that, so early as 1588, in addition to Gali, the Spanish navigator Maldonado had proceeded north to what is now called Behring's Strait.

There is no doubt, that many other vessels visited the coast in the same way, whilst bound from Manila and Macao to Acapulco. One of these, we know, the San Agustin, entered the bay of San Francisco in 1595, and was there wrecked.§

We have good English authority for believing another important fact, and that is, the truth of the alleged discovery of

* *Voyages*, Vol. II.
† Tom. II. p. 2.
‡ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI.
§ Torquemada, Lib. V. c. 55.

the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in 1599, by a Greek pilot of that name, in the service of Spain.

The only printed account of this voyage is contained in Purchas, who gives it, as he received it, from Mr. Michael Lok, English consul at Aleppo. It being important and curious, we extract the chief part of it, as follows.

"A note made by me, Michael Lok the elder, touching the Strait of Sea, commonly called *Fretum Anian,* in the South Sea, through the North-west passage of *Meta incognita.*

"When I was at Venice, in April, 1596, happily arriued there an old man, about threescore yeares of age, called commonly Iuan de Fuca, but named properly Apostolos Valerianos, of Nation a Greeke, borne in the Iland Cefalonia, of profession a Mariner; and an ancient Pilot of Shippes. This man being come lately out of Spaine, arriued first at Ligorno, and went thence to Florence in Italie, where he found one Iohn Dowglas, an Englishman, a famous Mariner, ready comming for Venice, to be Pilot of a Venetian Ship, named Ragasona for England, in whose company they came both together to Venice. And Iohn Dowglas being well acquainted with me before, he gaue me knowledge of this Greeke Pilot, and brought him to my speech: and in long talke and conference betweene vs, in presence of Iohn Dowglas: this Greeke Pilot declared, in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth.

"First he said, that he had bin in the West Indies of Spaine by the space of fortie yeers, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, as Mariner and Pilot, in the seruice of the Spaniards.

"Also he said, that he was in the Spanish Shippe, which in returning from the Ilands, Philippinas and China, towards Noua Spania, was robbed and taken at the Cape California, by Captaine Candish, Englishman, whereby he lost sixtie thousand Duckets of his owne goods.

"Also he said, that he was Pilot of three small Ships, which the Vizeroy of Mexico sent from Mexico, armed with one hundred men, Souldiers, vnder a Captain, Spaniards, to discouer the Straits of Anian, along the coast of the South-Sea, and to fortifie in that Strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English Nation, which were feared to passe through those Straits into the South Sea. And that by reason of a mutinie which happened among the Souldiers, for the Sodomie of their Captaine, that voyage was ouerthrowne, and the Ships returned backe from California coast to Noua Spania, without any effect of thing done in that Voyage. And that after their returne, the Captaine was at Mexico punished by iustice.

"Also he said, that shortly after the said Voyage was so ill

ended, the said Viceroy of Mexico, sent him out againe Anno 1592, with a small Carauela, and a Pinnace, armed with Mariners onely, to follow the said Voyage, for discouery of the same Straits of Anian, and the passage thereof, into the Sea which they call the North Sea, which is our North-west Sea. And that he followed his course in that Voyage West and North-west in the South Sea, all alongst the coast of Noua Spania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America (all which Voyage hee signified to me in a great Map, and a Sea-card of mine owne, which I laied before him) vntill hee came to the Latitude of fortie seuen degrees, and that there finding that the Land trended North and North-east, with a broad Inlet of Sea, betweene 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude: hee entred thereinto, sayling therein more then twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still some time North-west and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by diuers Ilands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinacle, or spired Rocke, like a piller thereupon.

"Also he said, that he went on Land in diuers places, and that he saw some people on Land, clad in Beasts skins: and that the Land is very fruitfull, and rich of gold, Siluer, Pearle, and other things, like Noua Spania.

"And also he said, that he being entred thus farre into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the Sea wide enough euery where, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where hee entred; hee thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing which he was sent to doe: and that hee not being armed to resist the force of the Saluage people that might happen, hee therefore set sayle and returned homewards againe towards Noua Spania, where hee arriued at Acapulco, Anno 1592. hoping to be rewarded greatly of the Viceroy, for this seruice done in this said Voyage.

"Also he said, that after his comming to Mexico, hee was greatly welcommed by the Viceroy, and had great promises of great reward, but that hauing sued there two yeares time, and obtained nothing to his content, the Viceroy told him, that he should be rewarded in Spaine of the King himselfe very greatly, and willed him therefore to goe into Spaine, which Voyage hee did performe.

"Also he said, that when he was come into Spaine, he was greatly welcommed there at the Kings Court, in wordes after the Spanish manner, but after long time of suite there also, hee could not get any reward there neither to his content. And

that therefore at the length he stole away out of Spaine, and came into Italie, to goe home againe and liue among his owne Kindred and Countrimen, he being very old.

"Also he said, that hee thought the cause of his ill reward had of the Spaniards, to bee for that they did vnderstand very well, that the English Nation had now giuen ouer all their voyages for discouerie of the North-west passage, wherefore they need not feare them any more to come that way into the South Sea, and therefore they needed not his seruice therein any more.

"Also he said, that in regard of this ill reward had of the Spaniards, and vnderstanding of the noble minde of the Queene of England, and of her warres maintayned so valiantly against the Spaniards, and hoping that her Maiestie would doe him iustice for his goods lost by Captaine Candish, he would bee content to goe into England, and serue her Maiestie in that voyage for the discouerie perfectly of the North-west passage into the South Sea, and would put his life into her Maiesties hands to performe the same, if shee would furnish him with onely one ship of fortie tunnes burden and a Pinnasse, and that he would performe it in thirtie dayes time, from one end to the other of the Streights. And he willed me so to write into England.

"And vpon this conference had twise with the said Greeke Pilot, I did write thereof accordingly into England vnto the right honourable the old Lord Treasurer Cecill, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Master Richard Hakluyt that famous Cosmographer, certifying them hereof by my Letters. And in the behalfe of the said Greeke Pilot, I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds of money, to bring him into England with my selfe, for that my owne purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answere hereof by Letters of friends, that this action was very well liked, and greatly desired in England to bee effected; but the money was not readie, and therefore this action dyed at that time, though the said Greeke Pilot perchance liueth still this day at home in his owne Countrie in Cefalonia, towards the which place he went from me within a fortnight after this conference had at Venice."—Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 849–851.

This account was for a long time doubted, or discredited, owing to want of knowledge of the facts. But the researches of Gray, Meares, Vancouver, Malaspina, and others, having shown that there is a broad strait in the place indicated by Juan de Fuca, answering in all essential particulars to his description; and the description being so exact as to negative altogether the supposition of its having been fabri-

cated, or derived from any other source than actual observation, the general sense of modern geographers has admitted the claim of the Greek pilot to the honor of the discovery of the Strait, and has bestowed upon it his name, which it now universally bears. To this effect is the valuable testimony of Vancouver,* of Burney,† of M. de Fleurieu,‡ and of the Quarterly Review.§ And the Review suggests a remarkable confirmation of the story of the old Greek pilot. Juan de Fuca speaks of being plundered by an English cruiser, commanded by one *Candish;* and Sir Thomas Cavendish (pronounced *Candish*) relates, that he found a Greek pilot in one of the Spanish ships, which he robbed in the Pacific. For the rest, though Lok's narrative contains some errors or exaggerations, they are no greater than occur in many (perhaps most) of the old voyages, and are no impeachment of the general credibility of the story.

Next to this comes the voyage of Sebastian Vizcaino, one of the most interesting and best conducted in the annals of navigation. Vizcaino was a man of great ability and experience, and of considerable personal distinction. In 1594, he commanded an important expedition in California, the conquest and settlement of which had been confided to his care. When the interests of the Manila commerce, which required a post of refuge in California, and the general desire to understand the nature of the shores of that country, caused the further exploration of the northwest coast to be undertaken by Philip the Third, the Conde de Monterey being Viceroy of Mexico, as stated in the extract given by us from Torquemada, the Viceroy selected Vizcaino for this service. The fleet, of which he was captain-general, consisted of three large vessels, the *San-Diego*, *Santo-Tomas*, and *Tres-Reyes*, with picked crews of seamen, and soldiers, commanded by officers of merit and reputation, including Torribio Gomez, as admiral, and Geronymo Martin, as cosmographer. Of this expedition a very full and authentic account exists in numerous original documents, an abridgment of which is to be found in Torquemada. In addition to which, are thirty-two original maps of the countries explored by the expedition, drawn up by Enrico Martinez, and vouched by Humboldt, as surpassing all previous works of that kind in accuracy and skill of con-

* Vol. I. p. 215. † Vol. II. p. 110. ‡ *Voyage de Marchand, int.*
§ Vol. XVI. p. 159.

struction. The fleet set sail from Acapulco, the 2nd of May, 1602, and arrived there on its return, the 21st of March, 1603. Vizcaino, himself, proceeded north only so far as Cape S. Sebastian, in lat. 42°, and north of Trinidad Bay. But one of his ships, the frigate *Tres-Reyes*, conducted by Antonio Flores, as pilot, and commanded by Martin de Aguilar, went on further, to lat. 43°, and, on the 19th of January, 1603, reached the mouth of a deep river, often called in the books after the name of Aguilar, being the same which is now called Rouge Clamet, or McLeod's River. There is some reason to suppose this river may have been visited by Cabrillo, in 1543. The discovery of it, unless made by Cabrillo, unquestionably belongs to Martin de Aguilar. It was the ultimate point of Vizcaino's expedition, which then returned to Acapulco.

Owing to the prejudice of the English writers, and their neglect of the old Spanish literature, great injustice has been done by them to Vizcaino, a man of the highest merit, and to his lieutenant, Aguilar. For instance, Lardner's "History of Maritime Discovery," speaks thus ;

"*It is said*, that one of Vizcaino's captains in this expedition, named Martin de Aguilar, being separated from the squadron by the violence of the winds, succeeded in doubling Cape Mendocino, which, till then, had been only seen from a distance. Thirty leagues further to the north, he discovered a second Cape, or Point, to which he gave the name of Cape Blanco. Beyond this, the coast declined to the eastward ; and here he discovered a broad and navigable inlet, which he supposed to be the mouth of a great river, leading to the celebrated city called Quivira. Recent researches have found no traces of the celebrated city of Quivira ; and had Aguilar pretended to have himself seen it, the truth of his relation might be justly suspected. But the fictions, which pervade his account, can be easily explained from the opinions of his age." — Vol. II. p. 221.

Here is a strange tissue of mixed truth and error. "*It is said*, that one of Vizcaino's captains !" Why, *It is said ?* — It is known. If the writer could not read Torquemada and the other Spanish authorities, there was Humboldt's New Spain to satisfy him of the true state of the facts. Aguilar was not the first navigator who doubled Cape Mendocino. There are no "fictions" in his account. He (Aguilar) does not pretend or say any thing about the city of Quivira, or the Strait

of Anian. It is *Torquemada*, who, after giving an account of what Aguilar actually did see, proceeds to *conjecture*, that it may be the entrance of the Strait of Anian, with its city of Quivira. Then again, as to the coast declining to the "eastward," and the "inlet," — there is nothing of this in the original account. Torquemada's words are ;

"A diez y nueve de Enero, se hallò el piloto Antonio Flores, que iba en la fragata, en altura de quarenta y tres grados, donde la tierra hace un cabo ò punta, que se llamò Cabo Blanco ; desde el qual comienza la costa à correrse al *Norueste* (northwestward, not *east*ward) ; y junto à èl se hallò un rio muy caudaloso, y hondable, que por las orillas de èl havia muy grandes fresnos, sauces, zarzas, y otros arboles de Castilla ; y queriendo entrar por èl, las corrientes no dieron lugar à ello."

Not a word of an inlet is here, but a simple and true description of the river, which is well known to exist at the designated point. Or, as the editor of Venegas remarks ; "It is worthy of notice, that what these Spaniards found, or saw, was not an inlet, strait, or arm of the sea, but only a river. The residue, which is afterwards added, about the Strait of Anian, &c., it is obvious, is mere conjecture of Torquemada, without any foundation." *

Thus much in justice to the memory of Sebastian Vizcaino and Martin de Aguilar. After their time, for a long series of years, the northwest coast was left unexplored by Spain ; for we do not rely on the story of De Fonte's voyage, in 1640, as authentic. And the reason of the cessation of the efforts of Spain is to be sought for, not in her neglect of navigation, but in the necessary change of her policy. She had ceased to desire the existence of a northwest passage from Europe to the Pacific ; because, though such a passage might in some respects be useful to her, it would be greatly more injurious to her in other respects, inasmuch as it would bring down upon her possessions in the Pacific and Indian seas the piratical cruisers of the northern nations of Europe. If the reader will call to mind the feverish apprehensions of Great Britain, at the present time, in regard to the practicability of access to Hindostan from Russia through Persia, — the anxiety of Britain, not to *dis*cover, but to *cover up*, the possibility of such access, — he will then com-

* Tom. III. p. 116.

prehend the policy, which actuated the Spanish government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in reference to a northern route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the exploration of the northwestern coast of America. The Spaniards did not wish to see the coast of Mexico swarming with English privateers, capturing their treasure-ships, and plundering their maritime towns and settlements. The expeditions of Drake and Cavendish had shown, that the circuit of Cape Horn did not furnish to Spain a complete security for her remote possessions in the Pacific. Still more alarming would have been their insecurity, if accessible by a ready passage from Hudson's Bay.

We have alluded to the supposititious voyage called De Fonte's; and we proceed to give an account of it, both as a curiosity in itself, and because it contains some things of particular interest.

There was published in London, in 1708, an anonymous periodical work, entitled "Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious." Two successive numbers of this publication contained a piece bearing the following caption;

"A Letter from Admiral Bartholomew de Fonte, the Admiral of New Spain and Peru, and now Prince of Chili; giving an Account of the most material Transactions in a Journal of his, from the Calo of Lima, in Peru, on his Discoveries to find out if there was any North West Passage from the Atlantic Ocean into the South and Tartarian Sea."

This piece appeared in English, without any explanation as to the source from whence it was obtained, or any apology for this omission. It attracted much attention, however, all over Europe; and was translated into several languages. It is republished in Burney's "Voyages," (Vol. III.) word for word, together with a brief notice of the controversy, as to its authenticity. Burney himself calls it "a geographical meteor," and adds, that, "notwithstanding the unauthenticated and unceremonious manner in which it was obtruded on the public, it has found able defenders. Among these the most conspicuous are MM. Joseph de l'Isle, of the French Academy of Sciences, and Philippe Buache, who, in 1750, presented to the Academy a translation of the letter, together with a map, exhibiting the supposed communication by water from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific.* On the other hand, re-

* *Hist. de l'Acad.* 1750, p. 152.

spectable Spanish authors, such as the editors of Father Venegas's *California*, and of the *Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana*, affirm, that the public repositories in Spain and the Indies have been carefully searched, and that neither journal, copies of orders, nor any paper whatever relating to such a voyage, can be found.* Arguments both ways are founded, also, on the internal evidence of the document itself. Thus, to the objection that De Fonte is styled "*Prince* of Chili," it is replied, that an ignorant translator of a Spanish manuscript might easily mistake the abbreviation *Pr.* (President) for *Prince.* The exaggerations contained in it also go for nothing, as a mixture of the fabulous is very common in the most genuine of the old voyages. On the whole, Burney concludes thus ;

"It may not be thought conceding too much to the letter from Admiral de Fonte to allow, (what indeed cannot be denied,) that at this time it is not determined, whether it is a rodomontade narrative of a real voyage, or an idle piece of invention, such as is attributed to Petiver. In either case, it has been an event of some celebrity in the history of geography. But De Fonte's voyage does not stand on ground so creditable as does the voyage of De Fuca, of which it may be supposed an imitation. The Spaniards have been charged, for it merits not to be called an accusation, with not publishing all the discoveries they have made in America and the Pacific Ocean. However this matter may be argued, it is not possible to those who read the relations of Juan de Fuca and Bartholomew de Fonte, and compare them with the modern charts, not to imagine that Spain did obtain more acquaintance with the northwest parts of America, than it was thought necessary by her to impart to the rest of the world."

A circumstance which has served to gain some credence for this voyage, is, that Witsen, in his "Nord en Oost Tartarye," speaks of a famous Portuguese seaman (vermaede Portuguesche zeeman), named *De Fonta*, who, in 1649, at the cost of the King of Spain, "visited the Tierra del Fuego and the Staten Island, and examined every creek." This work of Witsen's appeared in 1705, three years before the publication in the "Monthly Miscellany." So that there seems to have been such a person as De Fonte or De Fonta, distinguished as a discoverer ; and this point, like that of Mal-

* Venegas, *Cal.* Tom. III. p. 352; *Viage de la Sutil*, &c. *Int.* p. 79.

donado's and De Fuca's voyages, deserves to be more fully investigated by those who have leisure and opportunity (which we have not) for such investigations.

The letter purports, that De Fonte sailed along the Pacific coast of America from Chili, by Peru and Mexico, *into the Arctic sea*, where he met *a ship from Boston, commanded by a Captain Shapley*. It is described as follows ;

"The 17th (July, 1640), we came to an Indian town, and the Indians told our interpreter, Mr. Parmentiers, that a little way from us lay a great ship where there had never been one before. We sailed to them, and found only one man advanced in years and a youth. The man was the greatest man in the mechanical parts of the mathematics I had ever met with. My second mate was an Englishman, an excellent seaman, as was my gunner, who had been taken prisoners at Campeachy, as well as the master's son. They told me the ship was of New England, from a town called Boston. The owner and the whole ship's company came on board the 30th, and the navigator of the ship, Captain Shapley, told me, his owner was a fine gentleman, and major-general of the largest colony in New England, called the Maltechusets. So I received him like a gentleman, and told him, my commission was to make prize of any people seeking a northwest or west passage into the South Sea ; but I would look upon them as merchants trading with the natives for beavers, otters, and other furs and skins ; and so for a small present of provisions I had no need of, I gave him my diamond ring, which cost me twelve hundred pieces of eight (which the modest gentleman received with difficulty) ; and having given the brave navigator, Captain Shapley, for his fine charts and journals, one thousand pieces of eight, and the owner of the ship, Seimor Gibbons, a quarter cask of good Peruan wine, and the ten seamen each twenty pieces of eight, the 6th of August, with as much wind as we could fly before, and a current, we arrived at the first fall of the river Parmentiers," &c.

The letter goes on to relate De Fonte's return to the Pacific, by the way he came. Without feeling any confidence in the genuineness of this letter, we yet think there is in it matter for investigation ; such as the fact, that it gives a just account of the climate and the productions of the northwest, repeatedly speaking of the profusion of *salmon* in the rivers, which is really one of their most characteristic peculiarities. But we dwell upon the subject chiefly in the hope, that information may be thereby elicited in regard to the early

voyages from New England, either to the region of Hudson's Bay, or to the northwest. Did any Massachusetts vessel, so early as the middle of the seventeenth century, find her way around Cape Horn to the northwest? Did any person named *Shapley* (or Shepley, or Shapleigh) make a commercial voyage at that period to Hudson's Bay? Knowing, as we do, the hardihood and enterprise which have in all times distinguished the maritime population of New England, we should greatly rejoice to see some of their old adventures redeemed from oblivion. That they were familiar with the Labrador seas at a very early period, is perfectly notorious; and of this a curious memorial exists, in one of the old voyages of discovery. For, at about the same period with De Fonte's alleged voyage, M. de Groseiller was despatched from Quebec, for the purpose of discovery in Hudson's Bay; and, landing near Nelson's River, he found six persons in a wretched hut, half famished, part of the crew of a ship from Boston, which had been driven to sea by the ice, while they were on shore, and never returned.*

Without relying, then, upon De Fonte's Letter, and giving away even the voyage of Maldonado, it will be perceived that we have authentic proofs, that Cabrillo (or Ferrelo) had explored to latitude 43° in 1543; that Gali was at 37° 30′, if not at 57° 30′, in 1582; that the San Agustin was at the Bay of San Francisco, in 1595; that Juan de Fuca entered the strait now bearing his name in 1599; and that, in 1602, Vizcaino (that is, Martin de Aguilar,) surveyed the coast of California, as far up as the river of Aguilar. Beside which, the outer coast of California was explored immediately after the conquest, by the orders of Cortes and of Mendoza, to Cape Mendocino, and was repeatedly visited by the Manila ships, to provide a port for which the expedition of Vizcaino was in part undertaken. And upon these various discoveries, and the proximity of their settlements in Mexico, the government of Spain proceeded, in the course of the seventeenth century, to make or authorize settlements in New California, so as to acquire all the territorial rights, by which any European government ever has obtained original claim to sovereignty of the soil in America.

Yet Great Britain sets up claims to sovereignty on the

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* *London Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI. p. 160.

northwest coast, in virtue of the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, who landed in 1579, at some point on the coast of California, either in the Bay of San Francisco, or, more probably, in the port of Bodega, but it is not well settled which. Sir Francis Drake also approached the coast in 42° or 43° N., but without landing. One of the accounts of his voyage, indeed, (*The World Encompassed*,) says he went to 48° N. ; but this is incompatible with other parts of the same book, and also with another of the old books (*Famous Voyage*, &c.). They tell the story thus : On the 3d of June, Drake was in latitude 42° ; on the 5th, he made land in latitude 43° ; but it had then come on cold and tempestuous weather, and he was compelled to turn back, and so made a harbour in latitude 38° 30′. These are the figures given in the books.

Although Sir Francis pretended to take possession of the country, and to call it *New Albion*, this could amount to nothing as against Spain, the prior discoverer. England, by touching at New California, could not acquire any rights whatever ; for whatever right such an act may be deemed, by the European conventional law, to confer, had already been appropriated by Spain. And Spain also proceeded to do that, which England did not do, and which, by the same European conventional law, is deemed the consummation of the inchoate title gained by discovery, namely, the formation of settlements in the country discovered. To say nothing, therefore, of the absurdity of claiming title for England as against Spain, by the piratical acts of a professional pirate, such as Sir Francis Drake, in most of his expeditions along the American coast, was, — to say nothing of this, — if Sir Francis Drake had been a peaceful, or at any rate a just explorer in behalf of England, yet, according even to the most liberal of all the rules of international law applicable to his case, his acts in reality conferred on his government no territorial rights whatever in America.

But the operations of Sir Francis Drake in the Pacific, and those of Sir Thomas Cavendish in 1588, with others of the same spirit, changed, as we have already stated, the policy of Spain, in regard to a northwest passage, and in regard to the *public* exploration of the northwestern coast of America. We are at a loss to know what apology, unless it be the barbarism of the times, Great Britain can adduce, for the scandalous proceedings perpetrated in Spanish America, un-

der her flag. Piracy is too tender a name for those brutalities. Drake referred his own acts to the *inducement* of personal revenge, though the *object* was mere avarice. Whether Drake had any cause for personal resentment, is easy to judge by the facts. He began life as a *slave-trader*, under Hawkins. In searching for a market for his human cargoes, Hawkins stormed and took the town of Rio de la Hacha, simply "*because the Governor did not choose to trade with him.*" He proceeded to S. Juan de Ulua, conducting there like a king's fleet in time of war, rather than a private trader. At length, the Spaniards were obliged to repress by force the insolence of bucaniers, who began by stealing men in Africa, on speculation, and then assaulted towns in America, which would not buy their stolen men; and a fight ensued, in which some of Hawkins's vessels were destroyed; and thus Drake, though he returned to England in safety, yet *lost money* by his half slave-trading, half-piratical voyage. This misadventure was his apology for taking up, and systematically pursuing the business of piracy, plunder, and murder against the inhabitants of Spanish America, indiscriminately. Instead of raking up those old voyages as titles of territory or honor, England should desire to see the memory of them buried in everlasting oblivion. Least of all, should her writers in modern times complain of the "secrecy which the Spanish nation affected to preserve with respect to their discoveries" in the Pacific, or themselves add to the distortion of history, by purposely suppressing the knowledge of Spanish discoveries, in order thereby to give undue prominence to those of England.

Discovery in the North Pacific was revived, not by England, but by Russia, who, in consequence of her Asiatic possessions, very naturally turned her attention to the opposite coast of America. The voyages of Behring, and Tschirikow, in 1728, 1729, and 1741, led to a more exact knowledge of the relative bearings of the Asiatic and American coasts in the high northern latitudes, and to the Russian establishments on the Aleutian Islands, and the promontory of Alaska.

These events alarmed Spain, and stimulated England; and the numerous voyages of those two nations to the northwest coast ensued. First of all, was the important voyage of Don Juan Perez. He set sail from the port of San Blas in Jan-

uary, 1774, in the corvette *Santiago*, with Esteban José Martinez, for pilot, having orders to reconnoitre the coast from Monterey, to the 60th degree of north latitude. They anchored in the road of Nootka, in August, 1774, *first of all Europeans*, and called it San Lorenzo. It was *four years afterwards*, that Cook visited the same place, and called it King George's Sound.*

The year following, 1775, a second expedition sailed from San Blas, under the orders of Don Bruno Heceta, Don Juan de Ayala, and Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra. The incidents of this voyage are known to English readers by the journal of the pilot Maurelle, published in Barrington's "Miscellanies." They explored the coast up to latitude 58°, and were the first to discover the mouth of the river Columbia, which they called Entrada de Heceta.†

In 1776, another expedition from San Blas to the northwest was projected by the Spanish government, and intrusted to Quadra and to Don Ignacio Arteaga; but it did not set sail until 1779. Quadra, with his pilot Don Francisco Maurelle, surveyed in this expedition the port of Bucareli, as in their former voyage; also, Mount St. Elias, and the Isle of La Magdalena. (Hinchinbrook.)

We find very slighting accounts of these voyages in the English books of abridgment, which so minutely describe that of Cook, who, on his third and last voyage, in 1778, explored the coast of America from Nootka Sound to Behring's Strait, but, being posterior to the Spanish navigators, Perez, Heceta, and others of the older ones, could not by this voyage confer any rights of discovery on Great Britain. Moreover, Cook's explorations, it will be remembered, were from Nootka Sound, northward, and do not touch the country of Oregon.

Next comes the unfortunate French expedition of La Pérouse, who, in 1786, was at Mount St. Elias, and sailed from thence to Monterey, but without making any novel discoveries of value, on that coast.

Voyages to the northwest were now interrupted for a while, by the progress of the American Revolution, which involved Britain, France, and Spain, as well as the United States, in a common war. But immediately after the restoration of peace,

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* Humboldt, *N. Esp.* Vol. I. p. 331. † Humboldt, Vol. I. p. 330.

commerce turned its attention to the productive fur-trade of that region; Great Britain and the United States became competitors with Russia for the supply of peltries in the markets of Asia; and a great number of private merchant vessels began to frequent Nootka Sound and the neighbouring seas and islands. Among these commercial navigators, the Englishmen, Meares, Portlocke, and Dixon, and the American, Robert Gray, distinguished themselves by their valuable additions to the geographical knowledge of the coast; especially, by entering and exploring the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and thus proving conclusively, that the story of the old pilot was a true one, and that the credit of the first discovery of that strait is due to Spain.

We shall recur to Gray's voyages in a subsequent paragraph, leaving them at present in order to continue the account of the Spanish ones,— to show that Spain did not, by any neglect or abandonment, lose the rights, which she already possessed by prior discovery.

In 1788, two Spanish vessels, commanded by Don Esteban Martinez and Don Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, sailed from San Blas to examine the Russian establishments in America; and, in 1799, Martinez proceeded with the same vessels for the purpose of making a settlement in Nootka Sound, and constructed the fort of San Miguel on one of the islands there. Two months after this, arrived the English ship *Argonaut*, fitted out by a new trading corporation in England, called "King George's Sound Company," which, in the grasping and rapacious spirit that has actuated the East India Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, pretended to monopolize to itself the trade and territory of Nootka Sound. Martinez demanded by what right England undertook to do this. Colnet, the commander of the *Argonaut*, referred to Cook's voyage. Martinez very justly replied, that he himself, under Perez, had anticipated Cook, in the discovery of Nootka Sound, by four years; a fact well remembered by the natives, who had a perfect recollection of Martinez personally, and of the expedition of Perez. At length, Martinez put an end to the dispute by arresting Colnet, and sending him to San Blas. At the same time, other vessels, commanded by Don Francisco Elisa and Don Salvador Fidalgo, were sent from Mexico to support Martinez. Fidalgo formed a second Spanish settlement or fort to the

southeast of Quadra's Island, *on the main land*, at the entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in latitude 48° 20′ N. This fact is important to be remembered. For we thus see, that Spain was the first European power that doubled Cape Mendocino and Cape Blanco, the first that visited the river of Aguilar, the first that discovered the inlet of Columbia River, the first that visited Nootka Sound, the first that discovered the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and *the first that formed any establishment, on any part of the northwest coast, from California to the forty-ninth degree of north latitude.* Hers is the prior title to that of England, both by discovery and by settlement.

Meanwhile, the seizure of Colnet had excited a very lively sensation in Europe, and well-nigh involved Britain and Spain in a new war. This was the celebrated Nootka Sound controversy; a diplomatic question, into which we do not propose to enter at present; which controversy being disposed of by a convention between Great Britain and Spain, the design, previously conceived by the British government, to have a more careful survey of the northwest coast, was resumed, and intrusted to Vancouver. His exertions were meritorious and valuable. Not, however, that he made any new discovery of *national* consequence, but that he followed up successfully those of others, and accurately reconnoitred an extensive region. This was done during the years 1792, 1793, and 1794.

Of course, the English compilations give to Vancouver all the credit he deserves, and much that he does not deserve, and never claimed. The "History of Discovery," already referred to, assigns to Vancouver, by implication, if not in express terms, the honor of first entering Columbia River.* And yet Vancouver himself, in his own narrative, states truly and candidly, with the frankness natural to a brave sailor, that he derived the knowledge of the existence of Columbia River from Captain Gray, who had previously visited it, and named it; and who spoke Vancouver, and communicated to him the fact! On the 29th of April, 1792, Vancouver says, that he spoke the ship *Columbia* of Boston, Captain Robert Gray; that Gray gave information of a river in 46° 10′; and he then proceeds to mention a previous voyage, that of the Washington, in which Gray had entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca.†

* Vol. III. pp. 138, 139. † *Voyage*, Vol. I.

Afterwards, when Vancouver sent Broughton, one of his officers, to explore the River Columbia, he says, "Broughton had for his guidance thus far up the inlet, a chart by Mr. Gray, who had commanded the American ship *Columbia*."* In the same place, he uses the name of *Point Adams*, applied by Gray. Yet not a word of this in the "History of Discovery"!

The exact facts, derived from authentic documents, public and private, in our possession, are as follows:

In the year 1787, Joseph Barrell, a distinguished merchant of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, projected a voyage of commerce and discovery to the northwest coast of America; and Samuel Brown, Charles Bulfinch, John Derby, Crowell Hatch, and John M. Pintard, citizens of the United States, became associated with him in the enterprise. Two vessels, the ship *Columbia*, commanded by John Kendrick, and the sloop *Washington* by Robert Gray, were equipped, and provided with suitable cargoes for traffic with the natives, and set sail from Boston in October, 1787. This expedition was regarded with much interest, it being the first attempt from the United States to circumnavigate the globe. The *Columbia* arrived at Nootka Sound the 16th of September, 1788, and the *Washington* soon afterwards. Here they proceeded to collect furs. While on the coast, Captain Gray, in the *Washington*, entered into, and sailed some way up the long-lost Strait of Juan de Fuca, which Martinez, in 1774, had seen, but not entered. Captain Gray was then transferred to the *Columbia*, and proceeded in her to Canton with the furs collected, and at Canton took in a cargo of teas for Boston, Captain Kendrick remaining on the coast in the *Lady Washington*. Thus far, the enterprise had not proved a gainful one to the parties, two of whom, Messrs. Derby and Pintard, disposed of their shares to Messrs. Barrell and Brown; who, with their remaining associates, decided, nevertheless, to despatch the *Columbia* once again, with Captain Gray, to the northwest coast. He accordingly proceeded thither, and, on the 7th of May, 1792, came in sight of land in latitude 46° 58′, and anchored in what he named *Bulfinch's Harbour*. On the 11th of May he entered a large river; and, on the 14th, sailed up the same about fourteen miles, and remained in the river until the 21st of May. To this river he gave the name of his ship, and the

* Vol. II. p. 53.

north side of the entrance he called *Cape Hancock*, the south side, *Point Adams*. This is the first entrance and exploration of the River Columbia; the inlet, or bay of which, however, had been seen by Ayala and Heceta, and called by them Entrada de Heceta, as we have before stated; and, so far as the discovery and exploration of this river from the sea can confer any claims of sovereignty, those claims, therefore, belong to the United States, both in her own right and in right of Spain. And, although the voyage was unprofitable to its enterprising projectors, it was highly important to the United States, as well by giving rights of discovery, as because it opened the way to a most valuable and productive commerce, which was afterwards pursued by other citizens of the United States.

Of these peculiar facts, more especially the discovery of the Columbia, we gain no distinct idea from the popular English histories of maritime discovery. We cannot believe, that all their suppressions and amplifications are innocent or simple accidents, or allow, that they should be excused by the plea of national vainglory.

This trait is further evinced, by the manner in which the same work just hints at the fact of the Spanish explorations, simultaneous with those of Vancouver, treating them as of no account, and mentioning no names, and then proceeding to say, after giving the history of Vancouver's voyage; "No further knowledge was obtained of the northwest coast of America until 1816." We do not know whether this mode of treating the subject, by which the honor of the explorations of that period is thus almost exclusively assumed for Great Britain, is to be imputed to gross carelessness or wilful misrepresentation. At any rate, it is the reverse of truth; for the voyage of Malaspina in 1791, and that of Galiano and Valdes in 1792, may well compare in dignity and importance with those of Cook and Vancouver.

Malaspina sailed from Cadiz in 1789, in the corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, and, having other objects, did not reach Acapulco on his way to the northwest, until February, 1791. He spent a part of that year in surveying the extreme northwest coast in search of the strait supposed to have been discovered by Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, and in taking the heights of mountains, and the exact position of great points, as well to the north of and near to Nootka Sound, as on the coast of New Spain.

At the suggestion of Malaspina, the Conde de Revillagigedo, Viceroy of New Spain, despatched on another expedition the schooners *Sutil* and *Mejicana*, commanded by Don Dionisio Galiano and Don Cayetano Valdes, to make survey of the coast between Cape Mendocino and Nootka Sound, which, thus far, had been passed by, or only cursorily examined, by other navigators. Galiano and Valdes, like Malaspina, possessed all the qualities of character and science required for this duty. In the course of this voyage, they completed the survey of the strait of Juan de Fuca, sailing all around the island of Quadra and Vancouver, meeting and having the most friendly intercourse with Vancouver on those seas. They also explored the River Columbia. The result of their labors was published in Spain in 1802,* with a learned introduction, ascribed to Navarrete. †

There still remained another tract of coast, between latitudes 51° and 56° N., not satisfactorily explored; and this was done in 1792, by Don Jacinto Caamaño, in the frigate *Aranzazu*, under the orders of the Viceroy of New Spain. ‡

In saying, also, that, except what Vancouver did, nothing further was discovered on the northwest coast, until Kotzebue's Russian voyage in 1816, the author of the "History of Discovery" overlooks other Russian voyages, more especially that of Billings, terminated in 1794, § and the progressive settlements of Russia north of 54°, which Great Britain has recognised by treaty, as well as the United States.

Our contemplated task is finished. We have hastily reviewed the history of northwestern discovery, down to the close of the eighteenth century. What has happened subsequently, and since the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, belongs to another branch of the subject, which we may, perhaps, discuss at some future time. We close with two or three incidental remarks.

In popular language, and also in the proceedings of Congress, the country belonging to the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, is called Oregon, although the name of *Columbia* is now very generally applied to the great river by which that country is watered. And it is desirable to continue to call the river by the name of *Columbia*, which pre-

* *Viage de las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana.*
† See Navarrete's *Coleccion de Viages*, French Trans. Tom I. p. 393.
‡ Humboldt, *N. Esp.* Tom. I. p. 343. § Maltebrun.

serves the memory of Gray's discovery. But the name *Columbia* has other uses in the United States, and elsewhere in America, which render it inconvenient as the designation of the country, of which Oregon seems to be the fixed appellation. We wish that Mr. Worcester, or Mr. Bradford, or some scholar in the Western States, distinguished like those gentlemen for geographical science, would explain the origin of this word *Oregon*, which, so far as we know, is not satisfactorily settled. Mr. Darby, in his "Gazetteer," traces the name to the Spanish *origano*, for the sweet marjoram, growing on the banks of the river. But to this it is a serious objection, that the name *Oregon* does not seem, so far as we remember, to have been in use among the Spaniards. And as there are, and have been no settlers of that nation upon the river, how should their word for wild marjoram come to designate the river? Humboldt speaks of "le mot indien *Origan*.* Of what Indians is it the word? Not of those living on the Columbia. Humboldt also talks of the "Orégan de Mackenzie."† But Mackenzie did not introduce the word. We find it in Carver's Travels (1763), and that is the oldest authority for it which has met our eye.

In one place, Carver speaks of the "Oregan, or River of the West;" in another, of "The river Oregon, or River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at *the Straits of Anian*." Did Carver derive all his knowledge of this river from the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, among whom he travelled? And if so, is the name of their giving? That is what seems most probable. For how else could he know any thing of it? We have no reason to suppose the inlet of the river had been visited by Europeans prior to Heceta's voyage in 1774, or the mouth of the river itself before the time of Robert Gray, in 1792. Nor do we remember any account of the Rocky Mountains having been crossed by Europeans, and the Columbia seen by them in that direction, so long ago as the time of Carver. But there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that the Indians of the Upper Mississippi and Missouri may have had early intercourse with the Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains, or even visited the Oregon in person, and given it some significant name of their own. Has the word *Oregon* a meaning in the language of any of those Indians?

* Humboldt, p. 342. † Ibid.

The true test of the first application of the names of great natural objects, like rivers and mountains, is, to find a people in whose language the names are significant. The names of places thus come to be valuable historic monuments. Thus, in Britain, the Celtic, Roman, Saxon, Norman, and English words, which designate localities, all testify to the presence of the successive nations, which have occupied the island. Even the terminations of words do this. *Cester* (castra), is a Roman camp, *stead* or *ham* is of the Saxons. And we should very much like to see a table of the Indian proper names of the geography of the United States, with the true etymology of each, and a reference to the tribe in whose language it is a *speaking* word.

Again. What led Carver to associate together the River Oregon, and the Strait of Anian? Had he read Torquemada's account of the river of Aguilar?

These are questions we would gladly see answered. Our doubts on the subject may arise from want of due investigation on our part; and, if so, rather than to remain ignorant, we choose, in this as in every other case, plainly to confess our ignorance.

One thing more. The fact is now thoroughly established, that the Arctic Sea encompasses the northern extremity of America. The Hudson's Bay Company, for more than a century, was the great obstacle to the proper exploration of the arctic regions of North America. Or, in the pungent language of the Quarterly Review, "From the moment this body of 'Adventurers' was instituted, the *spirit* of adventure died away; and every succeeding effort was palsied by the baneful influence of monopoly, of which the discovery of a northwest passage was deemed the forerunner of destruction." The Northwest Company, after competing awhile with the Hudson's Bay Company, drove the latter to a compromise; and the result has been the union of the two associations, under the corrupt charter of the latter, and the formation of a still more gigantic monopoly, which, like the East India Company in Asia, has gradually extended its odious and usurped dominion over an immense region of North America; — constituting a dangerous nondescript foreign power, intruded among us under cover of the flag of Great Britain, which nation stands ready to avow or disavow its acts, as the tide of circumstances may turn. This Company, we say, — which

we desire at all proper times to hold up to the censure and watchfulness of the people of the United States, — has in later times been shamed into occasional acts of exploration along the Arctic Sea. It professes to have finished that, which Parry, Ross, and Franklin had all but finished. Messrs. Dease and Simpson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, have recently explored the little there was left of unknown betwixt the mouth of Mackenzie's River and Behring's Strait. And we may now aver, — *There is a Strait of Anian.* That is to say, there is a water communication (though more or less obstructed by ice) from the Atlantic to the Pacific, along the arctic side of North America. That being the fact, it might be well, as a matter of historical curiosity, to reconsider the stories of Maldonado, De Fonte, Urdaneta, and Ladrillero, and to compare them with modern observation, so as to judge how far they may thus appear, any of them, to have been founded on actual discovery and knowledge, or to be pure fable. The result of this might be to restore merited honor to another Juan de Fuca.

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ART. IV. — 1. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste.* Par P. S. LAPLACE, Membre de l'Institut National de France et du Bureau des Longitudes. Tome Premier, pp. 368, et Tome Second, pp. 382. An VII. 4to.

2. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste.* Par P. S. LAPLACE, Membre du Sénat Conservateur, de l'Institut National et du Bureau des Longitudes de France ; des Sociétés Royales de Londres et de Gottingue, des Académies des Sciences de Russie, de Danemark, d'Italie, etc. Tome Troisième. Paris, An XI. 1802. pp. 303.

3. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste.* Par M. LAPLACE, Chancelier du Sénat Conservateur, Grand-Officer de la Légion d'Honneur, Membre de l'Institut et du Bureau des Longitudes de France ; des Sociétés Royales de Londres et de Gottingue ; des Académies des Sciences de Russie, de Danemark, d'Italie, etc. Tome Quatrième. An XIII.=1805. pp. 347.

4. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste.* Par M. LE MARQUIS DE LAPLACE, Pair de France ; Grand Croix de la Légion d'Honneur ; l'un des Quarante de l'Académie Fran-

çaise; Membre du Bureau des Longitudes de France; des Sociétés Royales de Londres et de Gottingue; des Académies des Sciences de Russie, de Danemark, de Suède, de Prusse, des Pays-Bas, d'Italie, de Boston, etc. Tome Cinquième. 1825. pp. 419.

5. *Mécanique Céleste.* By the Marquis de La Place, Peer of France; Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor; Member of the French Academy; of the Academy of Sciences at Paris; of the Board of Longitude of France; of the Royal Societies of London and Göttingen; of the Academies of Sciences of Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Holland, and Italy; Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, &c. Translated, with a Commentary, by Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., Fellow of the Royal Societies of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; of the Astronomical Society of London; of the Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia; of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, etc. Volume I. 1829. pp. 746. Volume II. 1832. pp. 990. Volume III. 1834. pp. 1017. Volume IV. pp. 1018.
6. *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., F. R. S., delivered in the Church on Church Green, March* 25, 1838. By Alexander Young. Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo. pp. 120.
7. *An Eulogy on the Life and Character of Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., F. R. S., delivered at the Request of the Corporation of the City of Salem, May* 24, 1838. By Daniel Appleton White. Salem: 8vo. pp. 72.
8. *Eulogy on Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; including an Analysis of his Scientific Publications. Delivered before the Academy, May* 29, 1838. By John Pickering, *Corresponding Secretary of the Academy.* Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo. pp. 101.

Compared with the infinite variety and extent of physical phenomena, the domains of the science of quantity would, at first sight, seem confined to very narrow limits. But when we consider, that mathematics treat of all forms and motions; when we find the sweetest tones and the brightest colors, the lightning and the rainbow, heat and cold, and the very winds

and waves subject to the strictest laws of motion ; when, in short, we learn, that the whole world is bound together upon mechanical principles ; we must concede that the ocean, upon which the mathematician has launched his ship, is as unbounded as the material universe. But, of all sciences, the one the best fitted for the application and advancement of geometry is Astronomy ; and the phenomena of the firmament, as developed by the geometer, are so glorious and so sublime, as to realize the fabled music of the spheres. Here, however, we must stop, and not trench upon the empire of fancy. It is for the man of science to calculate the harmony of the heavens with his slate and pencil, and he may not presume to sing it with the harp of the bard ; it is not his to gaze, to admire and wonder, but to observe with care, to know and comprehend. As the sailor is not the poet of the sea, neither is the mathematician the poet of the sky ; but, like a rapid and impetuous torrent, the depth of his channel deprives him of the view of the fertile fields and splendid scenery, through which he is hurrying to his sole object, the sea of truth.

Mournful is it to think, that national prejudices could ever intrude themselves into the council-chamber of philosophy. But so it is. Though France has, for many years, been the land of mathematicians, her eminence has not taught her magnanimity. Her neighbours, England, Germany, and Italy, have complained of her eagerness to appropriate their labors, and of her reluctance to acknowledge their merits ; and more than once has she cast shafts of envy even at the immortal legislator of the physical universe. The historian of astronomy, Delambre, of whom she is rightly proud, did indeed allow, that Newton stood alone, above all other astronomers, and called him " cet homme unique"; but, nevertheless, he dwelt much upon the exaggerated homage the English paid him, upon the steps which previous mathematicians had taken in anticipation of his discoveries, and upon the imperfections of the " Principia." He says of the lunar theory, that he had been sometimes tempted to suspect, that some of the results were not derived, as they professed to be, from theory, but from the examination of observations ; confessing, that he would not have ventured upon such an insinuation, if it had not been before made by Clairaut. He is for giving Bouilland the honor of discovering the law of gravitation, and Newton that

of demonstrating it ; and even this share of the glory Newton must divide with his good fortune. Because he had received from Kepler the laws of the planetary motions, and from Huygens those of motion in general ; because an accurate measure of the earth had been recently made ; and, more than all, because he had the analysis which he himself created ; Delambre would conclude, with Lagrange, that, even if Newton were the greatest of mathematicians and natural philosophers, he was also the most fortunate. "For," he says, "a world to be explained, and materials ready for its explanation, are to be met with but once ; to meet with them was Newton's good fortune ; he knew how to profit by it ; there lies his glory."

These conclusions, not unsupported by facts, but characterized by a tone of jealousy unworthy of the amiable and illustrious Lagrange, were repeated in the "*Systême du Monde*" ; as if such good fortune were not always the lot of genius. Galileo found it in the almost accidental invention of the telescope ; Kepler, in the friendship of Tycho Brahe, without whose observations he might never have left a wilderness of fanciful speculations, in which the present fashionable philosophy would have rioted, to reap his glorious harvest from the fruitful fields of inductive science ; and Laplace himself found it in the ready assistance and coöperation of the first observers and calculators of Europe. Nature, indeed, seems, when casting the lot of her great men, to load her dice with peculiar care ; and her favorite sons are ever born at the most fortunate epochs. But the author of the "Optics," the "Fluxions," and the "Principia," was, in no respect, the genius of accident ; his thrice-won immortality towered far above his good fortune ; and the striking fact must not be forgotten, that precisely the same good fortune was that of his noble rival, Leibnitz, who had likewise created the very same analysis. But, far from knowing how to profit by it, as Newton had done, he even opposed the "Principia" and the law of gravitation with all his might, was joined in his opposition by the first geometers of the age, and, in the words of Biot, "it was half a century before the great truth, contained and demonstrated in the 'Principia,' was, I will not say, followed and developed, but before it was even comprehended by the majority of the learned."

The recent discovery of some old papers has led to singu-

lar discussions regarding the reputation of Newton ; and some have pretended, that, because the observations were essential to the calculations of the lunar theory, the observer Flamsteed is entitled to a large share of Newton's glory. With equal justice the organ-blower might lay claim to the merit of the music of Mozart. The mere observer is only a higher order of mechanic ; his "Historia Cœlestis" displays only his untiring industry, and the acuteness of his senses ; he is but the hand of astronomy, and may not wear the crown of glory fitted to the head, which combines his observations into an harmonious theory.

But the private character of Newton has suffered more severely from these developements ; and the snails of literature have been most industrious in defacing the reputation once so bright and unsullied. However much their writings may please a world, but too eager to prune all men down to the same level, the generous mind will turn from them with disgust to Laplace's last labor, which, purporting to be a history of mathematical astronomy, is, in reality, the noblest and truest eulogy upon him who laid its foundations.

The first division of this volume, treating of the Mathematical Theory of the Earth's Figure, begins with the fact, that Newton founded this theory ; and concludes an accurate account of Newton's labors upon it with the remark, that, notwithstanding several hypotheses, one of which is contrary to later observations, this step must be regarded as a prodigious one, considering the importance and novelty of the propositions established by its author, and the extreme difficulty of the subject. We must here give another remark of Laplace, made upon the lunar theory, — that these hypotheses may be allowed to inventors in such profound researches ; and we may add, that Newton's instinct in such hypotheses was almost unerring, was altogether unrivalled, and seemed to border upon the divine. In the book upon the Attraction of Spheres, and the Motions of Elastic Fluids, Newton is said to have been the first to consider the attraction of spherical bodies, and his theory of sound is pronounced to be a monument of his genius. This theory had been objected to by Lagrange, in the "Turin Miscellany," on account of the alleged unsoundness and paradoxical nature of its reasoning ; and his objections have been quoted and repeated by later mathematicians, among whom we blush to write the

name of an Englishman, and so eminent a philosopher as the younger Herschel. These geometers seem never to have examined either the original theory, or the attack upon it; and must have been ignorant of the fact, that, with a magnanimity of which few are capable, Lagrange had, in the "Memoirs of the Berlin Academy," retracted his objections, and admitted the principles of Newton's theory to be indisputably correct. The arguments against the theory, far from showing its inaccuracy, were, indeed, the most conclusive demonstration of its generality, and only proved, that Newton needed not to limit it to a particular case, and should not have inferred this case to be the one of Nature, because it satisfied his theory.

In his next book, upon the Oscillations of the Fluids which cover the Planets, La Place says, that Newton first gave the true theory of the ebb and flow of the sea, attaching it to his great principle of universal gravitation. Euler, the father of modern analysis, concluded the method of Newton to be entirely erroneous, and not even to have approached the truth; but Laplace points out the cause of the difference between the results of these two profound geometers, and shows that Newton's theory, instead of deserving Euler's reproaches, was most admirable for its ingenuity.

In the chapter upon the Precession of the Equinoxes, the Newtonian solution of this most intricate of problems is carefully analyzed, and proved to have but one defect, which, though "a radical one, is quite excusable in a first inventor, and would probably have been corrected, if Newton's other occupations had allowed him to pay a closer attention to the discoveries of the continental mathematicians."

The honor of discovering the law of gravitation, and thus laying the corner-stone of the celestial mechanics, is, in this volume, given most unreservedly to the author of the "Principia," and without any of those qualifying remarks upon his good fortune, which had intruded themselves into the "*Système du Monde.*"

Newton's researches into the theory of the moon, which had met with so sad a reception from Clairaut and Delambre, are unhesitatingly pronounced, by Laplace, to be one of the most profound parts of his admirable work; and a portion of them appeared to him so remarkable for ingenuity, that he devoted a chapter to the task of translating this portion into the language of modern analysis.

Such is a brief review of Laplace's notices of Newton's labors; and they show, that, in all the profound discussions of the "*Mécanique Céleste*," the first steps had been taken in the "Principia." But La Place is not the only French philosopher who has risen above national prejudices, and cheerfully acknowledged all the greatness of Newton. Biot, also, calling the author of the "Principia" "the creator of natural philosophy," regarded him, moreover, as having founded the principles of the Mechanics of Chemistry, by referring its combinations to atomic attractions and repulsions, and by taking the boldest, happiest, and most original views of the composition of bodies. The evil genius even of Newton gained, however, one victory over his good fortune, and deprived the world for ever of his more sublime speculations upon this vast subject. By an unlucky accident, the labor of years was burned to cinders, the mighty soul of Newton was agitated with an emotion, which his physical powers could not resist, and from which, it is doubtful if they ever recovered, and his dog Diamond achieved for himself a share in his master's immortality. Were it not for this accident, we cannot conjecture how high the monument of his genius would have aspired, and how many later discoveries he would have anticipated; but enough remains to justify and command the homage of every man of science, whether English or French, and to vindicate his epitaph, "Congratulentur sibi mortales tale tantumque exstitisse humani generis decus."

Although the fifth volume of the "*Mécanique Céleste*" was published more than twenty years after the preceding ones, it is, from its historical character, the real preface to the whole work. It will be adopted as the text for the present article, and its division into subjects will be closely followed. Returning, then, to its first chapter upon "The Figure and Rotation of the Earth," we will notice more particularly, the hypotheses assumed by Newton, without demonstration, in order to evade the difficulties of the calculus. He supposed the earth to be an ellipsoid of revolution, and to be homogeneous; and gravity to increase from the equator to the poles, in proportion to the square of the sine of the latitude. The first of these hypotheses is quite a natural one, since the ellipse is the most simple of ovals; but the last, though neat in its form, could, by no means, have been obvious to the

original inquirer. Both of these have, however, been confirmed by the successive demonstrations of Clairaut, Maclaurin, D'Alembert, Legendre, and La Place; but La Place has proved, that the second hypothesis is inconsistent with known phenomena, and that the earth is not homogeneous. The researches upon this subject assume the earth to have attained its present form while in a fluid state, or at least while covered with a fluid, and are, therefore, based upon the principles of hydrostatics.

The general principle of the equilibrium of fluids was unknown to Newton, and he adopted an imperfect one, which was, however, when combined with his hypotheses, sufficient for his purpose. He supposed a canal, consisting of two branches, to be drawn from the centre of the earth, the one branch to the pole and the other to the equator; and inferred, that the pressures upon the bases of the branches must be equal, because the fluid contained in the canal must be at rest of itself, independently of the surrounding fluid. Huygens, about the same time, introduced the condition, that the surface of the fluid must be upon a level, that is, must be perpendicular to the direction of a falling body; which was united by Bouguer with that of Newton. But the combination was not sufficient for all cases; and Maclaurin, generalizing the idea of Newton, was led to the great principle, that the pressures upon the bases of all the straight canals drawn from *any* point of the fluid to its surface must be equal. Clairaut's more famous and more recent principle, which has been adopted by almost all mathematicians, that, if an oval canal be drawn, of any curve whatever, the fluid contained within it must be at rest, independently of the other parts of the fluid, may easily be shown to be but a slight and unimportant generalization of that of Maclaurin; but it deserves its reputation, since its author, by translating it into algebraical language, deduced from it the equations of the equilibrium of fluids; "a discovery which," says Lagrange, "has changed the face of hydrostatics, and made it a new science." These equations can, however, be deduced from the more fundamental principle, which is almost identical with Maclaurin's, that a fluid presses equally in every direction; but this principle itself has been traced by Lagrange back to its source, and it flows directly and necessarily from the definition of a fluid, that its particles move by each other with perfect facility. That a fluid will be at rest when each particle is pressed

equally in every direction is, however, too obvious a truth to have escaped the acuteness of antiquity. We find it involved in the proposition of Archimedes, that the less pressed particles will force away those which are more so ; and when he adds, that the pressure upon a particle is equal to the weight of all the column above it, we feel, that he only needed the language of modern analysis to have perfected his theory of hydrostatics.

Clairaut's condition is so intimately united with this fundamental principle, that its completeness would seem no more subject to doubt than its evident necessity ; it has, however, been doubted by that most accomplished geometer, Ivory, who has proposed another condition, which he thought must be added to it. The propriety of this addition has been much discussed by mathematicians, and successfully resisted by Poisson, who has pointed out several cases in which it would lead to erroneous results. Bowditch has, also, tested it, in a single instance, and, by a neat diagram, exposed its fallacy to a mere glance of the eye. Since the publication of Bowditch's volume, and without any allusion to it, Ivory has, however, somewhat changed his ground, and struck out that feature of his principle which was the peculiar object of attack. The paper, in which Ivory distinctly confessed the exceptionable point of his previous statement, is published in the "London Philosophical Transactions" for 1834, and stands altogether alone as a specimen of geometrical sophistry. Never did a demagogue exert himself more to break up the foundations of society, and reduce it to a chaos in which the lowest might hope to rise, than Ivory has done, by a most artful inaccuracy of expression and looseness of reasoning, to confuse our ideas upon the principles of hydrostatics, and thus save his crude speculations from a merited censure, if not obtain for them a portion of respect and admiration. The contempt which he here expresses for the labors of other geometers is in curious contrast with the praises bestowed in an earlier paper. To grasp and expose the errors of his obscure argument were no easy task. Near the end of his paper, he remarks, that, when a homogeneous fluid spheroid, rotating upon an axis, is in equilibrium, any similar spheroid, taken within it, and having the same axis, must also be in equilibrium, independently of the surrounding stratum. "It would," as he says, "be superfluous to repeat the de-

monstration of this proposition, as it is attended with no difficulty, and has not been contested. And because the fluid of the inner spheroid is separately in equilibrium, with respect to the centrifugal force of its particles, and the attraction of its mass, it must likewise be in equilibrium with respect to the other forces that act upon it; for, were it not so, the whole body of the fluid would not be in equilibrium." To this point we agree with him, but we cannot admit, that "the other forces" are only the attraction of the exterior stratum, and thus leave out of view the pressure of this stratum, which seems to us to vary upon the different points of the surface of the internal spheroid, and not to be everywhere the same, as is shown by Ivory to result from his principle. The error of this result is, indeed, no less evident from Bowditch's diagram, than the fallacy which it was intended to expose. It would follow from it, that, if the earth were a perfectly stationary, homogeneous fluid, and if a solid sphere of the same density, and of a mile in diameter, were to be let down into it, until the upper surface just touched that of the earth, the pressure upon the sphere would be everywhere the same, and the point a mile below the surface of the earth, and which bears the weight of a column of fluid a mile high, would be no more pressed than the upper point, which is not pressed at all.

Clairaut applied his calculations to the case of a solid elliptical nucleus, covered entirely with a fluid, which Laplace afterward generalizing, extended his researches to a nucleus of any nearly spherical form; and in his last volume he has gone still further, and, surmounting every obstacle, has shown that all the irregularities of continents and seas may be included in the analysis. "In thus," he says, "approaching Nature, the causes of several important phenomena, presented by Natural History and Geology, may be discovered, and great light be shed over these two sciences."

In order to verify and complete these profound investigations, it is important to compare the oblateness of the earth deduced from them, with that indicated by observations. The most obvious method of determining the figure of the earth from observation, is, to measure its curvature in different places, that is, the lengths of its degrees. From a comparison of such measurements, La Place concluded, that the hypothesis of an elliptical meridian was but an imperfect ap-

proximation to the truth. This method is, however, less to be relied upon than any other which has been used, because slight deviations from the regular figure are much magnified by it, and the measures are liable to very great inaccuracies. Of the seven measurements, indeed, collected by La Place, and which would seem to have been made most carefully and at great expense, four have been rejected, upon further examination, as unworthy of credit, another has been corrected, and only two have since been added to supply their place. Nor is this defect of observation so very wonderful, when we reflect, that, for man to measure the earth is scarcely less disproportioned to his physical dimensions, than for the ant to measure the mountain upon which he has raised his little hill.

Retaining, then, only these five of the most extensive and accurate observations, Airy has computed the earth's form, supposing it not to be precisely elliptical; but, from the same observations, Bowditch has, by an improved method of his own, obtained a far more satisfactory result. Bowditch has also applied his method to these observations, supposing the earth to be elliptical, and has still obtained a figure "more conformable to them than the irregular figure resulting from Airy's calculation," and sufficiently agreeing with them to prove, that the elliptical hypothesis should by no means be neglected. The oblateness, thus obtained, is about one three-hundredth, which is that generally adopted by astronomers; and Bowditch's results are fully sustained by the calculations of Ivory.

Another method of measuring the actual oblateness is taken from the observations of the seconds' pendulum. The value, obtained from them by La Place, was much too small, but has been considerably augmented by Bowditch's corrections of some errors in his calculations; and from later and better observations, Bowditch and Ivory have both deduced a value, which does not differ much from one three-hundredth. Even these observations of the pendulum are not, however, to be relied upon with any great degree of confidence; but, as Bowditch justly remarks, "instead of being dissatisfied with this result, we ought to feel some degree of surprise, that the difference between the polar and the equatorial radius of the earth can be determined within a fraction of a mile, by means of the very small excess of the polar, over the equatorial pendulum, which may be considered as a

base line of less than a quarter of an inch in length," which is only about one three-millionth part of the length to be ascertained, or one thousand-millionth part of the radius of our globe. How surprising is it, then, that La Place has been able to deduce not only the form of the earth, but even, in a degree, its internal structure, from the observed variations in the length of the pendulum; and to prove, most conclusively, that the earth is not homogeneous, that its density continually increases from its surface to its centre, and that its layers of different densities are disposed regularly about its centre, in a form almost elliptical!

In determining the earth's figure, either from the length of the degree or that of the pendulum, different measurements are not found to lead to the same result; and it is, therefore, necessary to adopt that, which most nearly satisfies the observations. Various methods have been proposed for selecting the preferable ellipse, founded upon different ideas of probability. The most natural one is, perhaps, to seek that ellipse, in which the greatest error is as small as possible; but a single instance will exhibit its unsatisfactoriness. If, of one hundred observations, ninety-nine coincide in the same result, we should find, that the minimum of the greatest error corresponded to an oblateness which was half way between the result of the single observation and that of all the others; and one observation would, in this method, be worth full as much as the remaining ninety-nine. A more philosophical method is that of the least squares; and a still better one is that proposed by Boscovich, and adopted by La Place; it requires the sum of all the errors to be a minimum, and also the sum of the positive errors to equal that of the negative errors. Bowditch has, however, given a correction of the method of the least squares, which seems to raise it even above that of Boscovich; and we have already alluded to the entire success which he met with in its applications. He observed, that, in the common method of least squares, an arc of ten degrees has one hundred times the influence of an arc of one degree. He then continues;

"This is unreasonable; for an arc of ten degrees, measured by one person, with the same instruments, and by the same method, is liable to the imperfection of the peculiar manner of observation of that single observer, and to the errors of *one* set of instruments; and it cannot be doubted, that *ten* consecutive

degrees, measured by *ten* different persons, of equal skill and carefulness in observing, each being furnished with instruments of the same completeness and accuracy, would be at least as satisfactory as ten consecutive degrees, measured by only one of these observers, with the same single set of instruments, notwithstanding the advantage, in this last measure, of requiring only two observations of the latitude throughout the whole arc. We shall therefore assume as a principle, that, *in the application of the method of the least squares to geodetical measures, we must suppose any arc of the length of* i *degrees to have the same weight as* i *single degrees, measured separately.*" — Vol. II. p. 435.

A third method of obtaining the oblateness, which is considered by La Place superior to the others, is derived from observed irregularities in the motion of the moon, so that the astronomer, without leaving his observatory, is able to determine the earth's figure with unrivalled accuracy.

The form of the earth, thus deduced from observation, hardly differs from that which it would have, if the ocean were taken from it, and its surface reduced to a fluid state. Hence, and from the small density of the sea compared with the earth, La Place inferred, that the average depth of the ocean must be small; and his inference is confirmed by the small height of the tides. The regularity with which the different strata are disposed about its centre, has also led him to the conclusion, generally maintained by geologists, that the whole earth was once fluid. He has proved, that it is not necessary to suppose the interior shells to be chemically different in their component parts, for that all known phenomena would be equally well satisfied, if they were of the same compressible substance.

In all astronomical observations, the length of the day and the latitude of the place are assumed to be invariable; so that it is of the highest practical importance to prove, that the earth is for ever rotating upon the same axis with perfect uniformity. Now geometers have long known, that every solid body has three principal axes of rotation, about any one of which, if it once turns, it can never cease to turn with unchanging velocity, unless from the powerful influence of some foreign force. One of the earth's principal axes would be its present axis, if it were entirely solid; but it would seem as if the sea, with its perpetual oscillations, must affect the regularity of the rotation. A profound analysis, however, led

La Place to the directly opposite conclusion, that, if the earth's rotation were slightly disturbed, and the position of its axis a little changed, the mobility of the ocean would soon bring it back to a permanent state of rotation about a fixed axis. He has also proved, that the attractions of the sun, moon, and planets, that volcanoes and earthquakes, that winds, rivers, and currents of the sea, can never have any sensible effect upon the place of the poles, or the duration of the day; and his conclusions are confirmed by records of ancient eclipses, from which it appears, that the length of the day cannot have changed, since the time of Hipparchus, by the hundredth part of a second.

Such an unchanged rate of rotation seems almost irreconcilable with the hypothesis, that the earth's primitive fluidity arose from its melting heat, that it is now constantly cooling, and therefore lessening its diameter, and increasing the velocity with which it turns upon its axis. But this hypothesis is powerfully sustained by thermometrical observations made in mines, which indicate a rapid increase of heat with that of depth, and demonstrate, independent of any hypothesis, that the earth is moving in a space much below its own temperature, so that it must be growing colder. Having, then, expressed the continual loss of heat of a cooling globe by a series of terms, which are of such a form as to disappear, one after another, in the course of time, La Place supposes our planet to have arrived at that state in which only one of these terms remains, of any sensible magnitude. This supposition may, as he says, be far from the truth, but it answers well enough to exhibit the slow rate at which the earth's temperature is diminishing, and the slight effect thus produced upon the length of the day, amounting to less than one three-hundredth of a second since the time of Hipparchus, and consequently, not to be detected in such observations as have been handed down to us. Another most remarkable result of La Place's calculation is, that the internal heat of the earth does not affect the temperature of its surface by more than one-fifth of a degree; and, therefore, when it is entirely cooled, its climates will not be the less adapted to the support of all the organized beings at present upon it.

Intimately connected with its figure is the law of the earth's attraction upon a point, either of its surface, or at a distance from it; and a concise history of the labors of geometers upon this subject is thus given by Bowditch.

"The computation of the attraction of an ellipsoid, partially treated of by Newton, in his 'Principia,' was extended by Mc Laurin, in a geometrical solution remarkable for its elegance and simplicity, to the determination of the whole attraction upon any point, within or upon the surface of the ellipsoid of revolution. The same result was afterwards obtained by Lagrange, in an analytical form, by a change of coördinates. Legendre extended the investigation so as to embrace all points, whether within or without the surface of the ellipsoid. Finally La Place obtained the general attraction of any ellipsoid, in all cases, whether the principal axes were equal or unequal, and upon any point without or within the surface. Since the publication of his method, a great improvement has been made by Ivory, in which the computation of the attraction of any ellipsoid upon an external point is reduced, by his analysis, to the much more simple case, of finding the attraction of another ellipsoid, upon an internal point, or upon a point situated in the surface of the ellipsoid. Ivory has also treated the subject in a very elegant geometrical manner, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article *Attraction*." — Vol. II. p. 11.

Most of the high questions of astronomy have stood far above the powers of Geometry; but this problem of calculating the attractions of an ellipsoid is peculiarly adapted to synthetical methods of research, and Geometry has for once, under the colors of England, striven with success against the mightier genius of analysis. The results of Maclaurin's geometrical solution were not reached by Algebra till the succeeding generation; and, notwithstanding the further advances of later mathematicians, the two most ingenious solutions which have yet appeared, offspring of the same mind, are of equal beauty; and, though one is geometrical, the other algebraical, neither can claim a decided superiority.

The method of calculation which La Place has used throughout his analysis of the figures and attractions of the planets, exhibit most strikingly his mighty power in wielding the weapons of Algebra, and forcing his way directly to his point with irresistible energy. They occupy the third book of the "*Mécanique Céleste*," which is about one half of the second volume, besides three chapters of the eleventh book contained in the fifth volume, and not translated by Bowditch. The difficulty of the various problems is reduced almost entirely to that of finding the sum of all the quotients obtained from dividing each particle of the spheroid

by its distance from a fixed point ; and La Place has arranged this sum in a converging series of terms. The terms of this series are very remarkable in their properties and mutual relations, and, on account of their great utility in these and other inquiries, have been much noticed by geometers, and honored with the name of *La Place's Coëfficients.* Considerable objection has been made in regard to the generality of the results, which La Place obtained from them, because there are excepted cases to which they are not applicable. But Poisson has demonstrated, that they may be considered as embracing all cases which would practically arise ; and the uninitiated may be satisfied, when informed, that the excepted cases differ but infinitely little from those which are strictly within the limits of the investigation, so that the error must be wholly insensible ; and several formulas which are continually used in mathematics, without any question of their sufficient generality, are subject to precisely similar exceptions.

La Place's analysis, admirable as it is for its novelty and profoundness, is not altogether faultless. It has been exposed to repeated attacks, and contains two remarkable defects ; one of which was not detected till thirty years, and the other not till nearly fifty years, after their first publication. The former of them was pointed out by Lagrange, in a theorem, which La Place had supposed to be applicable to every law, but which fails beyond a certain limit. And this limit is, by a singular coincidence, the very law of Nature ; so that, if gravitation had decreased a little more rapidly, inversely, for instance, as the cube of the distance, the formula would have led to false conclusions. The second defect occurred in the fundamental formula of the whole calculation, and was much more recently discovered by Poisson, who observed, that La Place had run upon the very rock which he himself had surveyed, and committed the error against which he had expressly warned other mathematicians. But this error, vanishing in the course of further calculations, is, like the other, merely speculative ; and it is probably on account of this very surprising fact, that they both remained so long unnoticed. For, with all its boasted accuracy and apparent independence of man's physical powers, it appears, from the frequent mistakes and disputes of its votaries, that geometry cannot avoid the defects to which the science of an imperfect

mind is ever liable ; and, requiring the promptings of observation to rouse and direct it to new efforts, it is slow to undertake the ungracious task of revising its labors, and detecting errors which have escaped the jealous eye of the practical astronomer.

Although the general form and attraction of the earth arise only from the gravitation of its particles, yet the composition of its different materials, and their character, as gases, fluids, or solids, depend upon the combination of an affinity or cohesion, which is insensible at perceptible distances, with the repulsive force of the caloric, with which each atom is surrounded. If the quantity of caloric is small, the repulsive force decreases more rapidly than the attraction, with an increase of distance ; and the molecules of a body, not being separated beyond the influence of their mutual attractions, are bound firmly together in the form of a solid ; and the only evidence of their want of contact is found in the compressibility or elasticity of the mass. By increasing the caloric, the particles are forced further apart, the body dilates, and, when they are so far removed as to cohere only by means of the attraction of each for the caloric of the other, they but slightly impede each other's motions, and La Place regards the body as reduced to a fluid state. But, as he observes, the surface must, in this case, be, at least for an imperceptible depth, much less dense than the interior of the body ; and be intermediate, in its character, between a liquid and a gas. The gaseous state is that, in which the quantity of caloric is so great as entirely to destroy the effect of the attractive forces ; and the fluid would soon be dissipated, if it were not restrained by the sides of the vessel which confines it. In this view of the subject, "all terrestrial phenomena depend," says La Place, "upon attractive and repulsive forces, which are only sensible at imperceptible distances, in the same way that celestial phenomena depend upon gravitation. I think, therefore, that the consideration of them should now become the great object of Mathematical Philosophy. It seems to me, that it would even be useful to introduce them into the demonstrations of mechanics, and banish the abstract ideas of lines without magnitude, and solids without porosity. I am convinced, by the trials which I have made, that, in thus conforming to Nature, these demonstrations might be pre-

sented with undiminished simplicity and increased clearness."

Within ten years of his death, analysis took the most gigantic strides, in the direction thus marked out by this great geometer; and Cauchy's wonderful success in developing the laws of molecular action has gained for him an immortality by the side of La Place himself. But the glory of first discovering this immense continent in science belongs to Newton, although Providence chose to check his daring course, and reserve some regions to be conquered by his successors; and the honor of erecting upon it the standard of Analysis must be given to La Place. He hence deduced the equations for the motions of a gas, and found them to differ essentially from the formulas before used, inasmuch as they contain the forces which arise from the heat, developed in different portions of the moving gas, and their increased density. These forces do not, however, sensibly affect the motions of masses of air, such as the oscillations produced by the attractions of the sun and moon; and their influence is only perceptible in vibrations like those of sound. In the Newtonian theory of sound, no regard was had to the effect of heat, in thus increasing the elasticity of air during its vibrations; and the velocity which was obtained did not agree with that derived from experiment. Newton, and most of his followers, attributed the difference to the presence of foreign particles floating in the air, while Lagrange supposed the observations to be inaccurate; but La Place was strongly convinced that these explanations were incorrect, and was not satisfied till he had discovered the true cause of the error. He applied his formulas to the motion of light, supposing it to consist in the undulations of the solar atmosphere, and obtained a velocity which was not one seven-hundredth part of the actual velocity of light. Hence he inferred, that, if the undulatory theory were correct, the ethereal fluid must be powerfully compressed; and, as no cause for such a compression is to be found in the celestial spaces, he would seem disposed to reject this theory. But Cauchy's conclusions are far more satisfactory. Discarding the necessity of any compressing force, he makes it evident, that this immense velocity is satisfactorily accounted for, by supposing the particles of ether to be millions and millions of times smaller and closer together than those of gas; so that, if density is

assumed to be proportionate to the number of particles in the unit of space, such an ether must be far more dense than the heaviest solid ; but the exact reverse is the case, if the weight of the atoms are substituted for their number, in the definition of density. By combining an original and most powerful analysis with the happiest hypotheses, Cauchy has succeeded in establishing the wave theory of light upon a foundation not easy to be shaken. He has deduced from it the various laws of the propagation and polarization of light ; and even the phenomenon of its dispersion, which had been regarded as an insurmountable objection to this theory, has not only yielded to his perseverance, but has become the strongest argument in its favor ; since he has discovered the laws which regulate it, although they had been sought in vain by many great philosophers, and his results are most strikingly confirmed by their experiments. The theory of the emission of light has been regarded as consecrated by the favor of the founder of Optics ; but this immortal genius was too often tormented by the galling attacks of his jealous rivals, to wander from the straight road of the Baconian philosophy, so far as to adopt such an unnecessary hypothesis. As an instance of his care, even in the use of words, he would not introduce the term "attraction" into his "Principia," without a caution to the reader, "Caveat lector, ne per hujus modi voces cogitet me speciem vel modum actionis, causam aut rationem physicam alicubi definire, vel centris (quæ sunt puncta mathematica) vires vere et physice tribuere." He observed facts and generalized them. Not suffering his fancy to direct his reason, his deductions are almost as indisputable as his observations, and his theories must endure as long as the sciences to which he gave birth.

Another case of corpuscular action, which was investigated by La Place, and is "remarkable from the variety and the singularity of the phenomena depending upon it," is, that of Capillary Attraction. Though Newton's wonderful instinct had led him to divine the laws which regulate some of the capillary phenomena, Clairaut was the only geometer, till the time of La Place, who had reduced them to a rigorous calculation. His great error, however, and one which he would have discovered, if he had extended his analysis to other cases, consisted in supposing the molecular forces to be sensible at perceptible distances. By avoiding this error, La

Place succeeded in explaining all the phenomena with the most rigid accuracy; and the most peculiar and striking point of his theory is, perhaps, that he makes it chiefly depend upon a circumstance which had been altogether disregarded, and shows, that the concavity or convexity of the surface of a fluid, contained within capillary spaces, instead of being a mere secondary effect of the corpuscular action, is the principal cause of the rise of the fluid. This view of the subject is, however, a purely mathematical one; and a juster physical statement of it, corresponding, in our opinion, almost exactly to the ideas of Newton, and introduced into La Place's second Supplement, is, that the particles at the surface of the fluid in contact with the capillary walls, being raised above their level by the attraction of the walls, exert their attraction again upon those which are near them; and this action continues until the weight of the elevated fluid balances the attracting force, which tends to raise it higher; but, as the uppermost link of a suspended chain must bear the whole weight of the chain, so the weight of the raised fluid must be proportionate to the elevating power of the attractive force exerted by the walls upon the adjacent particles, that is, to the horizontal circuit of the walls. Vague reasoning must not, however, usurp the place of accurate calculation; the difficulty of solving the capillary problems may be better understood by observing, that they depend upon the very principles involved in determining the figure of the earth; and we may remark, that we think Ivory would find no little difficulty in applying to this case his new principle.

"In order," says Mr. Pickering, in his noble Eulogy before the American Academy, "that the importance of this subject may be understood, and that a just view may be taken of the extent of it in its various relations, we must reflect for a moment upon some of the numerous modes, in which this species of attraction exhibits itself.

"The most usual form in which it has been the subject of observation and experiment, is, in the ascent of water, or any other fluid, in *capillary* tubes, or between two plates of glass placed near each other in a vessel containing the fluid. The same principle, however, governs the movements of fluids in numberless other cases; some of which are so familiar to us, that they cease to attract our notice. For example; when we fill a glass or other vessel with water, if the vessel is already wet, the water will be drawn upwards round the sides of the vessel,

and present a *concave* surface ; but if, on the contrary, the vessel is entirely dry, the water will rise in it with a *convex* surface, and may, in popular language, be heaped up even above the brim of the vessel. From the same cause, a light body floating on the water near the side of the vessel, will suddenly be drawn into contact with it ; and two bodies lying on the surface, upon being brought towards each other, will suddenly rush together. In the same way, too, we see the rain forming itself into pellucid drops, and hanging from the under surfaces of bodies, or standing in imperfect globules on their upper surfaces ; and the same principle manifests itself in the form of

> 'the dew-drops, which the sun
> Impearls on every leaf and every flower ;'

and in

> 'the gentle tear let fall
> From crystal sluce.' *

"In short, the phenomena of capillary attraction are so constantly manifesting themselves, and under such various circumstances, that they present to the philosophical observer questions of singular interest and extraordinary difficulty. These questions are most elaborately and profoundly investigated by La Place and his commentator.

"Among other investigations of Dr. Bowditch in relation to this subject, I ought not to omit the fact, that he has most thoroughly examined and analyzed the very celebrated work of the present day called the *New Theory of Capillary Attraction*, by the eminent French mathematician, M. Poisson ; and has shown, by numerous examples from M. Poisson's work, that, profound and acute as that author is, he has, under a different form of notation and with vast labor, only arrived at results which are either identical with those before obtained by La Place under his own form of notation, or which may be easily obtained from them ; and that the supposed discoveries announced in the *New Theory* have not in reality advanced this branch of science. This portion of Dr. Bowditch's work, when published, will, in the opinion of our mathematicians, attract the notice of men of science in Europe as strongly, perhaps, as any part of his labors." — pp. 72 – 75.

Almost the only essential difference between the theories of La Place and Poisson arises from the consideration of the diminution of density near the surface of a fluid, which is neglected by La Place, as of no importance, and expressly introduced into the calculations of Poisson.

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" * Milton's 'Paradise Lost.' "

"This change of density produces a corresponding change in the value of the capillary intensity; but as this quantity can be found only from actual experiments, and not from the analytical expression, it leaves the results of La Place's theory unimpaired in all the formulas depending on this quantity."—Bowditch's *Translation, &c.*, Vol. IV. p. 687.

Poisson attempted to render his researches much more general than those of La Place; he was, however, compelled to omit term after term, until the limits of "the new theory" were narrowed down to those adopted in the "*Mécanique Céleste.*"

Returning, then, to the earth's figure, we shall pass over the small inequalities of its surface to the still smaller irregularities of figure arising from the undulations of the ocean. How minute these are, compared with the magnitude of our globe, we can conjecture from the fact, that the ocean itself is but as the moisture of the shower upon the surface of the apple. The idea of attributing the ebb and flow of the sea to the influence of the sun and moon originated with Kepler, but was first subjected to calculation by Newton, who supposed the sea to assume, at each instant, the form of perfect equilibrium. This feature of his theory was adopted as the basis of all calculations upon the subject, till La Place considered the problem in its true light, and applied to it the general principles for determining the motions of fluids. But the impossibility of completing his analysis, by the aid of the limited observations which he obtained, compelled La Place to leave it in an imperfect state; far superior, however, to the contempt with which an English philosopher has thought proper to visit it.

"La Place's solution," says Whewell, "besides being obtained by means of a precarious assumption, rests upon several arbitrary hypotheses, fatal to it, even as a first approximation; and, I believe it will be found, leaves out of consideration an essential portion of the forces. To obtain any useful result, the question must be taken up afresh and treated in another manner. I hope some mathematician will be found able and willing to execute this task. But, in the mean time, I may be permitted to observe, that what has been already done in the discussion of tide observations, and in bringing to light the empirical laws of the phenomena, has entirely altered the position of this branch of science with respect to the mathematical theory. A little while ago the theory was in advance of ob-

servation ; at present observation is in advance of theory. A very few years since, the equilibrium theory and the La Placian theory were in a condition to assign laws regulating the changes of the times and heights under given astronomical circumstances, and it had not been shown from observation whether these laws were obeyed. We can now state what the agreement and disagreement are between such theoretical laws and the facts ; and we call upon the mathematician to substitute for these two theories, both confessedly false, some other, which shall come nearer to the true state of the case, and, by that means, nearer to the laws of the phenomena. The performance of this task is requisite for the completion of the Newtonian theory of the universe."

Notwithstanding this sweeping condemnation, we cannot cease to look upon La Place's theory as one of the finest monuments of his genius, and as being fundamentally correct. Judged by the narrow standard of its discrepancy with observations, it undoubtedly is deficient ; and, by the same rule, Newton's lunar theory would have merited the reproaches of Flamsteed, instead of the generous admiration with which it was regarded by La Place. The subject of the tides does, indeed, require a fresh examination, in order to satisfy the recent observations due to the efforts of Whewell, for which, and for his successful exertions in reducing them to empirical laws, he richly deserved the medal of the Royal Society. The equilibrium theory, as developed by Bernouilli, may, likewise, be better adapted, from its simplicity and neatness, to the mind which is seeking for these laws, and has not the comprehensive grasp, or the mathematical power, to enter upon a profound analysis of one of the most complicated questions of astronomy. The additions which it is continually receiving, must, however, soon render it too cumbrous a machine even for this purpose ; and geometers will be compelled to return to the direct course of investigation, as first explored by La Place.

Were the earth a perfect sphere, its equator would always cut the heavens in the same plane, and its axis be directed to the same polar star ; and if the polar axis were to be assumed as the diameter of this sphere, the excess of the terrestrial spheroid might be detached from it, and collected in a ring at the equator. The attraction of the sun would draw the plane of the ring from that of the equator, and the points of its intersection with the ecliptic would retrograde contin-

ually, according to a law easily determined from the similar motions of the nodes of the lunar orbit. Such a backward motion, though much retarded by the mass of the earth, which the ring must carry with it, is still sensible, and constitutes the great phenomenon of the precession of the equinoxes. The attraction of the moon produces a similar effect; and there are also some inequalities in the phenomena, which have been thoroughly investigated by D'Alembert, Euler, and La Place.

If we now proceed from our own globe to the other bodies of the solar system, we find them all, so far as we can observe them, possessed of oblate figures, corresponding to their respective velocities of rotation, and moving in circular orbits about the central source of light and heat. Upon a careful examination of their motions, it is found that they are not uniform, nor exactly circular; and we admire the genius which detected, amidst their great inequalities, an average and permanent regularity. From Kepler's celebrated laws, to derive the law of gravitation, would appear a most simple application of the Fluxions of Newton; so simple, indeed, that the mathematician of the present day can only estimate the magnitude of the stride, from the number of gigantic minds which could not accomplish it. But the law of gravitation, once established, was soon found to contain within itself a perfect and entire system, altogether above the approximations of Kepler, and embracing all the complicated phenomena of the heavens, while the latter would only be strictly true if the planets exerted no influence upon each other. Drawn by their mutual attractions, however, out of their elliptical orbits, the planets so disturb each others' motions, that the exact determination of their motions is no longer possible. Theory is forced to lower its aim, and endeavour to arrive at approximations, whose inaccuracies may be so minute, that the nicest observer cannot detect them. To arrive at this point, which has not by any means been universally attained, it has been found sufficient, in most cases, to calculate, separately, the effect of each small disturbing force; and thus, the perturbations arising from each planet cannot be confounded with the others. By this means the problem is evidently simplified, but still not enough so to admit of a complete solution; and the most delicate tact is required, to choose the most rapid system of approximation, and to

select, among an infinite mass of terms, those which are of sensible magnitude.

The difficulty of this selection is much increased by the facts, that terms originally diminutive, will sometimes in the course of the calculations, acquire equally minute divisors, so that the quotients may be quite too large to be rejected. One of the most striking instances of such an effect is observed in the reciprocal perturbations of Saturn and Jupiter. The mean motions of these two planets are almost commensurable, five times the mean motion of Saturn being nearly equal to twice that of Jupiter; so that the difference between these two products, being very small, augments considerably the terms of which it is a divisor, and the corresponding inequalities, instead of being almost insensible, are the most important of all those observed in the motions of these planets. A tolerably correct physical explanation of this phenomenon is derived from the consideration of the great effect produced by a comparatively small force acting constantly, at the most favorable intervals; a familiar, though homely example of which, may be found in the often ludicrous difference between the skilful and unskilful attempt to turn up the heavy church bell to its unstable position of equilibrium. By discovering the simple ratio between the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn, La Place was enabled to account for those irregularities in their motions, which had before seemed quite inconsistent with the law of universal gravitation, but are now regarded as one of its most striking proofs. "Such," says La Place, "has been the lot of Newton's brilliant discovery, converting every obstacle into a new source of triumph; the surest characteristic of the true system of Nature." If the mean motions of these planets had been exactly commensurable, their perturbations would have been greatly increased, and they would have presented a phenomenon of the highest analytical interest, and of which the solar system contains but a single instance. This might easily have been the case; for, if the small variation from perfect commensurability had been a little less than one half its present value, the mutual attractions of the planets would soon have caused it to vanish entirely.

Jupiter forms, with his satellites, a solar system in miniature; and the frequent eclipses of the satellites enable the observer to determine their orbits with considerable accuracy,

and to watch their progress through all those changes, which the planets take ages to accomplish. A thorough analysis of their motions, which was first undertaken by Lagrange, was remarkable, as not being limited to the separate consideration of each disturbing influence, but as combining them all together; "a point," says Bowditch, "of the utmost importance, since upon it depends the law regulating the motions of the three inner satellites." These laws, called La Place's, because he first detected them, are of the class of commensurabilities between the mean motions, which are so important in the theory of Jupiter and Saturn; and they contain the single instance, but just alluded to, of a perfectly exact ratio.

Among all the perturbations of the celestial motions, none, however, are more interesting to the terrestrial observer, than those of the earth's satellite; and they are much augmented by the powerful disturbing influence of the sun. The few of them which Newton had succeeded in calculating, were enough to confirm, in a most important manner, the law of gravitation, though the great bulk were left unexplained; and even now there are several points in the lunar theory, about which the minds of geometers are not at rest. The difference between the values of the same terms, as given by each of the great astronomers, La Place, Plana, Lubbock, and Poisson, is sometimes most remarkable, and seemingly inconsistent with the admired accuracy of mathematical calculations. Thus one equation, determined from observations by Damoiseau to be greater than six hundred seconds, was at first reduced by the computations of Plana, to less than five seconds, though he afterwards raised it to a value which somewhat exceeded that found by Damoiseau. But even such a failure of theory must not be regarded with uncharitable surprise and severity; "for," as Lubbock remarks, "when we consider the enormous number of terms which are necessary to be taken into account, and how difficult it is altogether to avoid error in numerical calculations, it is hardly to be expected, that the result can be entirely free from error."

Most of the numerous inequalities of the lunar motions have been deduced from observations before they were recognised by theory, and analysis has often been sadly perplexed to explain them. One of the most singular instances, is that of an equation inserted by Mason, in his Lunar Tables, which seemed so entirely inconsistent with the laws of gravitation, that it

was originally rejected by astronomers, although they were ready to admit the superior accuracy of his tables in other respects. From a happy application of his favorite theory of probabilities, La Place decided, that the argument in favor of the existence of such an equation was so strong, that he resolved to seek its origin. His search was successful. He found it to arise from the oblateness of the earth; and his investigations led him to the discovery of another similar inequality, which had escaped the notice of observers, though indisputably confirmed by later observations. He also reversed the problem, and made use of the equation as the most accurate means of determining the oblateness. But analysis is thought not always to have been so successful, and a single equation is still adopted by some observers, which remains wholly unexplained. Its period is a very long one, and is not exactly determined. Poisson has demonstrated, that it cannot arise from the direct action of the sun or of the planets upon the moon; nor from the action of Venus upon the earth, which produces, as Airy has shown, a sensible equation in the earth's motions; nor from the terrestrial oblateness or irregularity of figure. He, therefore, doubts its existence, and regards the observations from which it is deduced, as either too recent, or too inaccurate, to be depended upon for determining so long an inequality.

No more important question has ever agitated the minds of astronomers, than that regarding the perfect accuracy of the law of gravitation. Bessel seems to consider it as a most doubtful point; for he found observation not unfrequently to differ from calculation, by five seconds or more; quite too much, as he says, for an error of observation; full as much, indeed, in the present state of science, as were the eight minutes, at the time of Tycho Brahe, which gave Kepler the means of reforming the whole of astronomy. But the history of astronomy is filled with such doubts, which have all vanished before the progressive advances of analysis; and so intimate is the connexion between theory and observation, that they must for ever be, alternately, taking the lead in the march of science. The earlier theories of the moon were defaced by errors of not less than seven or eight minutes; and, though they are now reduced to as many seconds, it was actually proposed by Clairaut to introduce, into the law of gravitation, a term, which should vary with the inverse cube of

the distance ; but he himself soon proved, that this term was not required. Again, it was found, that the mass of Jupiter, as deduced from his attractions upon Pallas, and upon Encke's comet, was quite different from that derived from the distance of his satellites, or from La Place's theory of the perturbations of Saturn. Such a difference could only be accounted for by supposing the attractive power of Jupiter to be less for his satellites and for Saturn, than for the comets and the telescopic planets ; and the result of this hypothesis would be, that the power of gravitation varied, like the chemical affinities, with the nature of the different attracting substances. But, from a new and more correct measurement of the distances of the satellites, a result has been obtained, which agrees almost exactly with that derived from Pallas and the comet ; and, upon a review of the theory of Jupiter and Saturn, Pontecoulant has most unexpectedly found, that the chief term of the great inequality was taken by La Place with the wrong sign, and the correcting of this error has given the same value of Jupiter's mass as that otherwise obtained, and removed all the apparent anomaly. The arguments, indeed, in favor of the perfect uniformity of the gravitating influence are founded upon so many nice experiments and accurate calculations, as to be almost irresistible. Not the slightest difference can be detected in the attractive power of the earth for the moon and for any of the substances found upon its own surface, by means of the most delicate experiments made with pendulums, composed of every variety of material. The distance of the sun can be computed with so great accuracy from the motions of the moon, that the difference between the attractive powers of the sun for the earth and its satellite, cannot be the one-millionth part of the whole force ; and a similar result with regard to all the substances of the solar system may be deduced from the universal agreement of observations with the theory based upon the law of gravitation.

Another interesting inquiry concerns the stability of the solar system. The planets move, at present, in orbits nearly circular, and almost in the same plane ; and La Place professed to have demonstrated, that this would always be the case. But Lagrange and Bowditch* objected to his demonstration, considering it to be "satisfactory for the three great

* See, on this subject, an article from the pen of Dr. Bowditch, in the *North American Review,* Vol. XX. pp. 309 *et seq.*

planets Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus, but not for the other planets, whose orbits, for aught that is proved to the contrary, may be very eccentrical," and depart very much from the same plane. But these eminent philosophers have, in our opinion, taken a partial view of La Place's argument, and have not done it full justice. They have, inadvertently, passed over his first step, which will be found, upon a close examination, to be of essential importance; and in which he proves, that, if there be any limit whatever to the increase of the eccentricity of either of the planets, it must be a very small limit; so that the only object of the remainder of the demonstration, is, to prove that there is a limit, without any regard to its magnitude, as the objections appear to imply. Viewed in this light, his reasoning seems hardly to admit of dispute. But we think that, in the arguments upon both sides, the physical restrictions of the question have been too much overlooked. Thus it is said, that "the orbits may become very eccentrical, or even parabolic." But how is it possible, by any increase of eccentricity, for an ellipse, whose greater axis has been long before proved to be invariable, to degenerate into a parabola, which has an infinite axis? On the contrary, when the ellipticity augments so as to become unity, the orbit, instead of changing into a parabola, would be reduced to a straight line, terminating in the sun; and, by a further increase of ellipticity, the orbit would become imaginary, unless the planet happened to be at one of the extremities of its orbit, at the precise instant of this increase, against which the probability is infinitely great. It is, therefore, almost physically impossible, for the eccentricity to become greater than unity, and the second part of La Place's demonstration seems to be nearly superfluous.

But there is a force in constant operation, which is directly opposed to the eternal duration of the solar system. The constant resistance of the ether or the light which pervades all space, small though it be, must at length destroy the motions of the planets, and cause them to fall into the sun. Ages, whose vast extent and number the mind of man cannot comprehend, must indeed roll by, before such an effect can result from so slight a cause; and yet it is as inevitable as the wearing away of the stone under the incessant dropping of the water. And that there is such a sure principle of destruction in our world, affords an irresistible proof, that the

system cannot have existed in its present form beyond a certain time ; but it must have had a beginning, a creation, and a Creator.

It might, however, be doubted, whether the ether were a resisting medium, if it had not been demonstrated by the retardation of Encke's comet. The comets, which fly in every direction around the sun, are so very light, that they have not, in any appreciable degree, disturbed the motions of the planets, though the fact that they are not destitute of weight, and are subject to Newton's great law, is obvious from the form of their orbits, and the great perturbations which they have suffered, from the planetary attractions. Thus the time of revolution of the comet of 1770 was diminished more than two days by the influence of the earth, and its orbit was so entirely changed during its near approaches to Jupiter, in 1767, and 1779, that it probably never was visible from the earth before that time, and never will be again ; and yet its reciprocal action upon these planets was wholly insensible, and it passed directly amongst Jupiter and its satellites, without having produced the slightest alteration in their motions. The computation of the orbits of the comets, originating with Newton, has been most successfully developed by the labors of Lagrange, Legendre, La Place, Olbers, Gauss, Ivory, and Lubbock ; and their various methods have been collected by Bowditch into the splendid Appendix to the third volume of his translation. He has there given most of the great improvements made by these geometers, "in the calculation of the orbit of a planet or comet, moving in an ellipsis, parabola, or hyperbola," and he has added more than one hundred pages of beautifully printed auxiliary Tables, to lighten the task of computation ; "some of which are new, the others have been varied in their forms, to render them more simple in their uses and applications, and none of them have heretofore been published in this country." In the commentary upon the tenth book, contained in the fourth volume, Bowditch gives the calculations, which have been made regarding the retardation experienced from the resistance of the ether by Encke's comet, the result of which is, that "the time of its periodical revolution, which is a little over twelve hundred days, will be decreased about one-tenth of a day in each revolution ; and the mean distance will be decreased about one sixteen-thousandth part."

Leaving, now, the solar system, of which we are but insignificant particles, we will travel to the glorious suns, which are diffused throughout all space. Passing over their differences of color and splendor, with their remarkable periodical changes, and that sudden appearance and disappearance of others, which indicates the existence of opaque celestial bodies, perhaps not smaller or less numerous than the visible stars themselves, we proceed to a phenomenon, at first sight of much less apparent interest, the grouping of the stars together in immense clusters, which are separated from each other at distances prodigiously greater than the dimensions of the cluster. The group to which we belong, consists of the Milky Way, and the stars immediately around us. Among the other clusters, some are so remote, that the most powerful telescope does not enable the observer to distinguish the different stars, while the cloudy appearance of others indicates an imperfect state of formation; and the elder Herschel has traced their progress from the state of mere nebulæ; not that he has witnessed a change in any single case, but "just as in a forest the growth of the trees may be traced by means of the individuals of different ages." He observed, in one part of the heavens, a mass of mere nebulous vapor, of uniform density; in another, this vapor was feebly condensed about a slightly brilliant point, or about a multitude of such points; then, again, the points increased in brilliancy until the condensation was at last carried so far, that the atmosphere of each nucleus separated from the rest; and multiple nebulæ were formed, consisting of brilliant nucleuses, surrounded each by an atmosphere. The condensation still went on, until at last a sun was formed, surrounded by an immense atmosphere, or a set of two or more suns revolving about each other like the double, triple, &c. stars, or a group of suns, such as are the Pleiades. This was the state of our system, ages and ages before the commencement of the Mosaic creation, and its probable progress during this immense interval, first developed by La Place in the "*Système du Monde*," is the most magnificent conception that was ever formed in the mind of a philosopher. He chose, however, to diffuse around it the foul vapors of atheism, and it is now dreaded by the Christian sage, like the proud city amid the miasmata of death.

The substance of the sun could hardly have separated from those of the neighbouring suns, without acquiring some small

rotary motion, and, as its dimensions lessened with its increasing density, the rotary velocity must also have increased, by the known laws of dynamics. It is thus, that the angular velocity of a sling is rapidly augmented by allowing it to wind itself about the finger, or that the rotary motion given to the water is greatly accelerated as it flows through the small hole in the bottom of a cistern. The sun must, at last, turn so swiftly, that the centrifugal force of the outer zone, overcoming the gravitation, must cause it to separate from the inner mass, and form a ring about the sun, like that of Saturn. By further condensation, new rings are successively thrown off, each of which gradually draws together its particles into a nucleus and forms a planet; or, if there are several nucleuses, there must be as many smaller planets, which, like Ceres, Pallas, Juno, and Vesta, will be at nearly the same distance from the centre of motion. Since the particles of the ring's inner surface are nearer the sun, their velocity must be less than those of the outer surface, so that when the planet is formed, it must have a rotation, which, increasing as the planet condenses, may cause it to part with its own rings, and form its own satellites.

This grand but simple view of the process, which the Deity has adopted in framing the universe, bears upon its front the stamp of truth and of divinity; it necessarily leads to a system, which the law of gravitation renders permanent; and it accounts for all the leading phenomena of astronomy. Hence it is, that the planets and satellites revolve and rotate in the same direction, and almost in the same plane; that their orbits are nearly circular; and that their densities are less the further they are from the sun. Hence, too, it is, that the satellites always turn the same face to their primaries; for if, after the formation of a satellite, it were not to condense, its time of rotation would be exactly the same with that of its revolution; and the extremely gradual condensation to which it is liable, cannot prevent its assuming such a form under the attraction of the primary, that this attraction must in future restrain the rotary motion, and, compelling it to turn its elongated face to the primary, will only allow it to be affected by the phenomenon of libration. The disturbing influence of the unequal density of different parts of the nebulæ must affect the whole course of these phenomena, particularly in the earlier stages of the formation, and must cause such irregularities as these; that the

density of Uranus is greater than that of the two next inferior planets; and the planes of its equator, and of the orbits of its satellites, are nearly perpendicular to that of its own orbit. If, when a zone separated, indeed, it were more dense on one side of the sun's equator than on the other, the planet's rotation and revolution would be performed in different planes; and a little reflection will show, that the inclinations of the orbits would be the most affected by such a cause in the case of the inferior planets, and those of the equators in the superior planets.

The comets, in this system, are themselves smaller nebulæ, with nucleuses of their own, which have come near enough to the sun, to be subject to the laws of its attraction, and revolve in very eccentrical orbits; and, as there is no general reason to influence the primitive directions of their motions, we find their orbits inclined at every variety of angle to the sun's equator. "If, finally, in the zones successively abandoned by the solar atmosphere, there are atoms too volatile to unite with each other, or with the heavenly bodies, they must continue to circulate about the sun, and offer all the appearances of the zodiacal light, without opposing any sensible resistance to the planetary motions."

But inquiries regarding a state of the world, so far removed from its present one, are of no practical value, and must rank with those questions of curiosity, upon which much labor has been expended by mathematicians. And a similar remark may be extended, with some qualification, to almost every part of the "*Mécanique Céleste*," or of the "Principia." For, humiliating as is the confession, it must be admitted, that practical astronomy is not dependent upon theory, and that the observer, with only a small degree of elementary mathematics, can deduce from his observations empirical laws sufficient for all his purposes. Judged, then, by the narrow standard of utility, which is generally adopted, and has been pronounced to be at the very foundation of the Baconian philosophy, transcendental mathematics can offer but little to redeem it from the reproach of being a misletoe science, uselessly absorbing the highest energies of the most powerful minds. Even its noblest fruit seems to be blasted; its Newton was sensitive, fretful, and almost mean; and its La Place was an atheist.

But the character of the votary must not condemn the sci-

ence ; and the character of the science must be referred to its true standard, that of knowledge. If we would, then, search deeply into the laws of nature, we find, that the inner doors of physical philosophy must be opened with the keys of geometry ; and that even the trials of skill, and the mere questions of curiosity, in which mathematicians have delighted, are the best possible preparation for the more serious contests of science, and have again and again led the way to the most brilliant investigations. It was thus, that Lagrange reduced the whole of Mechanics to a problem of Isoperimetry, and made its solution depend upon an analysis, which had before been admired and prosecuted only as an exercise of geometrical gymnastics, on account of its singular beauty, and the remarkable simplicity of its results. As far, indeed, as the great object of life and of knowledge, the improvement of the mind, is concerned, the humblest subjects may furnish inquiries no less useful than the most sublime. The path of the arrow is as difficult of calculation as that of the comet, and the celebrated problem of the precession of the equinoxes is of the same class with that of the spinning of the top.

What difference is there, then, between the intellectual importance of the investigations, except that the planet and the comet are observed with care, while the top and the arrow are the playthings of a thoughtless child ? And what difference does it make to the mathematician, whether the data of his problem are taken from the external world, or from the creative power of his own mind ? Suppose that the telescope had never been invented, and that there had never been any means for making accurate observations of the heavenly bodies ; and suppose that, as a subject of intellectual exercise and curiosity, the mind of Newton, or of La Place, had devoted itself to the calculation of what would have been the motions of a system of bodies united by the law of gravitation ; would the labor have been less worthy of his genius, and less fitted to develope his mental powers ? And suppose that he had prosecuted his investigations still further, and, applying his analysis to other laws of attraction than that of nature, had attempted to discover what law and what arrangement would have led to a permanent system, free from all great irregularities ; would not this mere question of curiosity have deserved the attention even of such a mind ? Could any intellectual exercise be thought of, more nearly allied to that

required at the creation? Is it not the very labor which would absorb the powers of the archangel, to whom should be intrusted the sublime task of building a world? Such an inquiry has actually been instituted by geometers, and they have almost established the proposition, that, with none but the present law of gravitation, and with no other arrangement, would the solar system have been permanent. We regard this grand result as alone worthy of all the time, and all the genius, which have been devoted to mathematics.

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Dr. Bowditch was able to superintend the passage of his great work through the press, as far as to the one thousandth page of the fourth volume, his disease (a *schirrus* of the stomach), though at times extremely painful, not having compelled him wholly to intermit his studious labors till within a few days of his death. That event took place on the 16th day of March, 1838, when he had nearly completed his sixty-fifth year. Tributes of respect for his services and character were offered from numerous quarters, on the part of corporations and societies of which he had been a member, and of various learned bodies. The American Academy, the President and Fellows of Harvard University, the Faculty of Yale College, the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum, the Massachusetts Life Insurance Company (of which, from its foundation, he had been the executive officer), the East India Marine Society, and other associations, held meetings, and passed resolutions expressive of their sympathy with the bereaved family, and of their sense of the public loss. Measures were taken for erecting a monument to his memory; and eulogies were pronounced by the Reverend Mr. Young, in the church where he habitually worshipped; by Judge White, at the request of the Corporation of Salem, of which city he was a native, and during most of his life an inhabitant; and by Mr. Pickering, before the American Academy, of which, for several years and down to the time of his death, he was the presiding officer.

These Eulogies treat at large the life and character of their subject, and preserve, what posterity will gratefully receive, a trustworthy and full description, both of the philosopher and of the man. The learned oration of Mr. Pickering embraces a biographical outline, but is chiefly remarkable for its thorough and luminous analysis of Dr. Bowditch's scientific

publications, exhibiting, in a comprehensive and discriminating sketch, the nature and value of his labors, as well as the actual condition of that sublime department of study, on which they were employed. The discourse of Judge White, — a composition of rare excellence in its kind, — traces, step by step, the progress of this great mind, satisfactorily indicating the stern but effective discipline under which it was trained, the traits which characterized its eminence, the principles which controlled and gave success to its action, and the variety of beneficent influences exerted by it upon society ; — subjects which, in the eulogy of Mr. Young (the earliest and most copious of the three), are also felicitously treated, and illustrated by a large collection of interesting facts and anecdotes.

We have not proposed to ourselves to offer so much as a brief sketch of the life and character of this distinguished individual, thinking it to be rather the office of a work like ours, to dwell upon his services to science. But, while there are few who will read his writings, there are many who may profit by the record of his virtues, and of the principles and habits which contributed to his greatness ; and, little inclined as we are to the formal inculcation of a moral, we yet find ourselves unwilling to dismiss the subject, without giving a few words to some of those facts and traits, which, so judiciously exhibited in the biographical notices we have specified, make them fruitful of the best instruction. It was from an humble condition in early life, that (in part, no doubt, by force of extraordinary natural endowments, but also by force of a principled energy, alert to take advantage of every opportunity of improvement, and refusing to be depressed by any discouraging circumstances,) Dr. Bowditch rose to be one of the most eminent persons of his country, and of the time. The son of a working cooper, enjoying no advantages of instruction in early childhood beyond those of attendance on a public school, and those only till he was ten years of age, he was, two or three years after, apprenticed to a ship-chandler, and continued in this service through his minority ; at the end of which time he went to sea, as an inferior officer in a merchant vessel. Meanwhile, by the diligent use of such fragments of time as he was able to redeem for study, from regular daily employment of so different a kind, he had, (besides laying up stores in general literature, which would have

done no discredit to a youth devoted to that pursuit) made such proficiency in his favorite science, as enabled him, three years after, to publish a work, the "Practical Navigator," scarcely surpassed in usefulness by any of the time, and immediately driving all others of the same class out of circulation. Being unable to purchase books, he borrowed and copied such as he most needed, possessing himself thus, before he was fourteen years old, of a long treatise on Algebra, another on Geometry, and a third on Conic Sections. At fifteen, making all the necessary calculations, he had arranged an Almanac, complete in all its parts. Obtaining, by a fortunate accident, a copy of Newton's "Principia," he learned Latin by himself, that he might read the work, and made a translation of the whole of it.

Entering upon an active life of business, Dr. Bowditch made four voyages to the East Indies, and one to Europe, diligently devoting his leisure at sea to his favorite inquiries, which, however, with a liberal sense of the value of other knowledge, he diversified by studies of a more generally attractive kind. Retiring from a seafaring life, at the age of thirty, he assumed an office, that of President of an Insurance Company in his native town, which, to most men, would have seemed to afford sufficient employment for their time; and from this, at the end of twenty years, he was transferred to the place of Actuary of the Massachusetts Life Insurance Company, which he held till the time of his death. It was by an economy of the leisure hours of a life thus engaged, that Dr. Bowditch won for himself one of the highest names in science, which the nineteenth century boasts.

Nor was it by any jealous and churlish economy of those hours. No man acknowledged more readily the claims of friendly intercourse; no man welcomed more cordially the interruptions which they bring. His study was his parlour, where no posture of a hard, unfinished problem ever caused the unexpected guest to feel, that his visit was untimely. No abstraction ever revealed the toiling or wearied mind. A gay buoyancy of spirits, and a prompt interest in whatever subject was presented, showed, whenever you found the man, that you found him before his work, and at his ease. Early hours, an utter abstinence from mere waste of time, and temperate habits which preserved the mind in perpetual vigor, permitted a life crowded with labor and its fruits to be, in

an equal degree, tranquil, free from care, and accessible to incidental engagements.

Along with great heartiness, Dr. Bowditch had its usual attendant, a warm impetuosity of character; and, though no "rude and boisterous captain of the sea," there may have been occasions when a happier combination would have been produced, had the same measure of the *fortiter in re*, been blended with more of the *suaviter in modo*. But his high and rigid integrity was beyond question. His punctilious justice in the conduct of complicated affairs was a model for imitation. If he had prejudices, he had candor to welcome and weigh the evidence which would dispel them; and anger he carried "as the flint bears fire"; the spark was quick, but it was momentary.

Acquiring what in a frugal community may deserve to be called wealth, he had the high wisdom to know its worth; that is, to know its uses. He cared for it as making him independent, and enabling him to be useful. In his life, as well as at his death, he gave freely from it to worthy objects of benevolence, public and private; and he expended a large portion of it, without any hope of remuneration, on the publication of his great work; declining, from a nice sense of honor, the urgent proposals of a learned society (the American Academy), and of private friends, that he would permit it to be issued at their charge. Of his time, his counsels, and his influence, he was as liberal, for good objects, as of his money.

Proof against less mischievous delusions, the madness of the "undevout astronomer" had no place in his clear and sober mind. The Christian faith, the support of his principles through a long, active life, was a sufficient source of consolation to him during the well-understood approach of death. Of cant and pretension, no man ever had less. But he had as little respect for the affectation which suppresses and disguises cherished sentiments, as for that which obtrudes and parades them. He thought it due to the truths which sustained him, to allow it to be known, that it was on them that he leaned; and the chamber of his decline was a scene of the sublimest instruction for whoever would know, with what serene, magnanimous satisfaction, the spirit, which has well done the first part of its work, may pass on to its higher destinies.

ART. V. — *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land.* By GEORGE STEPHENS. Galignani. Paris: August, 1838. 2 vols. 12mo.

MANY editions of this work in the United States, two at least in England, and one in France, attest the favor, with which it has been received by the reading public; a favor honestly earned and worthily bestowed. We can speak of a large portion of the route pursued by the author, from actual observation; and, after following his footsteps in his pilgrimage, we have accompanied him in his book, among the same scenes, renewing, from his vivid description, almost the freshness of first impressions. He has admirable qualities for a traveller, and for a writer of travels. He possesses just enthusiasm enough to desire to see every thing; and, while he surveys the scenes of ancient story, sacred and profane, with those kindling emotions, which Providence in its wisdom has given to us to feel, when we stand on a spot renowned for the great events of which it has been the theatre, he does not yield to that morbid sensibility, which forgets, that change is not the accidental lot of this state of being, but a part of the constitution of nature, "still educing good" from decrepitude, as from manhood, and preparing the bud of spring to replace the autumnal leaf, fallen, because made to fall.

This precious gift of association is one of the most enviable powers, with which Providence has endowed us; and an inhabitant of the new world can well appreciate its full intensity. If his lot has been cast upon a continent, whose early revolutions are for ever shrouded from human view, and where no ancient monument exists to mark the trials and triumphs and disasters of man, we find, amidst all this, but another proof of that system of compensation, which pervades the universe, in the strength of the impressions he experiences, in the Eastern world, from the first view of scenes hallowed by the recollection of the persons and the events, that have rendered them memorable. We cross the ocean, bearing in our memory the treasures of ancient history, and deeply fraught with the lessons it teaches; but as yet untouched by that magic fire of association, to be kindled only when we stand where those have stood, whose deeds will be immortal. In every part of Europe, there is some battle-field, with its appropriate

story, and with its succession of events, prosperous or adverse ; some spot identified with the life or death of a soldier, a statesman, a patriot, or a writer, whose name is as "familiar in our mouths as household words." They, who are conversant with these scenes from their infancy, can never fully estimate the sensations of the transatlantic pilgrim, who comes for the first time to deposite his tribute of gratitude to the memory of those who have ennobled human nature, when he finds himself covered by the same sky, and surrounded by the same unchanging objects, hill, valley, plain, rock, and river.

Our author has also a spirit of perseverance, which seems to have surmounted many serious difficulties, even when he was depressed by sickness. He exhibits, too, a power of observation, without which a traveller will always find a country barren, from Dan to Beersheba. There is, perhaps, no mental faculty more unequally distributed than this. To have eyes, but to see not, is an infliction far more common than is usually supposed. If we glance rapidly over the various Tours, Journals, and Voyages, which the press is continually giving forth, we shall not fail to be struck with the difference they present in this characteristic. Some men seem to seize, as if by a species of intuition, the true points of observation, moral and physical, offered by the regions they traverse, and to have the faculty of spreading them before their readers, almost visibly and tangibly. And this, too, whether they survey the works of nature or of man. While others are equally crude in their remarks, and unfortunate in the subjects of their selection. It is not the mere beauty of style, or the novelty of the route, or the "hairbreadth 'scapes," which leave the most permanent impression upon the reader ; but it is the power to catch those features, which reveal the true character, animate and inanimate, of a country, and which gave such a charm to the travels of Moore and Clarke.

Luckily, Mr. Stephens lays no claim to the character of an architectural antiquarian, and speaks of his attainments in that respect with equal good sense and good humor. "I have avoided," he says, "description of ruins, when I could. The fact is, I know nothing of architecture, and never measured any thing in my life ; before I came to Egypt, I could not tell the difference between a *dromos* and a *propylon*, and

my whole knowledge of Egyptian antiquities was little more than enough to enable me to distinguish between a mummy and a pyramid." The purchaser of his book, therefore, is not bored with that eternal affectation of *knowledge and taste*, which led Eustace in his "Classical Tour," and his predecessors and successors in that most fatiguing of all the departments of learning, to record the feet and inches of every building they entered, of every statue they examined, and of every ruin they explored; to fill page after page with long, prosing dissertations upon the comparative merits of pictures and other works of art, apparently utterly ignorant of the slight impression, which mere description can make, of the most interesting monuments of human genius. Their minute details are beyond the reach of written description.

But we could have wished, that Mr. Stephens had given us more information upon the natural history of the regions he visited, and particularly of the interesting country between the Red Sea and Palestine; and also upon its geographical features, with a view not merely to its actual condition, but to enable us to identify the sites of ancient places, recorded in biblical history. We have in vain endeavoured to follow the author, upon the best charts, during his journey from Suez to Hebron, and could trace him only by reference to a few well-known and well-established places.

Mr. Stephens is fortunate in the relation of his personal adventures. They are not, indeed, of a very thrilling character; but they are sufficiently interesting to command the attention of the reader, and to prove, not only, that his journey was often a perilous one, but that he bore himself with great fortitude and presence of mind, when perhaps his safety, certainly the successful result of his enterprise, depended upon his own resources, physical and mental. The writer of a book of travels should always endeavour to preserve a just medium, between the description of his personal adventures, and his remarks. A bond of union is necessary; but the narrative should avoid the appearance on the one hand of a series of undigested incidents, and on the other of a scientific treatise. Perhaps Mr. Stephens is a little prolix in his account of his disputes and conversations with his Arab guides; but we readily pardon him, for they are illustrative of Eastern manners, and are sketched with great spirit.

The author writes in a pleasant, lively style, which is well suited to the nature of his topics, and at times rises into eleva-

tion, as he indulges in reflections, appropriate to the solemn scenes, in which he finds himself placed. As we must, of course, pick a fault with him somewhere, — and, by the by, this is no easy task, — and are disposed to close that side of the account as speedily as a just regard to critical *impartiality* will permit, we will tell him, that he is sometimes a little given to conceits ; that he indulges too often in antitheses ; that his tables of contents, at the head of his chapters, which cost him so much trouble to arrange satisfactorily, with their quaint oppositions, are too labored and in bad taste ; and that the description of the dinner he gave his friends in his boat upon the Nile, is abominable, and those four pages are utterly unworthy of their author's good taste and good sense.

The retrospect of a travelling dinner is at best dangerous ground for an author, after Smollett's *piquant* description of that meal, in one of his coarse but admirable sea novels. And though we should have preferred the faithful Paul's "stew," and "mutton," and "maccaroni," and "potatoes," to the *classical* dishes in Smollett's bill of fare, still we must own our preference for the picture painted by the Scottish artist.

Mr. Stephens visited a quarter of the world, where comparatively few of his countrymen have travelled, but where we anticipate they will soon penetrate, with all their characteristic ardor and enterprise. The annihilation of space, occasioned by the introduction of steam into navigation, is in nothing more wonderfully exemplified, than in the time, within which it is possible to travel from New York to Jerusalem. The fact may be startling to our readers, but it is nevertheless true, that a person favored by circumstances, may reach Mount Calvary within thirty-three days after leaving Broadway. Thirteen days may take him to Bristol, two to Paris, three to Marseilles, ten to Syra, four to Jaffa, and one from there to Jerusalem. And the French steamboats, plying upon the Mediterranean to Syra, to Alexandria, to Greece, to Smyrna, and to Constantinople, are safe and pleasant vessels, and well found, in all respects.

Mr. Stephens directed his course to Africa, of which the great geographical characteristic is its sandy deserts. From the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean, and from the mouth of the Senegal to the Straits of Babelmandel, a sterile sand covers the surface. Sometimes stationary, and some-

times in motion, it presents alternately to the traveller the spectacle of silent desolation, and of sudden and terrible storms, where the sandy atmosphere approaches the caravan with a rapidity, which no human power can escape, foretelling its effects by its appalling magnificence, and involving the passenger, and his faithful "ship of the desert," in one common ruin. But to this general picture there are many exceptions. Wherever water is found, there is found fertility, and a fertility unknown to more equable regions. The course of the African rivers is marked by an exuberance, for which we may in vain seek a parallel even in other tropical climates, and the population is principally collected along the streams. But there are springs to be found, occasionally, even in the most sterile part of the desert; and round these are small belts of fertile land, islands in an ocean of sand, yielding, with little cultivation, what is necessary to human subsistence. They are the *oases* of the ancients; and it was upon one of these insulated spots, that the celebrated Temple of Jupiter Ammon was situated.

This great sandy desert extends along the Mediterranean, at a short distance from its shores, and reaches to the Red Sea. It obtains, very soon, a considerable elevation, and then presents the aspect of an irregular plane, varied by hills and hollows. A traveller in this region would see before him a chain of sand hills, extending across the line of his route, and, on attaining their summit would see beneath him an immense valley. Whether approaching by the Libyan or the Arabian desert, the aspect would be the same. He would stand upon a sandy ridge, with all that the imagination could conceive most desolate behind him, and before him one of the most magnificent prospects ever presented to human eyes. He would survey a deep valley, bright with vegetation, and teeming with a depressed but laborious population, engaged in the various labors of agriculture. He would see opposite to him another eternal rampart, which, with the one he stands upon, shuts in this valley, and between them a mighty river, flowing in a winding course, from the foot of one chain to the other, furnishing lateral canals, which become fountains, whence the water is elevated by wheels and buckets of the rudest structure, worked sometimes by men and sometimes by cattle, and no doubt identical with the process in use in the days of Sesos-

tris ; and this water is conveyed over the surface, and communicates that wonderful fertility, which formerly rendered this country the granary of the world, and yet endows it with a power of production unknown even in the most highly cultivated parts of Europe. And this river is the Nile, and this valley is Egypt ; the Egypt of the enslaved Israelites, and of their proud taskmasters ; the Egypt of the Pharaohs, of the Ptolemies, and of the Mamelukes ; the Egypt of On, of Thebes, of Memphis, and of — Damietta ; the Egypt of early civilization, where science and literature were first cultivated, and whence they were sent to enlighten the nations of the west, and the Egypt of the Fellahs, and of the grossest ignorance and misery. And it is to this monument of the Creator's bounty, and to this evidence of man's power and weakness, that our author is about to conduct his readers.

Mr. Stephens commences his narrative at Alexandria, the portal of Egypt, whence he ascended by the canal and the Nile to Cairo. Here he made several lateral excursions to the pyramids of Gizeh and Saccarah, and to the sites of Memphis and Heliopolis, or On. After this, he took the usual route up the great river to the Cataracts, examining the various objects of nature and art, contained in this most extraordinary valley, where the regions of exuberant fertility and of excessive sterility are in absolute contact, and in eternal contest for supremacy. He examined the wonderful remains, which attest the skill and science of the ancient Egyptians at Thebes, at Denderah, and at other well-known places ; and which attest at the same time the utter disregard in which the theocratic rulers of Egypt held the fortunes and services of their subjects, while the wealth of the community was wasted upon objects of useless magnificence. After descending the Nile to Cairo, he set out for Suez, crossed the head of the Red Sea, and reached Mount Sinai. Hence, he travelled to Akabah, on the gulf of that name, being the Eastern or Elanitic branch of the Red Sea. He then took the route through the desert of Arabia Petrea, by the interesting remains of the city of Petra, traversing, as he supposes, the heart of the ancient Edom or Idumea, against which the curse was denounced by the prophet, in these impressive terms, " None shall pass through thee for ever and ever." He then entered the Holy Land, near Hebron, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of David, and reached Jerusalem. Here he remained some days, and made all the usual excursions

over that region of Biblical story, ennobled by the most touching and glorious incident, which the world has witnessed. Bethlehem, Jericho, Bethany, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea, names of deathless interest, were places of pilgrimage for him, as they have been for many who preceded him, and as they will be for many who will follow him. Thence he passed to Shichem, the modern Naplous; to Sebaste, the capital of the kingdom of Samaria, as desolate as misery and ruins can make it; to Nazareth, so long the residence of the Saviour; to the city of Tiberias, and the Sea of Galilee; to Saffad, one of the Holy cities of the Jews, and where they yet come from the remotest parts of Europe to die, and to mingle their ashes with their father land. He then turned his face homeward; visited Mount Carmel, and Caïpha; St. Jean D'Acre, the ancient Ptolemais, and the memorable place which first stayed the torrent of French advance under Bonaparte; Tyre and Sidon; and did all a gallant traveller could do to see the Queen of Palmyra, the granddaughter of the Earl of Chatham, the niece of William Pitt, Lady Hester Stanhope. Unfortunately for his readers, not less than for himself, the lady was not in a favorable mood, and would not open her Arab doors to the transatlantic traveller. We can tell him, he luckily spared himself one of the roughest rides in Syria, and the precipitous ascent of as arid and sterile a hill, as can be found in all the ridges of Lebanon; and on the top of which we found this eccentric lady perched, about nine miles from Saide, the ancient Sidon. Failing in this effort, he pushed on to Beyroot, formerly Berytus, the seaport of all this region; and here he takes leave of his readers.

It will be at once seen, how interesting is the outline here presented for the observations of the author, and the contemplation of his reader; and well has he fulfilled the task he has imposed upon himself. We do not propose to follow him regularly in his path; but we shall select occasional paragraphs from his pages, either because they are characteristic of the writer, or because they are descriptive of scenes, incidents, or persons interesting to us. We reserve to ourselves, in the sequel to consider more at large one or two points, somewhat important in themselves, and in which it is well to point out and correct the errors of the author.

Mr. Stephens thus records his first impression upon approaching the Nile : —

" At about eight o'clock, next morning, we were standing on the banks of the Nile, the eternal river, the river of Egypt, recalling the days of Pharaoh and Moses ; from the earliest period of recorded time, watering and fertilizing a narrow strip of land, in the middle of a sandy desert, rolling its solitary way more than a thousand miles without receiving a single tributary stream ; the river the Egyptians worshipped, and the Arabs loved, and which, as the Musselmans say, if Mohammed had tasted, ' he would have prayed heaven for terrestrial immortality, that he might continue to enjoy it for ever. ' "

The Nile is indeed a mighty stream ; and without the *prestige* derived from the historical associations. Connected with the narrow valley it has reclaimed from the Arabian and Libyan deserts, and to which it yet gives life and fertility, it offers to the traveller, not only an imposing spectacle, but one of the most admirable works of nature, adapted by unerring Wisdom to render what would otherwise be an arid waste, one of the most productive regions on the face of the globe. We are free to confess, it is one of the few objects we have seen in the old world, without a feeling of disappointment. We do not refer, in this remark, to the historical considerations to which we have already alluded, and which give such deep interest to many places and objects ; but merely to the effect produced upon the spectator by their sight, when compared with the descriptions we have previously read, and the anticipations to which these have given birth. Perhaps our imagination was a little too highly exalted ; but so it is, that, after having seen many of the most celebrated objects of nature and art in the Eastern Hemisphere, we have returned from them disappointed, with but three exceptions. St. Peter's at Rome fulfilled and surpassed all our previous conceptions ; and, after all that has been written upon the monuments of antiquity, we believe that superb Basilick is fitted to produce more powerful impressions upon the spectator, than any other building ever constructed by human hands. The ruins of Baalbec may be approached with a similar conviction ; and the traveller, however highly wrought may be his expectations, will leave its columns, its porticos, and its enormous masses of hewn stone, with sentiments of wonder and admiration. This river of Egypt was the third object

destined to exceed our previous anticipations. And this, too, after having travelled upon the Missouri and the Mississippi.

In its general features, it bears a strong resemblance to the former river. The water has the same thick, turbid appearance, bringing down with it an immense quantity of the soil of the upper regions, carried off by the rains, or fallen from the banks, undermined by the action of the current. It is lighter colored than the water of the Missouri, but equally impervious to the view, it being impossible to discern an object in either stream, an inch below the surface. The strength of the two currents, we should judge to be about the same, equalling certainly five or six miles an hour; and both exhibit that turbulent, agitated appearance, indicative of great depth and velocity, and which cannot be regarded without awe. The Nile, where the Mahmondieh canal enters it, must be a mile broad; and, when it is considered, that the Damietta branch, on the other side of the Delta, is of equal size, and that there are a number of other passages, which convey that water, either to the sea or to the lakes, which are filled during the inundation; we may form some conception of this great Abyssinian outlet. We ascended it at the height of the inundation. At Cairo, the minimum of this height, above low water, is 6·857 metres,* its medium 7·409 metres, and its maximum 7·961. To this if we add the general depth of the stream at low water, equal to 1·830 metres, we shall have 9·791 metres for the depth, at the period of greatest elevation. It preserves this altitude, or nearly so, for many days; because, as it approaches or recedes from it, its changes are slow. And all this immense mass of water is furnished by the regions south of Egypt. For a thousand miles, there is not only no tributary stream, but evaporation, the aridity of the soil, and the purposes of agriculture are continually diminishing the volume. How wonderful the operations of Nature in the organization of the laws, which govern this great source of Egyptian fertility, or rather of Egyptian existence. From the earliest period it has rolled down this mighty mass, with the certainty and precision of the revolving seasons, generally with a quantity sufficient to irrigate the soil, and to prepare it for its destined crop, but sometimes indeed with a diminished supply, followed by periods of scarcity or famine, like that recorded in the history of Joseph, when "the famine was very sore, that the land of Egypt, and all the land of Canaan

* A metre is 39·731 inches, or 3·281 English feet.

fainted by reason of the famine." The Nile had no doubt failed to attain the necessary elevation, and sterility and want were the consequence.

Mr. Stephens sought and obtained an introduction to the Pasha, whose origin, adventures, present elevation, and system of administration, have rendered him an object of general interest.

"While standing," says the author, "upon the balcony, a Janizary came to tell us, that the Pasha would receive us, or in other words, that we must come to the Pasha. The audience-chamber was a very large room, with a high ceiling, — perhaps eighty feet long and thirty high, — with Arabesque paintings on the wall, and a divan all round. The Pasha was sitting at one corner, near the extreme end, and had a long and full view of every one who approached him. I too had the same advantage; and in walking up, I remarked him, as a man about sixty-five, with a long and very white beard, strong features, of a somewhat vulgar cast, a short nose, red face, and rough skin, with an uncommonly fine dark eye, expressing a world of determination and energy. He wore a large turban, and a long silk robe, and was smoking a long pipe, with an amber mouth-piece. Altogether he looked the Turk much better than his nominal master the Sultan."

Mr. Stephens acquitted himself in this interview to his own satisfaction, and avows the great complacency he felt at "the manner in which, for the first time, he had played the courtier to royalty." The personal compliment to the Pasha, upon the interest he had excited in the world, upon the improved facilities of travelling in the country, and upon his excellent police, was safe ground; but America, with the speed of her steamboats, her great natural features, and her wonderful progress in all that administers to human comfort, presented a subject far beyond the Pasha's usual sphere of observation and reflection; and we do not wonder, that "he said nothing, and smoked on." We trust, however, that the author overrated Mehemet Ali's skepticism, or underrated his own powers of conviction, when he supposes, that, if the Pasha ever thought of him afterwards, it was as "the lying American." But, after all, incredulity upon the state and progress of this country, must not be charged to the peculiar account of Turkish ignorance. It is common everywhere in Europe, and that too among men of general information, and upon

topics familiarly known to every citizen of the United States. We have been astonished, even in Paris and London, not merely at the gross ignorance which prevails upon this subject, but at the obduracy of incredulity, with which details well known to every American are received.

We take pleasure in transcribing the following tribute of justice, and in adding our own feeble testimony to its truth. "He," the Pasha, "knew America from a circumstance, which I afterwards found had done wonders in giving her a name and a character in the East; the visit of Commodore Patterson, in the ship Delaware." That gentleman has left behind him an enviable reputation in the various countries of the Mediterranean, which he visited. We have followed him in his route, and have heard but one report of his hospitality, urbanity, and correct demeanor. His superb ship was a proud monument of the naval skill of his country, and the conduct of her officers and crew confirmed the favorable impression she was fitted to produce.

Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, is one of the most remarkable men of this era, prolific in intellectual prodigies. To appreciate him properly, he should be judged by a Turkish, not by a Christian standard; by the opinions and state of society of the community, who have adopted the dogmas of the Arabian Prophet, where human life has little value, and human faith still less, and not by the purer principles and more enlightened ideas of Christendom.

The career of this singular man is well known. He was originally in the lowest station of life, and became successively a tax-gatherer, a *gens-d'armes*, and a soldier. We were informed by an intelligent Christian functionary, that the Pasha had been, at one time, in the service of his father; and that in after years, when fortune had elevated one to the highest pinnacle of power, and depressed the other by one of those mutations, to which commercial establishments are liable, the early obligation was forgotten, and vain was the appeal of the merchant to the prince. Mehemet Ali, after obtaining a subordinate military command, joined the Turkish expedition sent to expel the French from Egypt. The successive gradations of his advancement, and his final exaltation, are familiar to all, and are too much in consonance with Eastern manners to excite surprise. The miracles recorded of Aladdin's lamp, in one of the most beautiful fictions of Arabian imagi-

nation, almost find their prototypes in the courts of the Sultan, and of his great three-tailed representatives, who reign over the large Pashalics, into which the Turkish dominions are divided. The school of slavery is the institution in which a large portion of the Moslem grandees are educated; and not a few have found themselves, on awakening, the absolute property of a master, and fulfilling the menial functions appropriate to their condition, and, on retiring at night, clothed with the highest powers of the government. Generals, admirals, statesmen, are created by this magic process; and if Narses has had few successors in talents and renown, he has had many in that strange caprice of fortune, which, in apparent contempt of human greatness, elevates to the highest ranks, beings cut off from society. No wonder Turkish arms are unsuccessful, when their leaders, without education and experience, suddenly exchange the intrigues of a seraglio for the command of fleets and armies.

But the Egyptian Pasha has run another course. He owes his advancement to himself; to those great qualities of mind and body, which, acting upon the circumstances in which they are placed, are fitted to control events, or to coöperate with them.

Mr. Stephens has grouped together some of the incidents of the Pasha's life and government, but gives no general sketch of his character, contenting himself, in a summary, with saying; "It remains to be seen, whether, after all, he has not done more harm than good, and whether the miserable and oppressed condition of his subjects, does not more than counterbalance all the good he has done for Egypt."

What our author has doubtfully intimated, we take the freedom to express without reserve. We render justice to the useful qualities of Mehemet Ali, and leave to others to arraign him for the acts of cruelty and perfidy he has committed, and particularly for the murder of the Mameluke Beys, by which his vice-regal throne was attained and secured. He is a Turk, and the Mohammedan standard of morals, connected with political movements, is far too low to justify the application to him of any principles laid down in our code of ethics.

He found the Pasha at a country house, belonging to one of his sons-in-law, upon the banks of the Canal, to which he had been driven by the intense heat of the weather. Mr.

Stephens has accurately described the ceremony upon these occasions, and we shall pass at once into the presence of the Viceroy. He was in a large apartment upon the second floor, at one end of which was a Turkish divan, or raised seat. The room was neat, and well ventilated, but without splendor, and almost without furniture. We found him more civil, than when our author visited him; no doubt, because, according to the Abernethy doctrine, his stomach was in better order, and he consequently in better humor. As we entered, he arose from his divan, and walked down the room to meet us. He received us with much politeness, and conducted us to a seat at his side. After being seated, we seized the first moment to throw a *coup d'œil* around us.

At the opposite end of the room were grouped many of the Pasha's personal attendants and officers; stationed there, no doubt, to give more effect to the scene. They were all motionless, with their eyes upon their master, and clothed in the ugly costume, which the present Sultan has introduced, and which is gradually extending itself from Constantinople to Cairo and Bagdad, and displacing the turban, the large trowsers, and loose-flowing robe. This costume consists of a large frock coat, or of a strait jacket, the Turks having generally adopted the former, and the Egyptians the latter; of pantaloons, and that most uncouth of all contrivances for covering the head, the fez cap. Alas, for the majesty of the turban, so long associated with all our notions of Eastern manners, and which has scarcely undergone a change since the days of Abraham! The fez cap is worn constantly, not taken off within doors, like our hats, and is considered a part of the dress. It is of red cloth, and of a cylindrical shape, precisely like a hat without the brim, and surmounted with a blue tassel. The ancient flowing costume concealed the defects of the Turkish form, and produced a general impression, that the race was highly favored in its physical conformation. This error, the change of dress has revealed; and no man has compared the Turkish gentleman of the old and the new school, without being struck with the superiority of the former in his appearance and bearing.

Standing immediately in front of the Pasha, and with an attitude and countenance as respectful, as fear and habit could impress, was the Prime Minister, Boghos Bey, an Armenian, who is said to be shrewd and intelligent, and who

has long been his confidential minister and adviser, and, in his absence, the depositary of his power. He was accompanied by the principal interpreter, a man of more importance in the Eastern courts, than is indicated by that humble designation.

Mehemet Ali appeared to be about seventy years of age, of medium height, but inclining to corpulency, with a magnificent white beard, and a piercing eye, not indicating those characteristics of cruelty, of which his life has given so many examples. He is brisk in his movements, and of great personal activity and address, for his advanced age. He was dressed with as much simplicity as any of his attendants.

Coffee, the great mark of Eastern politeness, was introduced. Without this proof of attention, the visitor may take it for granted, that he is purposely insulted; as much so, at least, as the stranger, who is not invited to take a seat in a Christian house. Formerly, the Pasha presented pipes and tobacco; but there is a story current at Alexandria, that, some years since, when Mr. Salt, the late British Consul-General was first introduced, not loving the narcotic weed, he declined the proffered compliment, and that since then, to avoid the mortification of another refusal, Mehemet Ali has restricted his hospitality to the little Turkish cup of coffee. If this were so, it must have happened in his novitiate, and before Mr. Salt had entered far upon that career of political service, of antiquarian research, and of profitable traffic in the relics of ancient art, which so long connected his name with Egyptian investigations. He probably improved his manners as he increased his knowledge, and would no doubt, in after years, have enveloped himself in as thick a cloud of smoke, as ever issued from the pipe and mouth of the gravest Turk from the Nile to the Euphrates. For ourselves, albeit we are confirmed believers in the wit and wisdom of King James's counterblast, and have about an equal love for the two plants of the Ancient Dominion, yclept tobacco, and the weed of Jamestown, popularly called *Jimson*, yet we have always yielded to the impulse of good manners, and received complacently the amber mouth-piece, from the neat, well-trained attendant; who, by long habit, arrives at the highest honors of his profession, in learning to place the little silver or brazen dish in which the pipe rests, precisely at such a distance from the smoker, as to enable him, by opening his mouth, to receive the tube without moving head or pipe. This feat requires a practised

hand and eye, and is the very acme of elegance in Turkish hospitality, as it certainly is of the indulgence of Turkish indolence. We must give the benefit of our experience to any future travellers in the East, who partake of our antipathy to this vilest weed of the vegetable kingdom, *e*schewed, not chewed, by every thing that has life, except a man and a worm. An exhalation is quite as good as an inhalation, and, so that the smoke rises, no matter whether from mouth or pipe, the Moslem host will be satisfied ; it never entering within the circle of his mental possibilities, to suspect any one of a disregard for this great killer of time and consoler of trouble. It passes our comprehension to imagine, how the followers of the Prophet filled up the measure of their time before its introduction. We have tried this same plan with equal success in our own forests, among a people as grave in their demeanor, and as inflexible in their manners, as the Turks ; and have found the pipe as cherished a luxury at the heads of the Mississippi, as upon the Jordan and the Bosphorus.

The Pasha conversed but little, appearing disposed rather to listen, than to talk. And we too, as well as Mr. Stephens, played the courtier, and congratulated him upon the security his government afforded to travellers, and upon the excellent police he had established. He received our compliments with complacency and apparent satisfaction, but with an impassible countenance. His unwonted taciturnity was attributed, by the scandal-mongers of the day, to a singular arrangement, which circumstances had rendered necessary, and which had broken up his domestic establishment. It did not however, affect his politeness, or imprint upon his visage any marks of trouble. After some more general conversation, and after receiving from him assurances, that in our progress through his dominions we should find every necessary facility and attention, we took our leave.

We have visited the four great divisions of Mehemet Ali's dominions ; Egypt, Candia (the ancient Crete), Syria, and Palestine. We exclude Arabia from this enumeration, because his tenure of that country is so feeble, and its duration so doubtful. He has, indeed, as we have just heard, exchanged the red flag with the crescent, almost identical with the Turkish flag, for the green banner of Mecca ; but he has little chance of consolidating his power over the native country

of the Prophet, because he hoists the Prophet's standard. Candia we merely touched at, without enjoying any opportunity of investigating the condition of the people or the operations of the government. In Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, we were more fortunate; and we have retired from the dominions of the successor of the Pharaohs, with the conviction, that a more oppressed and miserable population, than the indigenous races subject to his power, scarcely exists upon the face of the globe. The first element of society, the great, the only legitimate object of government, agreeably to our estimate of human rights and duties, the happiness of the governed, is absolutely held for nothing in the court of Alexandria. A vague notion of European civilization and advancement seems to have seized the Viceroy. It presents itself to his mind, as the medium of power, and not as the attendant, the cause and effect, of national and individual prosperity. The extension and consolidation of this power, are every thing; the comfort of his wretched people nothing.

As a part of this system, he is ambitious of European commendation, and desirous of associating his name with the introduction of Western improvements. Railroads have been projected and commenced, where the transportation would not defray the expense of preserving the communication. Sugar refineries have been established and abandoned. A gigantic scheme for elevating the Nile, by building dams across its two principal branches, a short distance below the upper point of the Delta, has been favorably received; and some progress towards the collection of the articles, required for this construction, has been made. It was even designed at one time to demolish the Pyramids, and to employ their materials in this project; and Mr. Stephens states, that a European engineer was directed to examine them, and to decide which should be demolished; and he adds, that this officer reported it would be cheaper to get stone from the quarries. We heard another version of the manner in which these monuments escaped the *utilitarian* projects of the great Reformer. It was said, the French Consul interposed so strenuously between the Pasha and his prey, that the scheme was abandoned; probably because he dreaded the effect such a measure might produce upon the character he is laboring to establish in Europe. Shades of Sesostris, of Cheops, and of Cephrenes! Little did ye think, that ye might owe to a

barbarian of the West, the preservation of your sepulchres from the desecrating innovation of one of your successors.

The Pasha is almost the only land-owner, and first purchaser of the valuable productions of his country. We believe, that not a single Egyptian, except a few of the principal persons about his court, possesses an acre of land; and even these, says a late traveller in Egypt, enjoy "only a life estate in them." This same traveller, Captain Scott, apologizing for the vices of the Egyptian government, says, "The great evil, that weighs down the country, — pressing particularly on the springs of industry, — is the necessity which obliges Mehemet Ali to constitute himself the sole proprietor of the soil." What a *honeyed* word is this "constitute," when put in opposition with "*seize*." *Necessity*, indeed! The old plea for every species of oppression. And this plea is here founded upon the character and condition of the population, some of whom are not sufficiently "enlightened to be trusted," while those, who possess the requisite knowledge, "are not old enough to have the requisite influence with the people." And a third class, the Fellahs, if they had land, "would cultivate merely the quantity of ground sufficient to afford them subsistence." "Who," therefore, — says this founder of a new school of political economy, which inculcates, that the way to commence the improvement of a country, is first to seize all the property of the people, and that communities are industrious and enterprising in an inverse ratio to the success of their labors, — "who," therefore, "could possess it (the whole property of the country) with greater advantage" (than Mehemet Ali)? The same benevolent motives have, no doubt, led him to "*constitute* himself the farmer-general and sole merchant of Egypt." And this monstrous usurpation is thus coolly defended. "I doubt, therefore, whether, under all circumstances, Mehemet Ali's monopolizing system be not the best that could be adopted, until knowledge, &c."

This system of administration produces in Egypt, "in the years of a *good Nile*," about twenty-two millions of dollars, from a population, little, if at all exceeding three millions, and the whole value of whose exports does not equal eight million five hundred thousand dollars; and this from a country destitute of manufactures, and whose inhabitants are in the lowest state of human misery and degradation. The

effects of this state of things are everywhere seen in the squalid misery of the population. Last year Egypt was threatened with a famine, and we believe grain was imported from Odessa ; and recent accounts represent the prospects of the present season as little better. We believe the great fertilizer of Egypt has been neither above nor below its healthful standard ; and we must seek, in the oppressive and injudicious measures of the government, the causes which threaten to convert the granary of the old world into a comparatively sterile waste.

As to protection, as we understand the term, there is absolutely nothing of it in Egypt. No man's person or property is safe for a day. And, indeed, through the Turkish dominions, agreeably to the theory of its government, and, till lately, agreeably to its practical administration, the lives and property of the Christians were as insecure as they could be rendered by unchecked rapacity on the one hand, and unprotected weakness on the other. The victorious Mahomet and his successors, after the fall of Constantinople, early established the doctrine, that the lives of all the conquered inhabitants were forfeited ; and then, with the acuteness of logicians and the cruelty of barbarians, they drew the conclusion, that, as the greater includes the less, every thing belonged to the government ; but that, from year to year, the Christian *rayahs* might ransom their lives and fortunes at a fixed rate. Still, however, this was but a temporary arrangement, leaving the government the complete master of its newly acquired subjects. And this doctrine has been well carried out. At Nicosia, the capital of the island of Cyprus, we were hospitably entertained at a Greek convent, the residence of the Archbishop, a venerable man, with great apparent singleness of purpose, and highly esteemed in the island. We had much conversation with him, and, among other topics, upon the operation of the Turkish laws, and the condition of the Greek population. He told us, the statement of a Christian was not received in opposition to a Turk, and that their protection depended entirely on the personal character of their ruler. The Turkish high judicial officers, called Cadis, are sent from Constantinople, where they are taken from the *ulemas*, or body of lawyers, to all parts of the empire. Their decisions, in cases affecting Christians, are practically without appeal ; and, as if it were to stimulate them to unjust decisions, they

are allowed ten per cent. upon their judgments. We asked the Archbishop, whether, if the Cadi rendered a judgment openly and manifestly unjust, and for which there was no pretext, the Greeks had any remedy; and he told us, they had none.

Even in Constantinople it is easy to detect the radical, inherent vices of the Turkish system, though controlled there by the influence, which the opinions of Christendom exert at this day upon the Moslem institutions, and perhaps by the personal character of the Sultan.

*The Imperial Manslayer* is one of the titles of the Grand Seignior, and it is said not to have been heretofore a barren one. But, as all governments have some practical check, so in this case, the royal butcher was restricted to forty victims a day. In like manner, the Capitan Pasha has the right to put to death the persons of his suite, and *perhaps* the mariners serving in his fleet. We understood at Constantinople, that this high officer had recently lost a favorite diamond aigrette, given to him by the Sultan, and, not being able to find it, at a moment when he desired to visit his master, in a fit of passion, he threw one of his servants into the Bosphorus, and blew out the brains of another with a pistol. We are happy to add, as some evidence of advancement in humanity, if not in civilization, that it was predicted the monster would soon lose his office, as he had already lost the favor of his master, who had expressed much indignation at this act of atrocity. We know not if the prediction has been fulfilled.

The conduct of the Egyptian government in the excavation of the Mahmondieh canal furnishes another illustration of this reckless disregard of human rights and human life. While it is one of the most useful monuments of the reign of Mehemet Ali, it is also one of the most striking monuments of arbitrary power and oppression, recorded in ancient or modern history. Instead of a just and systematic arrangement for the employment and subsistence of the necessary laborers, the miserable Fellahs were literally driven from their villages, and compelled to work upon this canal. It is computed, that not less than three hundred thousand were thus seized, of whom at least twenty-five thousand perished, from hunger, fatigue, and the hardships incident to want and exposure. We were informed by a most respectable witness, that these wretched beings were furnished with no instruments of labor, but that

the earth was dug with their hands, and carried away in the miserable rags, which barely covered their nakedness. Fortunately, as well for them as for the successful termination of the enterprise, the soil is alluvial, and without a stone upon the whole route. The country is almost a dead level, and there is not a lock upon the Canal. There is a sluice at each end, to regulate the admission and escape of the water, but no means for the passage of boats. The work is in fact a large ditch, without science in the plan, or skill in the execution. It is so crooked, that the distance is probably increased one third, without the slightest necessity for this deviation from a direct line, and apparently, because chance assigned to the laborers their stations.

But, in *rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*, let us do justice to Mehemet Ali. His government has everywhere meliorated the condition of Europeans. They are indeed the privileged caste of the country, and a hat is a surer protection than a turban, throughout his dominions. Mohammedan fanaticism has yielded to the terror inspired by his name ; and we do not believe, that, since some of the earlier and more renowned Sultans, any Eastern ruler has possessed the personal influence, which has been acquired by this able and energetic man. The police is admirable, and travelling is perfectly safe. Unfortunately, the government and its agents, from the Pasha down, are possessed of unlimited power, and every thing gives way before its use and abuse. And since we ourselves saw at Boulah, the port of Cairo, police officers *impress* a crew for the boats, which had been assigned to us, by pushing into a crowd with a long rope, and sending on board all who were encircled in it, without the slightest regard to any arrangements for their pay or subsistence, we have had little patience with the indiscriminate panegyrists of the Egyptian Viceroy.

What effect the death of Mehemet Ali will produce upon the fabric of power, which he has constructed, is a question that excites much interest in the political world. His repeated applications to the Porte for a firman, constituting Ibrahim Pasha his successor, have been unavailing ; and the desire he has evinced to throw off his nominal dependence upon the Sultan has been thwarted by the representations of the political agents of France and England. To insure the peaceable transmission of his government to his son, (actual

or adopted, for this is a vexed question,) is no doubt the great object he now has in view. Will he accomplish it ?

The various portions of the dominions of Mehemet Ali have no natural connexion, or dependence upon one another. They have been united, and are held together, by his power and address. He has neither the *prestige* derived from hereditary succession, nor the advantage of that veneration, which the Mohammedans attach to the head of their religion. In these important points, his nominal master, but actual rival, the Sultan, possesses an immense superiority over him. They will probably be counterbalanced during the life of Mehemet Ali, by his personal influence, and the continuation of his policy. But there is no political hereditary succession acknowledged in the Turkish dominions, except in the family of Othman. To attempt to succeed his father as the heir of his power, would be for Ibrahim Pasha to establish a new claim, and to give a shock to old prejudices. Many of the Turkish Pashas have been rebels, and held their dominions in opposition to every effort, open or covert, which could be made by the metropolitan government, to subdue, or to assassinate them. The Turkish history is full of these contests. But the death of the fortunate Pasha has almost always demolished his political fabric, and transferred his horsetail from his family to a stranger.

Has Ibrahim Pasha the high personal qualities necessary to counteract this tendency to reversion ? We doubt it. His appearance is not calculated to produce a favorable impression. We visited him, and found him a heavy-looking man, exhibiting decided effects of dissipation. And it is well known, that he little heeds the injunction of the Prophet, but habitually indulges in intoxication. In the Morea, and in Syria, he has certainly exhibited military skill, sullied, indeed, particularly in the former country, by the most atrocious cruelties. But he has given no proofs of power as a statesman, and his father has not deemed it safe to confide to him the government of any one of his large provinces. He resides much in Syria, yet Sheriff Pasha, at Damascus, is the Governor-General. But we have not time to investigate his character, nor the presumption to predict his fate.

One fact, however, is certain ; which is, that the course of events, connected with Mehemet Ali, has sunk deep into the heart of Sultan Mahmoud. The man and the monarch

have been equally wounded, and the family of the Egyptian Viceroy have nothing to hope from his forbearance. We were informed at Damascus, by a political agent of one of the European powers, that a Persian Imaun had recently been there, on his way as a pilgrim to Mecca. He was a holy man, and held in great veneration. He partook frequently of the hospitality of our informant, and their acquaintance was very intimate. We believe he resided some time with the agent. His holy character had given him access to the person and confidence of the Sultan. Among other things he said, the Sultan had mentioned Mehemet Ali's name with great bitterness, and had expressed the hope, that Providence would prolong his life till he could be revenged.

But we must abandon this digression, and follow our enterprising traveller in his progress. We have already said, that he ascended the Nile to the Cataracts; stopping to survey, upon his ascending or descending route, the various objects of nature and art, which, from the days of Herodotus, have rendered this valley almost a shrine for the pilgrimage of the learned and curious.

This voyage upon the Nile has become one of the most usual routes pursued by travellers in the East, and it may be performed with great personal ease and perfect safety. A party embarks upon a canga, or Nile boat, and, with "all appliances to boot," is wafted by the wind, or slowly dragged by the boatmen, up the stream, and has no occasion to land, except to renew the stock of provisions, or to examine some interesting object. Many families have accomplished the voyage, and fresh, therefore, as it is to each new party, the whole region has been so often and variously described, that it would be difficult for the most ingenious traveller to present much novelty to his readers. We shall do little more, therefore, than indicate a few of the objects, which engaged the attention of the author, remarking only, that it requires some moral courage to make a book at the present day upon Egypt, after the splendid works, which public and private efforts have supplied. The harvest has long since been gathered, and a gleaner can only hope to collect the scattered grain. The graphic manner and lively style of Mr. Stephens, however, sustain the attention of his reader, even when travelling over this beaten part of his journey.

Mr. Stephens examined the Pyramids, and wisely refrains

from any thing more than a very general description of them. All that the pen or the pencil could do to delineate them has been already done; and, unless a fortunate accident should bring to light some hidden treasure, we may well rest satisfied with the labors of the travellers, who, in the various ages of the world, have recorded the impressions produced upon them by these stupendous, but useless monuments of human power.

The period of their construction, the objects to which they were destined, and the means employed to raise these apparently profitless structures, are lost in the darkness of early Egyptian history. It is difficult, either upon the spot by actual observation, or in the closet by calculation, to form a just conception of their prodigious magnitude. Visible objects are appreciated by their relation to one another; but in the scale of human experience, there is nothing to which we can compare the Pyramids. And, in ascending the Nile, when the eager eye first rests upon them, we imagine there is no traveller, who does not feel a sentiment of disappointment. In vain he recalls to himself the great distances at which their summits are clearly defined, against the Libyan chain and the blue sky. It is useless. He cannot estimate their magnitude, and turns away, half inclined to believe, that those who have preceded him have yielded faith to their imaginations. And even at the last moment, when standing at the base of the Pyramid of Cheops, and looking up at this enormous pile, or when surveying from its top the rich and fertile valley before him, and the everlasting ramparts, which defend it from the sand of the desert, a feeling of disappointment still lingers at the heart.

Mr. Stephens has stated a well-known fact, which brings the immensity of these fabrics more within the human reach.

"The sepulchral chamber is not in the centre, but in an irregular, and out of the way position, in the vast pile; and some idea may be formed of the great ignorance which must exist in regard to the whole structure and its uses, from the fact, that by computation, allowing an equal solid bulk for partition walls, there is sufficient space, in the great pyramids, for three thousand seven hundred chambers, as large as that containing the sarcophagus."

For some important statements relating to this subject, we are indebted to M. Jomard, the Director of the Royal Li-

brary at Paris, one of the most eminent literary men of France, and one of the few *savans* now living, who accompanied the French expedition into Egypt. He is well known for his researches into the antiquities of that country. These *memoranda* were hastily set down, in answer to questions we had addressed to him. We give their substance, divested of the form which this circumstance occasioned.

"The Pyramids west of Gizeh, and standing some leagues south of that place, are built of stones, taken from the Arabian chain, on the right bank of the river, and nearly opposite their positions. These stones are calcareous, and there yet exist at Rosetta, and south of that place, immense excavations, whence the necessary materials were taken. These quarries are filled with the remains of Egyptian antiquity, and are many leagues in extent. I have visited them often, and always with the most lively interest.

"The Pyramid of Cheops is surrounded by an immense number of tombs. Captain Caviglia discovered the last, which has been made known and examined. It has since been reopened by Colonel Vyse, who has not yet published any thing upon the subject, except some letters, and a "*factum*" against the original explorer of this monument.

"There has been found, within the last two years, a second chamber above the central one, called 'the chamber of the King.'

"The Egyptian Institute discovered at Memphis, in 1800, the colossal hand of the great statue of Ptecha, or the Egyptian Vulcan, according to Herodotus; or of a king of the eighteenth dynasty, according to the moderns. This hand was dug up in my presence. It was sent aboard one of the vessels of the fleet, destined for France, with other valuable works of Egyptian antiquity; but this vessel was captured by the English, in 1802, and this precious relic was taken to London. Thirteen years afterwards, I visited that city, and took a copy in stucco, which is now in my gallery. The residue of the gigantic statue was exhumed, I think, in 1819, in presence of the French consul, M. Drovetti.

"The only Pyramid, of which I have any knowledge, upon the east side of the Nile, is that of Astry, which, however, is built of brick.

"The Pyramids terminate at the parallel of 29° 15′ north. There is one, however, at the distance of one hundred and thirty leagues further south. Besides these are the Pyramids of Meroe.

"I have made a calculation, as many others have done, of the quantity of material in the Pyramids; but it is an operation,

which cannot be exact, for the want of the necessary *data*. However, to give a familiar illustration of the enormous masses of stone, heaped on these structures, I will recall the estimate heretofore made, that the stone of a single Pyramid, that of Cheops, would form a wall six feet high, and one foot thick, capable of enclosing the whole kingdom of France, being a distance of one thousand leagues.

"The number of the Pyramids is as follows;

| | |
|---|---|
| At Gizeh, (the most celebrated,) . . . | 3 |
| Near Gizeh, . . . . . | 12 |
| From Gizeh to Fayoum, (3 of which are of brick,) | 19 |
| Upon the chain of Fayoum, . . . . | 2 |
| Mohammenyeh, . . . . . | 1 |
| | 37 " |

Mr. Stephens passed over the site of Memphis, whose name recalls the earliest periods of Egyptian history, and which, "for moral effect," he says, and says truly, "for powerful impression on the imagination and feelings," is, perhaps, more interesting than the ruins of any of the Egyptian cities. Here are no ruins, no food for the senses; all belongs to the imagination. One monument only survives, in solitary grandeur, to tell where the proud capital once stood, and to show, by its own admirable execution, that the description of the opulence of Memphis, which ancient writers have left us, was not exaggerated. Some years since, a colossal statue was discovered in this place, and it has fortunately escaped the grasp of the *hunters of curiosities*. Little doubt exists, but that it is one of the colossal statues, placed by Sesostris in front of the temple of Vulcan in Memphis. By the *conoscenti* it is considered an admirable specimen of ancient art; and even to us, having no claims to *virtù*, it presented a most interesting spectacle. It lies with its face downwards, and is nearly perfect to the knees. Its whole height was about forty-five feet. Its discovery has left no doubt of the true site of this once celebrated capitol, whose materials have partly perished, and have partly gone to build up its neighbour and rival, Cairo.*

* It is worthy of remark, that a similar accident, has led to the identification of another place, renowned in history. After the battle of Chæronea, the Thebans erected a marble lion to the memory of their countrymen, who perished in that ill-fated day, so disastrous to the freedom of Greece. A short time since, an English traveller explored the field, and was led by the appearance of an elevation, to seek for this ancient monument. He caused

Memphis is situated in what *we* should call a *bottom*, running from the Libyan highlands to the Nile. The position must have been a low one, and, we should suppose, insalubrious. It is in the immediate vicinity of the Pyramids, which are erected upon a ridge, putting out from the main chain, and much lower. We counted, at Saccarah, seventeen within view, of different magnitude, and in every state of decay. Near Saccarah, our author visited the tombs of the birds, among the most curious and interesting objects, he says, in Egypt; not so much in themselves, as through the illustration they afford of the character of the ancient inhabitants and their superstitions. The superstitious veneration exhibited by the ancient Egyptians for certain animals, while alive, and for their remains, when dead, is among the most extraordinary facts, recorded of the waywardness of man. We should be tempted to doubt the accounts, which have come down to us, had not irrefragable evidence of their veracity come down with them in these brute Necropoles. The ancient historians tell us, that killing an ibis or hawk was a crime punished with death; that cats were salted (embalmed?) and buried in the city of Bubastes; that bitches and ichneumons were buried in consecrated chests, where they happened to die; that hawks were removed to the city of Butes, and ibises to Hermopolis; that otters were venerated, and that fishes, eels, and serpents were buried in the temple of Jupiter. What a picture of human weakness!

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the ground to be excavated, and was rewarded by the discovery of the Theban lion, somewhat broken, indeed, but with its various portions well preserved, and capable of being brought together again with little trouble. We were happy to learn, that the Grecian government were about to take the necessary measures to replace this most interesting relic upon its pedestal, where it can again survey the beautiful valley, where the Macedonian phalanx and the Theban legion came into contact, and where Alexander performed his first feat in arms. The site of the battle-field is fixed by this landmark; and one better formed for the decision of the great question of power and liberty, there submitted to the *ultima ratio*, it would be difficult to find. There was little room for strategetic warfare. The plain is narrow, probably not more than a mile and a half across, enclosed on both sides by precipitous hills, and perfectly level. The Thebans and the Macedonians, advancing into the plain, met near the city of Chæronea, and there fought this memorable battle. One of the most extraordinary works of antiquity yet remains on the site of this city. It is an amphitheatre, hewn out of the solid rock, in the side of the hill, and overlooking the whole of this level plain, now so waste and desolate. When standing on its imperishable seats, and surveying the prospect before us, we could not but contrast its present solitude with the picture it presented, when the old men, the women, and the children looked out upon the work of death, going on before them.

And immense receptacles were prepared, under ground, to contain the carcasses of these animals. Their extent exceeds all conception. The remains are found in earthen jars, and piled in immense layers, upon one another. We went to the door of one of these catacombs ; but *thus far shalt thou go and no further* was proclaimed to us, by a latitude, which prohibited all passage through the narrow entrance, except to those who had been more ascetic than ourselves. We left to our *smaller* companions, to penetrate into these chambers of Egyptian superstition, while we amused ourselves, in the sand, on the outside, during a *pleasant* day in September, under an African sun, in examining the jars and their contents. And we were struck here, as we had been elsewhere, with the character of indestructibility which seems to attach to the rude pottery of the ancients. Broken pieces are found upon the sites of the most ancient towns, upon the field of Marathon, at the city of Platea, and upon the plain of Sicyon, one of the oldest cities of Greece, — broken, doubtless, at a very early period, while the fragments resist all tendency to decay. Whether it be the nature of the manufacture, or the state of the climate, which confers such durability upon this apparently fragile material, we know not. Perhaps both contribute to the result.

We must leave Mr. Stephens to make his tour to the confines of Nubia. He examined, of course, the mighty monuments upon the banks of the Nile, which had outlived their authentic history, and whose longevity appears almost destined to equal that of the earth itself; columns, porticos, temples, beautiful in design, immense in structure, and finished in execution. The far-famed cataract, he did not rate very highly. No wonder ; for the sight of Niagara destroys all taste for waterfalls, even *those of Versailles.* Mr. Stephens humorously observes, " The great and ever-to-be-lamented Sam Patch would have made the Nubians stare, and shown them that some folks can do things as well as other folks ; and we question, if there is a cataract on the Nile, at which that daring diver would not have turned up his nose in scorn."

Our author examined some of the quarries in Upper Egypt, whence enormous masses of rock have been taken, and he remarks ; " It is curious to notice how long before the force of gunpowder, and the art of blasting rocks, were known,

immense stones were separated from the sides of the mountains, and divided as the artist wished, by the slow process of boring holes, and of splitting them apart with wedges." One of the most extraordinary objects we ever examined, was a prodigious block of stone in a quarry at Baalbec. It is sixty-eight feet long, fourteen high, and ten broad. By the under side it is yet attached to its natural bed of rock, though partly separated, even there; but on all the other sides, it is perfectly quarried. And it is remarkable, that it is near the centre of the excavation, showing that, after the work was nearly completed, the effort was abandoned, and the circumjacent stone got out, and taken away. It is inclined at an angle perhaps of fifteen degrees, evidently because the natural veins of the rock were followed. There are several stones in the wall of the temple, of about the same size; but the magnitude of this can be better appreciated, because the traveller can ascend it, and examine its dimensions. And a most wonderful spectacle it is! How these masses were removed, and raised, cannot be ascertained at this day. But they will always remain among the most striking evidences of human power; and the more impressive, because all is ruin and desolation around them.

There is so much good feeling in the following burst of patriotic enthusiasm, that we are tempted to lay it before our readers. On his return to Cairo, from his expedition up the Nile, Mr. Stephens went immediately to the American Consul, hoping to receive letters from home; "but," he says,

"I was disappointed; there were no letters; but there was other, and more interesting news for me; and, as an American, identified with the honor of my country, I was congratulated, there, three thousand miles from home, upon the expected speedy and honorable termination of our difficulties with France. An English vessel had arrived at Alexandria, bringing a London paper, containing the President's message, a notice of the offer of mediation from the English government, its acceptance by France, and the general impression that the quarrel might be considered as settled, and the money paid. A man must be long, and far, from home, to feel how dearly he loves his country, how his eye brightens, and his heart beats, when he hears her praises from the lips of strangers; and, when the paper was given me with congratulations and compliments on the successful and honorable issue of this affair with France, my feelings grew prouder and prouder as I read, till, when I had finished the last

line, I threw up my cap in the old city of Cairo, and shouted the old gathering-cry, 'Hurrah for Jackson.'"

He who has put the ocean between himself and his country, and whose heart does not respond to this, is no true American. The star-spangled banner never appeared to us so beautiful, as when the winds unrolled its folds over our tent in the desert; and we do not recollect, that we ever had a prouder hour, than when we entered, with a party of our countrymen, into the ancient city of Damascus, (which existed in the days of Abraham, and which yet constitutes the *beau idéal* of an Eastern city, as painted in the Arabian tales,) preceded by the flag of our country, which attracted the gaze of the wondering Moslems. If there is a dissatisfied American, — we trust we need not say, we do not allude to our comparatively little internal differences of policy, but to the great principles of our government, and their practical operation, — let him examine the condition of other nations; and if he does not return a better citizen, and a more contented man, we will agree to forfeit all claim to the gift of divination. This love of country is a mysterious sentiment. Dormant under ordinary circumstances, it is awakened and becomes intense, as we recede from our own shores, till, when half the globe is interposed between the pilgrim and his home, the love of that home is the absorbing passion of his existence.

Mr. Stephens set out from Egypt for the further prosecution of his journey. He travelled to Suez, and from there to Mount Sinai. The valuable works of Pocock and Niebuhr render it unnecessary for us to introduce his remarks to our reader. He at length reached Akaba, (a small port upon the eastern or Elanitic branch of the Red Sea,) which is supposed to have been the Ezion-geber of the Scriptures, and the station of the commercial and military marine of Solomon.

Mr. Stephens describes Akaba as desolate, from the beginning of the year till its close, except during the few days that the outward and inward bound caravan, to and from Mecca, rests there. It presents nothing to interest the traveller, except in its historical associations, among which is the apocryphal one, stated to our author by the governor, that the fortress was constructed by the renowned Saladin.

At Akaba, Mr. Stephens entered upon his *terra incognita*, the land of Idumæa, or Edom, and the residence of Esau. We propose to follow him here, and further on, in some geographical inquiries, and, to facilitate the course of our readers, insert, on the opposite page, a rude sketch of the principal localities, to which we shall call their attention.

The region of Idumæa, as is well remarked by Malte-Brun, has never had a fixed boundary, because, being subject to the fluctuation of conquest, its extent has been alternately enlarged and contracted. It formed a portion of Arabia Petræa, and sometimes of Palestine, and was given as a patrimony to Esau, and an inheritance to his children. "Thus dwelt Esau in Mount Seir, Esau is Edom." Reland, in his "Palæstina," remarks, that, at the period of the Jewish emigration, Edom did not extend to the Red Sea, because the Jews avoided the southern frontier of that kingdom, by making a *détour* to the Elanitic Gulf. Later we know it embraced many ports upon that sea, and the Edomites became able mariners, and maintained an extensive commerce. Diodorus Siculus, in his narrative of the expedition into this country, in the reign of Antigonus, describes it as lying round Lake Asphaltites. In general terms, however, we may define its boundaries as extending west, from the mountains of Seir, into the great desert, and as lying between Palestine and the Red Sea. In the Hebrew prophecies, there are terrible denunciations against this region, and terribly have they been fulfilled. Their clear announcement, and accurate completion, have been generally regarded as among the most striking proofs we possess of the inspiration of the Old Testament writers. Mr. Stephens has referred to many of these passages, equally remarkable for their lofty sublimity and their terrific warnings. Isaiah (xxxiv. 10–16), speaking of Edom, says;

"From generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it for ever and ever. But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it; and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness. They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof; and it shall be a habitation of dragons, and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the

33
34
35
Tyre
Acre
Point Carmel
Nazareth
Tabaria
Sea of Galilee
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jaffa
Jericho
Jerusalem
JUDEA
Hebron
Gaza
El Arisch
Kerek
Idumea or Edom
Kerek el Shobek
Petra
Mt Hor
Suez or Kolsum
Arabia Petrea
Akabah
Mt Sinai

desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech-owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest. There shall the great owl make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow; there shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate. Seek ye out of the book of the Lord, and read; no one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate; for my mouth, it hath commanded, and his spirit, it hath gathered them."

Ezekiel (xxxv. 7.) speaks in the same strain;

"Thus will I make mount Seir most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out and him that returneth."

And in Jeremiah, in Obadiah, in Joel, in Malachi, and in Amos, are similar predictions, foretelling the ruin of Edom, and the utter desolation which should overtake her, and employing, in these revelations of the visions of the Holy One, the boldest figures of Eastern imagery. These oracular denunciations against Edom were uttered by some of the prophets in connexion with similar menaces against Tyre and Sidon, foreboding some great and coming change in the commerce of the world, which should lead desolation in its train. Speaking of Edom the prophet Ezekiel says (xxxv. 4), "I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate;" and of Tyre (xxvii. 27), "Thy riches, and thy fairs, thy merchandise, . . . . . and all thy men of war that are in thee, and in all thy company which is in the midst of thee, shall fall into the midst of the seas in the day of thy ruin;" and against Sidon he also utters similar prophetic curses, though with less force and precision. And all have been accomplished. The great highway between the Eastern and the Western world was ages ago broken up, the commerce which had enriched the cities of Edom, and of Tyre and Sidon, diverted into other channels, and these marts of wealth and business made desolate; and, at the end of more than twenty centuries, the ruins of these places attest the awful judgments of the Almighty. We can speak from personal observation of Tyre and Sidon, and can testify, that human imagination can conceive nothing more miserable and desolate, than the sites which these proud capitals once occupied.

Mr. Stephens says, it was upon the Nile he first thought of visiting Idumæa, and that his attention was directed to the comments of Mr. Keith, in his "Evidence of the Truth of

the Christian Religion, derived from the Prophecies," upon the denunciations against that region, and upon their literal accomplishment. As has happened to many other worthy men, the sin of our author came from his knowledge. Had not the learned commentator told him he could not enter Edom, it is not probable he would have made the attempt; and he would then have lost the most interesting part of his journey, and his readers the most interesting part of his book. But we shall let him speak for himself.

"The English friends, with whom I had dined at Thebes, first suggested to me this route, referring me to Keith on the Prophecies, in which, after showing with great clearness and force the fulfilment of prophecy after prophecy, as illustrated by the writings and reports of travellers, the learned divine enlarges upon the prophecy of Isaiah, against the land of Idumea, 'None shall pass through thee for ever and ever'; and proves, by abundant references to the works of modern travellers, that, though several have crossed its borders, none have ever passed through it. Burckhardt, he says, made the nearest approach to this achievement; but, by reference to the geographical boundaries, he maintains, that Burckhardt did not pass through the land of Edom; and so strenuously does the learned divine insist upon the fulfilment of the prophecy to its utmost extent, as to contend, that, if Burckhardt did pass through the land of Edom, he died in consequence of the hardships he suffered upon the journey."

In a note to the subsequent page, Mr. Stephens refers to a continuation of the same views by Mr. Keith, who says, that

"'Sir Frederick Henneker, in his notes dated from Mount Sinai, states, that Seetzen, in a paper pasted against the wall, notifies his having penetrated the country in a direct line, between the Dead Sea and Mount Sinai (through Idumæa), *a route never before accomplished.*' In a note to the same edition, the learned divine says, 'Not even the cases of two individuals, Burckhardt and Seetzen, can be stated, as at all opposed to the literal interpretations of the prophecies. Seetzen did indeed pass through Idumæa, and Burckhardt traversed a considerable part of it; but the former met his death not long after the completion of his journey through Idumæa, (he died at Akaba, supposed to have been poisoned,) the latter never recovered from the effects of the hardships and privations which he suffered there, and, without even commencing the exclusive design he had in view, viz. to explore the interior of Africa, to which his journeyings in Asia were merely intended as preparatory,

he died at Cairo. Neither of them lived to return to Europe. *I will cut off from Mount Seir him that passeth out and him that returneth.* I did not mean to brave prophecy ; I had already learned to regard the words of the inspired penman with an interest I never felt before ; and evidence I already had of the sure fulfilment of their predictions ; I should have considered it daring and impious to place myself in the way of a still impending curse. But I did not go so far as the learned commentator ; and to me the words of the prophet seemed sufficiently verified, in the total breaking up of the route, then travelled as the great highway from Jerusalem to the Red Sea and India, and the general and probably eternal desolation that reigns in Edom."

The exposition given by Mr. Stephens of this prophecy will no doubt appear to our readers to be the true one. But he seems to have had occasional misgivings, between the literal and the rational construction of the prophetic passages, recorded against Edom, apparently fluctuating between the honor of a first discoverer and the danger of martyrdom. " Meantime, " he says, " so nervous and desponding had I become, that the words of the prophet, in regard to the land of Idumæa, 'None shall pass through it for ever and ever,' struck upon my heart like a funeral knell," and he almost looked upon himself as rash and impious, in undertaking what might be considered a defiance of the prophetic denunciations, inspired by God himself. And, after the journey was happily accomplished, he remarks, " Having regard to what I have already said, in reference to the interpretation of the prophecy, 'None shall pass through it for ever and ever,' I can only say, I have passed through the land of Edom." The fact is not to be doubted ; and it is equally true of thousands, who have pursued this route, since the accomplishment of the denunciations, and before Mr. Stephens traversed it. We feel disposed to shrive the penitent, without subjecting him to a heavy penance.

And if he will follow us in a few observations, we trust the conscience of the Christian may be relieved, while the traveller may yet applaud himself for his enterprise, without apprehension lest a future commentator may arise, and, in his zeal for literal interpretation, trace some untoward calamity (which Providence avert from the author) to this passage through Edom ; as Mr. Keith has traced the deaths of the enterprising Seetzen and Burckhardt to the same undertaking.

It would appear from the remarks of Mr. Stephens, that Keith contends for the most literal accomplishment of these prophecies. Nothing can be more injudicious. We recommend to the expositor an observation of Bishop Watson, upon the subject, in his "Apology for the Bible." Paine, as well as other irreligious writers before him, had contended for their literal interpretation, and had impeached the authenticity of one of the prophecies relating to Egypt, because its strict fulfilment was irreconcilable with the tenor of history. To this the English prelate answers, "And surely you do not expect a literal accomplishment of an hyperbolical expression, denoting great desolation; importing, that the trade of Egypt, which was carried on then, as at present, by caravans, by the foot of man and beast, should be annihilated?"

There are no portions of the Word of God, whose illustration requires a more chastened judgment, than the sublime but mysterious revelations of the declared purpose of the Almighty, concerning events of coming time. The veil of futurity is partially raised, but "shadows and darkness" still rest upon the view. It is not for the gratification of an idle curiosity, that the spirit of inspiration was given to chosen ones of old, and that its visions beyond the boundary, which separates the present from the future, have come down to us. The past is the province of experience and history. The present, the sphere of immediate action. But the future is wisely withheld from us, that we may pursue our course without presumption or despondency. But, to the end of affording living and perpetual evidence of the truth of the great plan of Christian redemption, some leading events in the history of the world were foretold; too darkly, indeed, to be aided or counteracted by any human agency, influenced by these predictions, but with sufficient precision to apply them, after their occurrence, to the promises and threatenings of judgment and mercy. Their application to the past is a legitimate field of biblical and historical criticism; and wise and learned men have rendered valuable service to the cause of truth by devoting themselves to this department of Scripture illustration.

But let no Christian resort to the Word of God as the curious heathen resorted to Delphi. When visiting that rocky hill, with the ridges of Parnassus impending over us, and the

dark and deep gulf of the Pleistus before us, seeking the cavern whence issued the oracular responses, and where all the wise and learned and powerful of the ancient world came to ascertain their destiny, how wonderfully was impressed upon us the superiority of the Christian dispensation, over the weak and degrading superstition of the Pagan world. But, he who seeks to know the future, let him seek it where he may, is as rash in his attempt, and will as certainly fail in his expectation, as he who in past ages invoked the priestess of Apollo. The history of the church is filled with these rash efforts to penetrate a barrier which no uninspired eye can pierce; and it is sufficient, in proof of this remark, to recall to our readers the confidence with which zealous but enthusiastic men have applied the scriptural denunciations against the whore of Babylon to the church of Rome, and have boldly predicted, from time to time, its immediate destruction. Year after year has been fixed for this great consummation, but the banner of St. Peter yet waves over the Capitol of the Ancient World, and appearances do not indicate, that the spiritual sovereignty of the Pope approaches its termination. The Tiara may indeed fall; but when, and how, must be left to Him who in his own good time accomplishes his own wise purposes. We are free to confess, that, after having seen and conversed with the Roman pontiff, and heard authentic accounts of the apostolical simplicity of his life and manners, Protestant as we are, we fear the reformed church may find in its bosom worse men than Gregory the Sixteenth.

Let Mr. Keith, then, in his interpretation of the prophecies relating to Edom, confine himself to the past. There is enough in that to occupy his learning and ingenuity. And let him apply to them the canons of rational criticism, and not provoke infidelity by injudicious attempts to establish a literal construction, equally inconsistent with the early manners of the Eastern nations, and with the object which led to these revelations of the shadows of remote events.

We confess our inability to comprehend the purport of Mr. Keith's remarks, or of Mr. Stephens's comments upon them, so far as relates to the literal accomplishment of the denunciations against Edom. We are told, that *none* shall pass through it, which Mr. Stephens says, "seemed in a state of literal fulfilment," "that *no* man shall abide there,

neither shall a son of man dwell in it," and that "man and beast shall be cut off from it." What mean all this curious research into the routes and success of previous travellers, and the injudicious efforts to connect the deaths of the lamented Seetzen and Burckhardt with their journeys through Arabia Petræa? Are the native inhabitants, who have dwelt from time immemorial in Idumæa, nothing? Are the pilgrims who have traversed it for ages nothing; Christian pilgrims from Gaza to Sinai, and from Sinai to Gaza, Jewish pilgrims from Jerusalem to Sinai, and Mohammedan pilgrims from various parts of Syria and Palestine to Mecca? Even as late as 1811 and 1812, says Burckhardt, the Barbary pilgrims were permitted by the Wahaby chief to perform their pilgrimage to Mecca, by the way of Maan (near Wady Mousa) and Shobak to Hebron, Jerusalem, and Jaffa, on account of the difficulties with Mehemet Ali. This route from the El Ghor to Hebron must have been almost identical with that travelled by our author, who actually fell in with a caravan bound for Gaza.

Do *none*, *no one*, *no son of man*, mean nothing but a European traveller, penetrating into those regions for the gratification of a curiosity, laudable indeed, but comparatively insignificant? And do a Christian divine and a Christian traveller talk of the literal accomplishment of a prophecy thus narrowed in its construction, and seek the death of two martyrs to science in the penalty prescribed in terms against *all* who shall pass out of this denounced land and return? We cannot but recommend to the zealous commentator an admirable paper in "The Spectator," upon this proneness in human nature to trace the events of this life to particular dispensations of Providence, and to point out the moral bonds which unite them; — with that sly humor, which constitutes the charm of so many of these papers, remarking, that, whatever untoward event happens to ourselves is a trial, but that whatever happens to another is a judgment. But Mr. Keith has not the merit of originality in this suggestion. He is the first, indeed, who has applied it to the peaceful traveller. But, more than sixteen hundred years ago, Dion Cassius,* the historian of Trajan's expedition into the East, seems to intimate

* *Hist. Rom.* Lib. 68. § 31. We follow here the common opinion which identifies Petra with *Agra*. But it is of very doubtful correctness; *vide infra*, p. 239. And even the text of Dion in this place is uncertain.

some mysterious connexion of this nature. After relating the attempt of the Roman emperor upon the principal city of Edom, and his repulse, he observes, that, "not long after this, Trajan began to be sick," of the disorder which terminated his life.

But the penalty of death is not denounced against him who shall pass through Idumæa. The prophecy declares, simply, that none shall pass through it, without limitation and without penalty. But the penalty is, that "he shall be cut off from Mount Seir, who passeth out, and he who returneth." The literal terms would indicate, that the stranger shall not enter; and, if the native inhabitant went out of the country or returned, that he should be subject to the penalty of death.

There is better evidence than the memorandum of Sir Frederick Henniker, of the route pursued by Seetzen. Unfortunately, the entire journals of that enterprising traveller never reached Europe, but, in the "Monthly Correspondence" of Baron Zach, published at Gotha, some of his letters are given, which contain brief notices of his travels. Burckhardt and Laborde both say, he went round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea; but we could not find any allusion to this part of his route, though indeed, the work being in German, we were compelled to ask the aid of a friend in our investigations, and lost our patience before we attained our object.

We found, however, a letter from Seetzen to his brother, dated in the East, March 13th, 1807, in which he says, he left Jerusalem and travelled to Hebron, and from that place to a point on the south shore of the Dead Sea, and from there to the Greek convent at the foot of Mount Sinai. He was twenty days on the route, and found the country a waste, of which the mountain range of Seir formed the greater part.

We suppose this is passing through Edom, even enough to satisfy Mr. Keith. But why he or Mr. Stephens doubts whether Burckhardt passed *through* that country, we cannot conjecture. Burckhardt, after leaving Wady Mousa, took the road through the desert to Egypt, and passed through the heart of this region, even according to the map of Mr. Stephens. Some new boundary must be sought for Edom, before this route can be excluded from it; a boundary unknown by any geographer, ancient or modern; and, unless *passing through* means travelling north, as Mr. Stephens went, instead of west as Burckhardt went, our countryman is no more en-

titled to the claim of passing through Edom than his lamented predecessor in the East.

Besides Seetzen and Burckhardt, Captain Callier, of the French army, travelled in the East, under the orders of his government, in 1834 and 1835, and went from Hebron to Akaba, also through the heart of Edom. It is to be regretted, that he has not given the world the result of his labors. He was eminently qualified for the task, and has returned rich in literary treasures. He found traces of the route described in the Theodosian or Pentanger table, and passed the site of Eleusa, where large remains yet exist to mark the ancient importance of the city, and of Oboda, now called *Abdé* by the Arabs.

Besides these travellers, others, as we shall have cause to mention hereafter, have recently penetrated Edom in various directions ; Mr. Banks and his party, Messrs. Strangeways and Anson, and MM. Laborde and Linant. We say nothing of the travellers and pilgrims of the Middle Ages. Some of these are enumerated by M. Laborde. But it is worthy of remark, that the French crusaders took possession of Kerek, and extended their conquests through Edom to the Red Sea.

This summary is due to truth. It detracts nothing from the just claims of Mr. Stephens. His perseverance, his perils, his enterprise, and his courage, remain to him, and one of the most interesting books of travels of modern times remains to his readers ; one, indeed, of which we are proud as Americans.

Still less does a rational exposition of the oracles of God detract from their authenticity. Edom is desolate, its immense commerce has sought other channels of communication, its cities have become ruins, its population has dwindled to a few miserable, wandering Arabs, and its bright and green spots have been covered by the sands of the deserts. We cannot question the truth of its ancient condition, nor that the "spicy forests of Idumæa" were renowned through the East. And, from the process now going on at Beyroot, it is not difficult to see how natural causes have conspired to give effect to Scripture denunciations, to make the heritage of Edom desolate. Every year the sand, blown by the wind, advances towards the town, and embraces spot after spot, and tree after tree, in its death-grasp. Its progress exhibits, upon a small scale, what Arabia Petræa has witnessed upon a large one. We have learned from Captain Callier, that

there is the most incontestable evidence, that the southern winds from the Red Sea have, during a succession of ages, been loaded with sand, which has been deposited over the whole region, choaking the streams, and converting the fertile spots into dreary wastes, till "*Edom has become desolate from Teman.*"

Mr. Stephens thus describes the country after leaving Akaba.

"Standing near the shore of the northern extremity of the Red Sea, I saw before me an immense sandy valley, which, without the aid of geological science, to the eye of common observation and reason, had once been the bottom of a sea, or the bed of a river. This dreary valley, extending far beyond the reach of the eye, had been partly explored by Burckhardt, sufficiently to ascertain and mention it, in the latest geography, as the great valley of El Ghor, extending from the shore of the Elanitic Gulf, to the southern extremity of the Lake Asphaltites or the Dead Sea; and it was manifested, by landmarks of Nature's own providing, that, over that sandy plain, these seas had once mingled their waters, or perhaps more probably, that before the cities of the plain had been consumed by brimstone and fire, and Sodom and Gomorrah covered by a pestilential lake, the Jordan had here rolled its waters. The valley varied from four to eight miles in breadth, and on each side were high, dark, and barren mountains bounding it like a wall. On the left were the mountains of Judea, and on the right those of Seir, the portion given to Esau as an inheritance; and among them, buried from the eyes of strangers, the approach to it known only to the wandering Bedouins, was the ancient capital of his kingdom, the excavated city of Petra, the cursed and blighted Edom of the Edomites. The sands of Idumæa lay before me, in barrenness and desolation, no trees grew in the valley, and no verdure on the mountain tops. All was bare, dreary, and desolate."

The geological conformation of this chain of mountains, with the intervening valley, is certainly extraordinary. Commencing upon the Mediterranean, it penetrates Syria, forming the chains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, having in their bosom the valley of Cœlo-Syria, and the superb monuments of Baalbec. It is divided by the Jordan and the Dead Sea, forming on one side the hill country of Judea, and the mountains of Moab on the other; and to the south, the ridge of Arabia Petræa. But the great valley is not shut in upon the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, as might be naturally supposed from the configuration of the country. It extends

to the Red Sea, and thus forms a deep and clearly-defined valley, from four to eight miles in width, from the northern side of the Lake of Tiberias, to the Arabian Gulf at Akaba, supposed to be the ancient Elath, Elana, or Ezion-geber. Burckhardt first explored that part called *El Ghor*, or *Wady Araba*, and he advanced the opinion, that it had formerly been the bed of the Jordan ; an hypothesis very naturally deduced from the geographical and geological features of the region, and apparently in coincidence with the Scripture account of that miraculous change, which took place in the valley of the Jordan, when the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed. Subsequent travellers have drawn the same conclusion, and we have seen that our author advances similar views.

But it is now known, that the Jordan could never have rolled its waters over this valley, and that the previous opinion upon this subject has been hastily formed, from superficial observations, without resorting to those decisive proofs, which have recently given a different aspect to the question. It is stated, in the "Allgemeine Zeitung," of March 24th, 1838, that Professor Schuberl had found the level of the Dead Sea to be five hundred and ninety-eight feet below the level of the Mediterranean, which was itself found to be thirty feet and fourteen inches lower than the Red Sea, by the scientific commission, charged, during the French invasion of Egypt, with the survey of the route of the ancient canal of the Ptolemies, from Suez to the Nile.

We understood, when in Jerusalem, that an effort had been made, by a Mr. Moore and his party, to obtain permission to transport a boat from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea. The sanction of the Pasha had been obtained ; but the enterprising travellers had been prevented, by some of the usual vexations of subordinate tyrants in the East, from the full accomplishment of their purpose. Mr. Moore, however, nothing discouraged, had gone again to Alexandria, to invoke the interposition of Mehemet Ali. We now learn, however, from the abovementioned journal, that the party was composed of two brothers Moore, and of Mr. Bake ; that they transported a boat, by the way of Jerusalem, to the Dead Sea, near Jericho ; and that they set sail on the 29th of March, and explored the Sea, in all directions, till the 17th of April, when they returned to Jerusalem. While upon the Dead Sea, they took soundings through

a great part of its extent, and made a sketch of a considerable portion of its shores. With respect to the level of the Sea, the result of their investigation agreed, very nearly, with the conclusion of Professor Schuberl. They state it to be at least five hundred English feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Jerusalem, according to their calculation, is about two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the Sea, and the mountains of Moab are probably about as high, if not a little higher. The greatest depth of the Dead Sea was found to be rather more than four hundred fathoms.

The eye is not an accurate instrument, to estimate the relative height of mountain chains, even when surveying one from the top of another. The Mount of Olives, however, which overlooks Jerusalem, is on the very height of land of the western ridge, the hill country of Judea ; and the eastern chain of the mountains of Moab is on the opposite side of the deep gulf, which encloses the Lake Tiberias, Lake Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea, and the Jordan. In examining the mountains of Moab from the Mount of Olives, it appeared to us, that the two ridges were about equally high ; and we were struck, as we presume all travellers have been, who have ascended that interesting hill, by a singular optical deception. Distances appeared annihilated, and the opposite bare and rocky rampart, from whose top the patriarch of Israel had surveyed the land of promise, across the deep valley, and the mysterious sea, stretched beneath him, and that valley and that sea, — so interesting to the Christian, from the living evidence they offer us, even in their desolation, of the truth of the Scripture record, and to the geological inquirer, from their extraordinary formation, — appeared to be almost within our reach. Even the mirage of the desert, was not more wonderful to us than this delusion, sporting with our senses, while our reason told us, that many a tedious mile intervened between us, and the objects before and below us.

The natural history of the world furnishes another fact of the similar depression of an inland sea beneath the level of the ocean. It is some years since a traveller was led by imperfect observations to suggest, that the Caspian was lower than the Black Sea. The conjecture was advanced with much doubt, and, even when confirmed by subsequent observation, the result was often attributed to an error in the process, rather than to the relative situation of the two seas. Recently, however, the question has been definitively settled by a

commission sent by the Russian government to explore the Black Sea and the Caspian; and it is now known, that the latter is depressed below the level of the former.

Information, lately received from Palestine, confirms the deductions of Professor Schuberl, and of the Messrs. Moore and Mr. Bake, respecting the relative height of the Red Sea and the Dead Sea. The Count de Berton is now in the East, and has been travelling in Arabia Petræa, sent out by the Geographical Society of Paris, to explore those regions, and especially to examine the natural features of the Valley of El Ghor, and to ascertain, if possible, whether the Jordan ever found its way through it to the Red Sea. A letter has recently been received from him, dated at Jerusalem, April 29th, 1838, which was published in the July number of the "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie." He had just returned from Arabia Petræa, and wrote in haste, in order to secure a passage for his letter in the steamboat from Beyroot. He had followed the El Ghor, from the Dead Sea to Akaba. He had visited Wady Mousa, and found a cross, thus formed ‡, at the commencement and at the end of an inscription, and suggests that possibly the Crusader, Renard de Chatillon, stopped there towards 1182, during some of the excursions he made from the Castle of Harek to the Red Sea. M. de Berton made different experiments upon the ebullition of water, from which he ascertained, that the Dead Sea was much depressed below the Red Sea. And, although the process he adopted is not compatible with strict accuracy, still the result leaves no doubt of the superior elevation of the waters of the ocean over the Dead Sea, and demonstrates, that the Jordan has never had its *embouchure* in the Red Sea. He found also, that there is a sensible elevation in the Valley. It rises from the Dead Sea almost as far as Wady Mousa, and the height of land is called *El Sathe* [*the roof*] by the Arabs. To the north of this division, the waters run towards the Dead Sea, and to the south, towards Akaba. On an attentive examination of that portion of the Scriptures, which relates the destruction of the cities of the Pentapolis, he contends, there is no warrant for the opinion, that the Bible furnishes any proof, that the Jordan ever flowed into the Red Sea; but that the contrary conclusion may be naturally deduced from the accounts given by the sacred historian. He supposes that a lake always existed in the vale

of Siddim, which was a reservoir, formed and maintained by the Jordan ; but that, before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the water was fresh, and the country upon its margin, beautiful and fertile. He contends, that, when we remark the minuteness, with which every thing connected with this subject is described, it is not credible, that so important an event as the formation of a lake, and the interruption of the course of a river, would have been overlooked. He thinks there is sufficient evidence in the description of the valley, before the change, that the waters of the Jordan did not reach the Red Sea. The English version thus speaks of the plain of the Jordan, "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar." The French version is much clearer. "Et Lot élevant ses yeux, vit toute la plaine du Jourdain, qui avant que l'Eternel eut détruit Sodom et Gomorrhe, étoit arrosée partout, jusqu'à ce qu'on vienne à Tsoar, comme le jardin de l'Eternel, et comme le pays d'Egypte ;" which may be thus rendered, "And Lot, raising his eyes, saw all the plain of the Jordan, which, before the Lord had destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, was watered everywhere, until we come to Tsoar, like the garden of the Lord, and like the land of Egypt."

M. de Berton discovered what he supposed were the ruins of Tsoar, or Zoar. He says, that the discovery caused him a great pleasure, but that, fearing to yield to an illusion, he examined very carefully the environs, to see if any ruins of the city existed there, and that he soon discovered evident proofs of the fact, in the cisterns, hollowed from the rocks ; and this his opinion was strengthened by finding an abundant spring of water. If, he continues, the name of Zoara, which is preserved by the Arabs, were not sufficient proof of the identity of this place, other proofs might be found in the nineteenth chapter of Genesis. When Lot quitted Sodom to repair to Zoar, his wife looked behind, and was changed into a pillar of salt. The mountains, formed of enormous blocks of salt, are west of this place, and there is reason to suppose, that Lot and his family were, at that moment, near those mountains ; for he had reached Zoar, and, fearing to stay there, he took refuge in a cave. M. de Berton does not

state the exact position of the site, which he supposes to have been that of Zoar ; but, from his narrative, it seems to have been very near the Dead Sea. We have already explained why his letter was so hastily written, and this circumstance has, no doubt, deprived us of many interesting particulars. From the attention recently awakened to the topography of this region, we may soon anticipate a satisfactory description of its peculiar features.

Zoar, called by the Hebrews צֹעַר [Tzoar], is said by Eusebius to have been at the south end of the Dead Sea, as Jericho was at the north. And the description in the tenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Genesis shows, that the country was well watered to Zoar. It is extremely probable, therefore, that a fresh water lake extended to that place. M. de Berton states, that the mountains of salt were worn by the rain water, and that this dissolves the salt, and bears it to the Dead Sea, which thus preserves its excessive bitterness, destructive of all animal life. There is reason to suppose, that the streams had another direction before the convulsion which changed the face of the valley.

But we must return to Mr. Stephens, who is now approaching a lost city, shut up in a narrow valley, and which is certainly one of the most singular remains of ancient art, that have survived the lapse of time. All the travellers, who have visited it, have been deeply impressed with its peculiar character. Solidity is its great feature, for it was hewn out of the rock ; but to this were joined great taste and skill in its plans and construction, evincing a high degree of opulence and an advanced state of the arts. The sketches taken by M. Laborde distinctly show, that the written descriptions are not too highly wrought, exhibiting some of the most interesting remains that we owe to human power and ingenuity.

"In a few words," says Mr. Stephens, "this ancient and extraordinary city is situated within a natural amphitheatre of two or three miles in circumference, and compassed on all sides by rugged mountains, five or six hundred feet in height. The whole of this area is now a waste of ruins, dwelling-houses, palaces, temples, and triumphal arches, all prostrated together, in undistinguishable ruin. The sides of the mountains are cut smooth in a perpendicular direction, and filled with long, continued ranges of dwelling-houses, temples, and

tombs, excavated with vast labor out of the solid rock; and while their summits present Nature in her wildest and most savage form, their bases are adorned with all the beauty of architecture and art, with columns, and porticos, and pediments, and ranges of corridors, enduring as the mountain out of which they are hewn; and fresh, as if the work of a generation scarcely yet gone by."

"What a people," says M. Laborde, "must they have been, who thus opened the mountain to stamp upon it the seal of their energy and genius? What a climate too, which gilds with its light the graceful forms of a great variety of sculptures, without suffering its winters to crumble their sharp edges, or to reduce in the least their high relief. Silence reigns all around, save when the solitary owl now and then utters his plaintive cry. The Arab passes through the scene, with perfect indifference, scarcely deigning to look at works, executed with so much ability, or to meditate, except with contempt, upon the uselessness of so much labor, expended on an object, which he in vain seeks to comprehend.

"It is impossible, however, by any sketches, to convey to the mind of a person, who has not visited Petra, a just impression of the magical effect produced upon the eye, by the harmonious tints of the stone of which the Krasni is composed, standing out as it does, in a limpid, rosy hue, detached from the rough and sombre color of the mountain. Who can represent those grand outlines, here and there abruptly broken by the jagged forms of the rocks, or renew those traces of ancient splendor, that characterize this fine picture, placed in the great avenue to the city, in order that it might be seen by the whole community, in contrast with the solitude of the ravine, which seems well calculated to heighten its grandeur."

But what wonderful city is this, lost and found, hewn out of the rock, exhibiting such evidence of human power and opulence, in the midst of a frightful desert; of whose progress and fate history has left either no memorial, or none bearing any just proportion to its former magnificence? This question is more easily asked than answered.

The knowledge of a rumor, that there existed another Palmyra in the deserts of Arabia Petræa, we owe to Volney, but Burckhardt was the first who, in 1812, visited these ruins. He was followed, in 1818, by a party composed of Messrs. Banks, Legh, Irby, and Mangles; by Strangeways and Anson, we believe in 1826; by Laborde and Linant in 1828; by Mr. Stephens in 1836; and still later by various other travel-

lers, and among others, two of our countrymen, Messrs. Robinson and Smith. Burckhardt first suggested the probability, that these ruins were the remains of Petra, and his editor, Colonel Leake, adopted the same opinion, and developed it more fully by an examination of some of the references in history to Petra, and by endeavouring to prove their application to this place. Later writers have expressed the same views, but have done little more than repeat the remarks of Colonel Leake. This conclusion may be just, and has formerly been adopted as such in this journal;* but, as there are yet some doubts upon the subject, we propose to review the question, and to ascertain on what foundation it rests. We are well aware of the difficulty of identifying the sites of ancient places, where history or tradition has not uniformly kept them in view. Accurate local description and investigation were not the peculiar characteristics of the ancient historians and geographers; and an approximation towards the truth is, too often, all we have to expect from the most laborious research.

Petra is from a Greek word, signifying a *rock*, and was applied to many of the towers and strongholds situated upon rocky hills. One in Colchis, upon a "craggy rock," is memorable for its siege and capture in the reign of Justinian. The commentator upon Eusebius and Jerome, the monk Bonfrerius, enumerates five Petras, mentioned in Scripture, viz. the principal Petra, Petra Dividens, Petra Etam, Petra Horeb, and Petra Rimmon.

The principal Petra has, however, till the discovery of the ruins of Wady Mousa, been supposed to be identical with the present Kerek, a name, Burckhardt says, common in Syria. It is situated some distance east of the southern part of the Dead Sea. It is the see of a Greek bishop, whose diocese is called *Petra* in Greek, and *Battra* in Arabic; and Burckhardt states, that the town of Kerek is considered by the clergy at Jerusalem as the ancient Petra. Reland, in his "Palæstina,"† after a laborious investigation, fixes the site of Petra where Kerek now is, and in this he was followed by the learned and accurate D'Anville.‡ There is reason to believe, that there has been a succession of Greek bishops,

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLIV. p. 417 *et seq.*
† Page 926. ‡ Vol. II. p. 425.

from an early age of the church, down to the present day, with their episcopal see at Petra. There was a bishop of Petra at the Council of Seleucis, in A. D. 359, and another at the Council of Jerusalem, in A. D. 536.

And what reasons are offered for transferring this name, with its historical associations, from Kerek to the resuscitated city in the Wady Mousa? Colonel Leake briefly states them, and we propose to follow him in his investigation.

We must remark, however, a looseness of quotation and observation, which is to be regretted in such a doubtful inquiry. Colonel Leake commences his examination, by observing, that the country of the Nabatæi, of which Petra was the capital, is well characterized by Diodorus Siculus, as "containing some fertile spots, but as being, for the greater part, desert and waterless. With equal accuracy," &c. We really see no peculiarly accurate characteristic in this description. It seems to us equally applicable to every part of Arabia, and we may almost add of Africa, where oases are to be found.

Colonel Leake continues;

"With equal accuracy the combined information of Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny, describe Petra as falling in a line drawn from the head of the Arabian Gulf (Suez) to Babylon,—as being at the distance of three or four days from Jericho, and four or five from Phœnicon on the Nabathean coast, near the entrance of the Elanitic Gulf, — and as situate in a valley, of about two miles in length, enclosed with a precipice, and watered by a river."

To arrive at the truth, it is necessary to separate what Colonel Leake has here combined, and to restore to Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny, what belongs to each.

The line to which allusion is here made, is to be found in Strabo (Lib. xvi.); but it is described not by that geographer, but by Eratosthenes, upon whose work he wrote commentaries. As we read the passage, the meaning is entirely different from that given by Colonel Leake.

"From Heroopolis, near the Nile, at the bottom of the Arabic Gulf, to Babylon, going by Petra of the Nabathæans, he distance is five thousand six hundred stadia." The original is, *Ἀπὸ Ἡρώων πόλεως ἥ τις ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ Νείλῳ μυχὸς τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ναβαταίαν Πέτραν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, πεντακισχίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι.* Or, to put this expression in a more famil-

iar form, "From Boston to New York, going by Albany, the distance is three hundred miles." This certainly does n t justify the conclusion, drawn by Colonel Leake, that Petra was on a right line between those places, but distinctly intimates it was not. The question indeed is of little importance. We only wonder, that the learned annotator resorted to this dictum, as a proof of the true position of Petra. This line of Eratosthenes was described between the two hundredth, and the two hundred and fiftieth year before Christ, and certainly within a century after the expedition of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, into Arabia Petræa, at which time, according to Diodorus Siculus, Lake Asphaltites was discovered, or in other words made known to the Greeks. Is it credible, in the imperfect state of geographical knowledge at the era of Eratosthenes, that data existed by which the points falling upon a direct line from the Red Sea to the Euphrates, embracing in its course fifteen degrees of latitude, could be precisely ascertained? a line, which presupposes a highly advanced state of astronomical knowledge, and which requires, that the places ascertained to be upon it, should have had their latitude and longitude determined with scrupulous accuracy. He would be a bold geographer, who, at this day, would venture to assert, that Wady Mousa was upon this line. It certainly is not, if the best maps are to be trusted.

The next proof is derived from the distance between Petra and Phœnicon on the one side, and Jericho on the other. This is furnished by Strabo, who says, in the same book, "From this city (Petra) they calculate by the shortest route three or four days to Jericho, and five (not four or five, as Colonel Leake has it) to Phœnicon."

Reland remarks, in establishing the site of Petra, that Jericho is nearly six hundred stadia from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea; and that, according to Procopius Cæsariensis, a day's journey was two hundred and ten stadia, which would give the distance from Jericho to Petra, six hundred and thirty, or eight hundred and forty stadia. And it is a fact, that this very passage of Strabo, which is assumed by the English geographer as a proof that Petra is identical with Wady Mousa, is one of the elements employed by Reland to prove that Petra is Kerek. But surely so loose an estimate, which, in so short a distance, may give two hundred stadia, more or less, is entitled to little weight in adjusting the

rival claims of these two places. Phœnicon, Colonel Leake considers as Moyeleh, at the entrance of the eastern branch of the Red Sea; and between that place and Jericho there must be four degrees of latitude, and one of longitude, upon Burckhardt's map, and probably little less than three hundred miles in a direct line. How much more, by the nearest practicable route, we have not the means of ascertaining. Now it is certain, that no measure of time, deduced from their rate of travelling, and applied to the computation of distance in use among the ancients, would give a result equal probably to thirty-five English miles a day. "Three or four days" is a loose expression; and there has been perhaps some corruption of the text, as we know there must have been in Pliny, when he states the distance from Petra to Gaza upon the Mediterranean, "litoris nostri," and to the Persian Gulf. He calls it six hundred miles, "DC mill." from Petra to the former, and one hundred and thirty-five miles, "CXXXV mill." from Petra to the latter.* A passing glance at the map will show, that the distance from Kerek or Wady Mousa to the nearest part of the Persian Gulf, is more than four times as great as from either of these places to Gaza. And yet this estimate of Pliny has been quoted by Colonel Leake, and after him in the English edition of Laborde,† as one of the proofs of the true position of Petra, without any reference to this gross error.

Both Pliny and Strabo describe Petra. The former (Lib. VI. c. 28.) says, "Nabatæi oppidum includunt Petram nomine, in convalle paulo minus II mill. pass. [not two miles, as Colonel Leake has it] amplitudinis, circumdatum montibus inaccessis, amne interfluente." We quote the original for greater accuracy. Pliny says nothing of its being surrounded by deserts.

Strabo (Lib. XVI.) describes Petra, but does not mention any valley. He says, it is situated on a level spot, (called by the French translator *plateau*, equivalent to our term *table-land*, and implying a high level spot,) and is defended round by rocks, and partly without by steep precipices, but having within abundant fountains for the purposes of irrigation and the cultivation of gardens. He considers it as encircled by a wall; for he says, "Outside of the walls the region is a desert,

* Lib. VI. c. 28. † Page 16.

especially towards Judea," —"*Ἔξω δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου χώρα ἔρημος ἡ πλείστη, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ πρὸς Ἰουδαίαν.* This is wholly inconsistent with the peculiar position of Wady Mousa. Mr. Stephens says, the valley of Wady Mousa is two or three miles in circumference, giving at most but one mile in diameter. But it is evident, from the plan of M. Laborde, that this estimate is two large, and the diameter cannot exceed two thousand feet. This space is all filled with ruins, and the sides of the mountain were wrought into buildings, public and private. Laborde further says, that the great importance of this position, as a place of safety, was, that "it was hemmed in by a girdle of rocks, to which there was no ingress, except through a ravine so narrow, that a few men, stationed on the top of the mountain, might prevent any enemy, however numerous, from effecting an entrance into the town." It is obvious, from this description, that this valley could never have been surrounded by a wall, and that such a fortification would have been perfectly useless. Our reader may compare this description of Strabo with that given by Burckhardt of Kerek, and he cannot but be struck with the resemblance. "It is built upon the top of a steep hill, surrounded on all sides by a deep valley; the mountains beyond which command the town. In the valley, on the northwest are several copious springs," &c. Strabo, no doubt, received his description from "our friend Athenodorus, a philosopher," who had visited that region, and who was much "surprised to find so many Romans and other foreigners in the country."

Pliny may have been ignorant of the precise relative situation of the hill and valley, and may have considered these as indicated by the very name *Petra*. His description is not inconsistent with this supposition. Colonel Leake, indeed, suggests, that, "to Wady Mousa, though of a different aspect from Kerek, the name Petra was equally well adapted." We confess our incapacity to discover this adaptation. Kerek is on the top of a high hill, and Wady Mousa in a deep valley. The resemblance sought must be found by much such a process, as that by which Fluellen proved, that "in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, the situation, look ye, is both alike." There is not indeed a river at Wady Mousa, but there is a spring, and there is a spring also at Kerek.

The word *Petra*, as we have already stated, is derived

from πετρα, *a rock*, and was applied we believe without exception to a rocky elevation ; and we imagine all the sites to which this name was given, were strongholds, thus elevated, and easily defended. "The name of this capital," says Dr. Vincent, "in all the various languages in which it occurs, implies a rock, and as such it is described in Pliny and Al Earissi." And the Scripture denunciations against Edom indicate the same natural feature, "I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate. The pride of thy heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose *habitation is high*."

Colonel Leake remarks, that the latitude 30° 20′, assigned by Ptolemy to Petra, agrees very accurately with the result of the geographical information of Mr. Burckhardt. What this information was, we have no means of ascertaining. We presume, however, it means the estimated courses and distances, pursued by the enterprising traveller, from which his map must have been constructed, probably with the assistance of his able editor. For it is certain, that Mr. Burckhardt had neither the opportunity nor the instruments to make celestial observations. His journey was too rapid and perilous for that; and he, whose clothes could not escape the rapacity of the Arabs, would have sought in vain to transport with him delicate astronomical machinery. The miserable regions, through which he passed, were inhabited by no one, who could give him this "information"; and it requires but little practical knowledge to be convinced how unsatisfactory must be the conclusions, when the elements of calculation are so vague. The assumed latitude, therefore, must be considered an approximation merely ; and that it is not a very close one, may be conjectured from the map in the English edition of Laborde, in which the latitude is laid down at about 30° 50′, at least half a degree north of that assigned by Ptolemy. Unfortunately we do not find any calculations of latitude or longitude in M. Laborde's work, though, from the scientific instruments taken and the time spent at Wady Mousa, there can be no doubt, but that this important duty was not neglected, and that from the results, thus obtained, the map was prepared.

But after all, were the latitude of Wady Mousa correctly given by Ptolemy, we should consider that circumstance an accidental coincidence, rather than a proof to be employed

upon this question. The ancient observations were notoriously inaccurate, and necessarily so, from the state of astronomical knowledge, and from the process adopted in the determination of positions upon the earth's surface. It is probable, that Ptolemy deduced the latitude of Petra, and of the other places enumerated by him in this region, from the length of the longest day, for this fact is carefully stated in each case. Petra, he says, has for the longest day fourteen hours,* and is distant from Alexandria towards the east, one third of an hour and a tenth. The version of the Amsterdam edition of 1605 (page 205) has it, "horæ $\frac{1}{3}$ et decimâ parte." But, whether the latitude was deduced from the gnomon, or from the length of the day, it is obvious, that the result is too uncertain to settle a question, whose solution, so far as it depends upon the true geographical position of Kerek or Wady Mousa, requires very accurate observations. The uncertainty of these calculations of Ptolemy is apparent when we remark, that he assigns fourteen hours and one eighth as the longest day to Bosra, the Roman capital of Palestine Tertia, and 31° 30′ as its latitude. But Bosra, upon Burckhardt's map, is in latitude (about) 32° 40′, and is nearly a degree and a half north of Kerek, which is about a degree north of Wady Mousa. Ptolemy also states the longitude of Petra at 66° 45′, (thus expressed, 66.$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$,) and that of Bosra at 69° 45′, (69.$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$,) calculated, we suppose, from the meridian of the Fortunate Islands ; making three degrees between Petra and Bosra. Burckhardt's map gives somewhat more than one. But if, indeed, it is assumed, that Ptolemy gives the true latitude of Bosra, and that the distance he makes between those places, upon a great circle, is correct, nearly 1° 10′, then it will be found, that this distance would place Petra very near Kerek. But there is obviously too much uncertainty in these estimates to justify their employment as the basis of any rational historical and geographical deduction.

Colonel Leake deduces another argument, in favor of the identity of Petra and Wady Mousa, from the "vestiges of opulence and the apparent date of the architecture, which are equally conformable with the remains of the history of Petra,

* This element gives a latitude of 30° 48′ 20″, which corresponds at least as well with Kerek as with Wady Mousa, according to our best knowledge of the latitudes of those places. Ptolemy's two statements, if supposed to be exact, are irreconcilable.

found in Strabo, from whom it appears, that, previous to the reign of Augustus, or under the latter Ptolemies, a very large portion of the commerce of Arabia and India passed through Petra to the Mediterranean, and that armies of camels were required to convey the merchandise, from Leuce Come, on the Red Sea, through Petra to Rhinoculura, now El Arish."

"When the effects of commerce required a situation better suited than Kerek to the collected population and increased opulence of the Nabatæi, the appellation of Petra was transferred to the new city of Wady Mousa, which place had before been known to the Greeks by the name of *Arce* (Ἄρχη), a corruption, perhaps, of the Hebrew Rekem. To Wady Mousa, although of a different aspect from Kerek, the name Petra was equally well adapted; and Kerek became distinguished among the Greeks by its indigenous name, in the Greek form of *Charax*, to which the Romans added that of *Omanorum* or *Kerek of Ammon*, to distinguish it from another Kerek, now called *Kerek el Shobah*. The former Kerek was afterwards restored by the Christians to the Jewish division of Moab, to which, being south of the river Arnon, it strictly belonged, and it was then called in Greek *Charagmoka*, under which name we find it mentioned as one of the cities and episcopal dioceses of Palestine. When the stream of commerce, which had enriched the Nabatæi, had partly reverted to its old Egyptian channel, and had partly taken the new course, which erected a Palmyra in the midst of a country still more destitute of the commonest gifts of nature than Arabia Petræa, Wady Mousa was gradually depopulated."

And the writer goes on to state, that Kerek again became the capital.

This is the history of Petra Mousa, as related by Colonel Leake, and adopted by all the travellers who have followed Burckhardt. And yet it is one of the most extraordinary historical narratives on record. Scattered facts have been collected from the ancient writers and brought together, and the deficiency has been supplied by deductions, without any discrimination between the authentic and the conjectural portions of the picture. And, still more, it has been assumed, that there were two commercial Petras, and then the narrative has been broken and transferred from one to the other, at pleasure. *Not the slightest intimation has been given by any ancient author, that there were two commercial Petras.* Kerek, till the discovery of the ruins of Wady Mousa, was universally supposed to have been Petra. Colonel Leake

assumed, that that city was in the valley first explored by Burckhardt, and then applied himself to discover its history. If there were but one Petra, then the partition of facts, made by Colonel Leake between them, is without foundation ; and if there were two, no mortal tongue can tell, which of the few occurrences, related by the ancient authors, belonged to one, and which to the other.

The first part of the preceding quotation, relating to the trade of Petra, affords a proof of the amplification in which this subject has been fertile. We will give every word, that Strabo says upon the subject, to which reference is here made. He is treating of the circumstances and result of the expedition of Ælius Gallus, sent by Augustus to subdue Arabia Petræa; which expedition failed, through the treachery of a Nabatæan general, named Syllæus, who had joined the invading army with five thousand men. This general had persuaded the Roman leader to construct a fleet at Suez, in order to reach Leuce Come by sea, assuring him he could not march by land. He followed this advice, and many of his vessels, with a portion of his troops and baggage, were lost; whereas, the historian supposes, this disaster might have been avoided, had he taken the land route, which in fact existed ; " the commercial caravans," says Strabo, " going with all safety from Leuce Come to Petra, and from Petra to Leuce Come, in troops so numerous, that they do not differ from armies." On this little incidental paragraph is founded all that Colonel Leake gives of the history of Petra from Strabo.

It is not easy to reconcile any site assigned to Petra, with our present knowledge of the commercial routes, intersecting Arabia Petræa during the period of its opulence. Our information upon that subject is unsatisfactory ; but we know, that an interchange of the various productions of the East and West was early maintained, and both sacred and profane history have many allusions to it. The general purposes and course of this commerce are sufficiently obvious, and they have been elucidated by modern writers (and particularly by Heeren), who, after comparing the ancient authorities, have set themselves to investigate the questions connected with the sites of Ophir and Tarshish, and with many other points involved in this complicated subject. One important fact must be kept in view, that the ancients were not expert mariners, and that they dreaded, while they magnified, the perils of the ocean. " The longest route by land, and the shortest

route by sea," seems to have formed their axiom of transportation. Caravans of camels, from the various ports upon the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to the coasts of the Mediterranean, crossed the intervening territory of Arabia Petræa, which was then enriched by a profitable traffic. But it is vain to seek, at this time, the history of the tides of this commerce, the fluctuations it underwent, and the causes of its successive abandonment of established routes, and the substitution of others. Nor can we determine, why it was directed upon certain points, distant from a direct line, between the terminating *dépôts*. We have already seen, that there was an established road from Suez to Leuce Come, by the way of Petra. The exact position, indeed, of Leuce Come is unknown, but it was no doubt a port on the eastern branch of the Red Sea. A slight inspection of the map will show that Petra, whether the historian intended to describe Kerek or Wady Mousa, is far from a direct communication from Suez to the Elanitic Gulf. And the same difficulty occurs concerning the transportation of products from Elana or Leuce Come to Rhinoculura, otherwise El Arish. These points are respectively upon the Red Sea and upon the Mediterranean, and are very little further from each other than Petra is from Rhinoculura. Why this long *détour* was made, we have no means of determining. We should be almost tempted to deprive both Wady Mousa and Kerek of the name of Petra, and to place that commercial metropolis to the northwest instead of the northeast of Akaba.

But the difficulty is more obvious when we reflect, that there was a direct communication, according to Pliny, between Petra and Palmyra, and another between Petra and Damascus, by which last the intercourse was, probably, at one time maintained with Tyre and Sidon. If Wady Mousa is nearer a direct line between the head of the Elanitic Gulf, and the southern coast of the Mediterranean, Kerek has a similar advantage in relation to the eastern route. Colonel Leake supposes, that Kerek was the first *dépôt* of this trade, but that Wady Mousa was afterwards selected for this purpose, because "it was better suited to its collected population and increased opulence." Here both fact and reason are assumed, for history gives not the slightest indication of such a change. In what this superiority consisted, Colonel Leake does not state, and it would be difficult to conjecture. Not in its greater capacity to supply the agricultural products

required by such a trade ; for he says, " Wady Mousa was situated in a less fertile country than Kerek." Not in its greater security ; for we learn upon the same authority, that the latter was more easily defensible than the former. Not in its facility of access ; for it would be difficult to select a site more inconvenient than Wady Mousa for a commerce requiring armies of camels. Situated several miles from the direct route, which must have been necessarily left in the rear, attainable only by a long, narrow, precipitous path, occupying a deep, circumscribed valley, and surrounded by a region incapable of furnishing the necessary provisions, it presented precisely those features which *armies of camels* should avoid.

It is amusing to remark, by what slight indications Colonel Leake establishes his historical theory. Our readers have observed, that his narrative attributes the decline of Petra to the successful competition of Palmyra, and gravely states the circumstances. And upon what recorded facts is this part of the history founded ? Why, upon a comparison of the architecture at Wady Mousa and at Tadmor, from which it results that Palmyra flourished at a later period than Petra. *Voilà tout !* It must have required an acute judgment to weigh the architectural merits of those cities of the desert, at the time Colonel Leake wrote, when no modern traveller but Burckhardt had visited Wady Mousa, nor did he, as far as we can discover, make any drawing of these ruins. Later travellers have shown, that they contain a mixture of the Grecian and Roman styles. Petra was subdued in the reign of Trajan, at the commencement of the second century after Christ. Assuming that this was at Wady Mousa, the Roman portion at least of the architecture must have been created after that time. Its period of opulence had not then passed away.

This is also the period assigned by Gibbon for the construction of the immense fabrics, whose ruins yet exist to attest the site and power of Palmyra.

" Palmyra, insensibly increased into an opulent and independent city ; and, connecting the Roman and Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered to observe an humble neutrality, till at length, after the victories of Trajan, the little republic sunk into the bosom of Rome, and flourished more than one hundred and fifty years in the subordinate though humble rank of a colony. It was during that peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inscriptions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians constructed those temples, palaces, and porticos of Grecian architecture, whose ruins,

scattered over an extent of several miles, have deserved the curiosity of our travellers." — *Decline and Fall*, &c. Vol. i. p. 345.

Architectural chronology must be a much more exact science than we have had any reason to believe, if, by a comparison of the style of architecture of two cities in Arabia, both of which flourished in the same age, and whose monuments were probably constructed in the same century, we can now ascertain, which preceded the other in time, so as to make that fact the basis of an important historical deduction. But the narrative of the revolutions of Petra seems to grow as it passes from hand to hand. Colonel Leake's abstract of its progress and fate is more sober than the picture presented by his successors. Mr. Stephens considers Wady Mousa as the Selah of the Scriptures, captured by Amaziah; from the earliest period, the seat of the commerce of the precious commodities of the East, the place whence "the king of Arabia" issued, and advanced to Jerusalem; M. Laborde as the place, which Pompey marched to attack, but did not reach, and where Trajan was repulsed. According to Mr. Keith it was the rock, which resisted the efforts of Demetrius, and "he who entered Babylon retreated before the capital of Edom." It seems the fashion to attribute to it all that sacred and profane history has recorded of any rock, fortress, or city of Edom.

Whether this *deep valley* of Wady Mousa was the *Selah*, being the Hebrew [סֶלַע] for *Petra*, or the *Rock*, captured by Amaziah, after the defeat of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt, or of Jericho, is mere conjecture, and should have been given as such. We must resort to a kind of *lucus a non lucendo* analogy, before we discover any adaptation in the name.

As to the "Palace of the King of Arabia," if he had one, for we find no mention of it, it was probably in his capital; and this capital, says Josephus, was formerly called *Arce*, but now *Petra*, and in it lived the King of the Arabs.

Nothing but great carelessness could have led M. Laborde to identify the rock besieged by Demetrius with Wady Mousa. It appears by Diodorus Siculus, that Antigonus sent two expeditions into Arabia Petræa. The first was under Athenodorus, who advanced to a rock, Petra, upon the top of which the Arabians had deposited their wealth and their noncombatants, and after having left a sufficient guard to defend the place, they took to the desert, in order more easily to

harass the invaders. This Petra was very strong, but unwalled, and there was but one way up to it, which was made by art. The place, however, was taken; but the invaders held it only three hours and then retired. Afterwards, Antigonus sent his son Demetrius into the country. He besieged the rock, Petra, but was repulsed. And this Petra, says M. Laborde, was Wady Mousa.

During Trajan's celebrated expedition into the East, he marched into Arabia Petræa. He attacked the city of Agra, which is supposed to have been Petra; why, we have not been able to discover; and we have already taxed our own patience, and that of our readers too much, to follow the vicissitudes of this lost town through any more strange, repulsive-looking tomes. But, whether the description of Trajan's attack corresponds with the natural features of Wady Mousa, let our readers judge.

The historian Dion Cassius says,* that neither Trajan nor Severus could take the place, though they demolished a *part of the walls*, and that Trajan sent his cavalry to reconnoitre the breach, who, however, were repulsed, and hastily returned to the camp. The Roman Emperor then rode himself round the wall, though, to avoid being known, he took off his royal robe. The barbarians, however, discovered him by his bald head, and his *air*, *full of venerable majesty*, and endeavored to hit him with arrows, and actually killed a horseman who was about to join him.

Here was a walled city, round which the Roman Emperor rode, and which he, one of the ablest generals of antiquity, attacked with cavalry. Of all possible positions, these circumstances agree the least with the confined valley of Wady Mousa, defended by an eternal rampart of inaccessible rocks.

The names assigned to Petra by Colonel Leake, furnish no clue for the discovery of the labyrinth. Josephus, in his "Antiquities,"† states the metropolis of the Arabs is a town formerly called Arce (Ἀρεκέμην, רֶקֶם) now *Petra*. But this leaves us where it found us, to seek where we can for this city of Petra. We wonder it never occurred to Colonel Leake, in his etymological investigations, to trace the name *Kerek* to this word Ἀρχή, which he supposes a corruption of *Rekem*.

We terminate these *doubts* by observing, that, according to the Theodosian table, and to Ptolemy and Strabo, there

* *Ubi supra*, p. 217, note.

† Book IV. chap. 4.

were many cities between Judea and the Red Sea. We enumerate from Reland the following names of places in Arabia Petræa, situated between 65° 45′ and 68° 45′ east longitude, and between 29° 55′ and 31° north latitude, embracing a space of three degrees of longitude, and one degree fifteen minutes of latitude, — Eboda, Maliatha, Kalguia, Lysa, Gubba, Gypsaria, Petra, Characmoba, Aura, Zanatha, Zoara, Thana, Moca, Necla, Esbouta, Ziza, Maguza, Maduira, Rabmathone ; — nineteen cities in a desert, and in so narrow a space, and all lost, most of them irrevocably. Even should it be ascertained that Wady Mousa is not the commercial Petra of Idumea, here are names enough to employ the learning and ingenuity of the profoundest scholar, and among which he may perhaps ascertain the one formerly appropriated to the singular valley, and occupied by the everlasting monuments, first explored in modern days by the enterprising Burckhardt.

There is one point relating to the position of Petra, which, from its connexion with Scripture geography, we propose to examine with some attention. Colonel Leake remarks ;

"But among the ancient authorities regarding Petra, none are more curious than those of Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome ; all persons well acquainted with these countries, and who agree in proving, that the Sepulchre of Aaron in Mount Hor was near Petra. From hence, it seems evident, that the present object of Mussulman devotion, under the name of the Tomb of Haroun, stands upon the same spot as has always been regarded as the burial-place of Aaron, and there remains little doubt, therefore, that the mountain to the East of Petra is the Mount of Hor, of the Scriptures; perhaps an Arabic corruption of Mosara, where Aaron is said to have died."

All the travellers who have visited Wady Mousa have ascended this mountain, except Burckhardt ; but he, with the others, considered it the Mount Hor of the Scriptures. The description, given by Mr. Stephens, is powerful ;

"If I had never stood on the top of Mount Sinai, I should say nothing could exceed the desolation of the view from Mount Hor ; its most striking objects being the drear and rugged mountains of Seir, bare and naked of trees and verdure, and heaving their lofty summits to the skies, as if in a vain and fruitless effort to excel the mighty pile, on which the High Priest of Israel was buried. Before me was a land of barrenness and ruin, a land accursed of God, and against which the

Prophets had set their faces, the land, in which it is thus written in the book of life," &c.

But we proceed to inquire what proof of the identity between the mountain which overhangs the Valley of Mousa, and the Mount Hor of the Scriptures, is furnished by history or ancient geography. Colonel Leake invokes the testimony of Josephus, of Eusebius, and of Jerome, as persons well acquainted with the regions of Idumæa. But it should be remembered, that the fact of which they speak is purely a traditional one, and that, from the era of Aaron's death to the time of Josephus, almost as long an interval had elapsed as from the age of Josephus to our days ; and that, with respect to the two Christian fathers, the period was much greater. If we advert to the legends and traditions, which are associated with many of the events of Christianity, both in Palestine and elsewhere, and supported apparently by credible testimony, and trace their little coincidence with the Scripture accounts, we shall be inclined to be rather skeptical upon kindred subjects. But Colonel Leake is inaccurate again in his quotation. No one of these writers speaks of the Sepulchre of Aaron. They say only, that he died upon Mount Hor, near Petra. Josephus is in all hands, and the truth of our remark with respect to him may be easily verified. As Eusebius and Jerome are not so readily referred to, we quote their remarks.

Eusebius says ; " *Hor*, a mountain on which Aaron died, near the city of Petra, on which even now is shown the rock struck by Moses." *

Jerome's words are ; " *Or*, a mountain, in which Aaron died, near the city of *Petra ;* where even at the present day is shown the rock, which being struck, Moses gave water to the people."†

This correction is worth more than at first it appears to be. The text of Colonel Leake would seem to imply, that there had always been a tomb upon Mount Hor, and that this tomb had always been regarded with veneration. Had such been the fact, the value of the tradition would have been greatly enhanced.

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* "Ωρ, ὄρος ἐν ᾧ τελευτᾷ Ἀαρὼν, πλησίον Πέτρας πόλεως, ἐν ᾧ καὶ εἰς ἔτι νῦν δείκνυται ἡ ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως ῥύσασα πέτρα. — *Onomasticon.*

† " *Or*, mons in quo mortuus est Aaron juxta civitatem Petram ; ubi usque ad præsentem diem ostenditur rupes, quâ percussâ Moyses aquas populo dedit."

But Eusebius and Jerome have committed an obvious error, which evinces the facility with which they received traditional accounts, and the little care they took to investigate them; and thus impair, not the truth of the testimony, but the weight of the evidence. The tradition had increased between the time of Josephus and the age of these Christian fathers, for they add, that, upon Mount Hor, "is shown to this day, the rock, struck by Moses." We are not driven to explain why such a miracle was wrought in such a place, a spring opened upon a high mountain, for the supply of a moving nation, because this account is contradicted by the Scripture narrative. It was at Kadesh, or Kadesh-barnea, for it is called by both names, that the rock was struck, as is shown in the twentieth chapter of Numbers, from the first to the twelfth verse. And we are told in the twentieth verse, that "the children of Israel, with the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto Mount Hor." It was the sister of Moses, Miriam (Numbers xx. 1.), who died at Kadesh, where the rock was struck, and where the gushing waters gave to the parched Jews one of the most beautiful illustrations of the power of the Almighty, and of his kindness towards them, which were furnished during their long perigrinations through the wilderness.

The book of Numbers, commencing at the tenth chapter, contains a narrative of the migrations of the children of Israel, from the time they left Mount Sinai, until they reached the country upon the East bank of the Jordan; and the first three chapters of Deuteronomy contain an abstract of their whole journey, related by Moses to the assembled people of Israel. The general facts stated in these records are the same, and, in the details, there is as little difference as could be naturally expected between accounts prepared at different times, and for different purposes; the one being designed for an historical narrative, and the other for a succinct sketch related to a prodigious multitude, illustrative of the wonderful interpositions of Providence in their favor, and preparatory to the legacy of wisdom which their leader was about to bequeath to them. His work was finished; he stood upon the border of the promised land; and, though he could see it from Pisgah, it was not given to him to enter it.

This memorable journey of the children of Israel has attracted the attention of critics and commentators, from the

earliest period of the church. That there are difficulties which cannot be easily surmounted, in tracing the exact route of this great caravan, and in identifying the site of each encampment, may be easily admitted. Four thousand years have passed, since this wonderful event. Nations have risen and decayed, where the Jews travelled. The face of the country has changed, and many a fountain has been choked, and many a fertile spot been laid waste by the sands of the desert. It is only wonderful, that so much remains to attest the truth of a narrative, written forty centuries ago. The Red Sea remains ; Mount Sinai remains ; the mountains of Seir remain ; the face of the country remains, with its sands indeed increased, and its *oases* diminished, the necessary consequence of the loss of its population and agriculture, but with its general features unchanged ; and remain also, as unchanged as any of these, the character, manners, and customs of the nomadic tribes, who then, as now, roved over the country with their flocks and herds. He who seeks the truth, cannot fail to be struck with all these wonderful coincidences. And, if he meet some difficulties he cannot reconcile and explain, let him recollect, that similar difficulties meet us in all history, ancient and modern. In the short period of our own national existence, how many historical points have we which have been asserted, denied, canvassed, and yet remain *sub judice*. There are well-authenticated facts of recent date, which, if they had come to us from a remote period, would have been received as utterly apocryphal. If the early historians of Rome had told a tale like that of the Man with the Iron Mask, we should have rejected it as a fiction of the imagination. We should say, no important personage disappeared from the theatre of action, about the period of his arrest ; and the precautions used could only be credible, if applied to some one, whose personal character and influence, while it rendered him dangerous to the state, rendered it also of the last importance, that his name should be concealed ; and that, after his death, secrecy was neither necessary nor practicable. And yet this incident occurred in France, before Europe, and the riddle is yet to be read.*

* We are tempted to insert an interesting anecdote, upon this subject, which leaves no doubt, but that the secret has perished ; and it enhances the difficulty, by showing in what manner the mystery was transmitted, and by

Burckhardt supposes that Kadesh, the most important intermediate station between Mount Sinai and Mount Hor, was in El Ghor, or the great valley ; but this conjecture is unsupported by a single fact. In Numbers xx. 1, Kadesh is said to be in the desert of Zin, which was west of Edom, and south of Judea. It was upon the *coast*, or border of Edom. And in Joshua, xix. 3, the line of the tribe of Judah is described as passing along Zin, and ascending upon the south side unto Kadesh-barnea, and thence to the Mediterranean. This place was, therefore, on the south side of the wilderness, and situated beyond where the line turned west, to ascend or pass along its southern border. All this is entirely irreconcilable with the position of El Ghor, which from the earliest period had been the inheritance of Esau.

M. Laborde, however, lays down the position of Kadesh more correctly. For he says,* that, after the defeat of the Israelites by the Petræan tribes, and the refusal of the Edomites to admit them into their country, "they descended into El Ghor," &c. As this refusal occurred at Kadesh, that place must have been west of the valley.

It appears by the sacred historians, that, after having occupied the regions in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai more than a year, the great Jewish encampment was broken up by the divine command. "Ye have dwelt long enough in this

what obligations it was preserved. It was related by the present King of the French, and we had it from the *best* authority.

The King at his first interview, after his visit to the United States, with the late Charles X., then Monsieur, and formerly Comte d'Artois, was asked by this prince, whether he knew who was the Man with the Iron Mask. The King said he did not, nor did he think it was known to his father, the Duke of Orléans, for he presumed, had it been otherwise, he should have heard the subject mentioned. Charles X. then said, "I did not know, but it might have been transmitted in your family, from the regent Duke of Orléans, who knew it, and communicated it to Louis XV. This fact," he continued, "I acquired in this manner. During the reign of Louis XVI., I one day suddenly entered his apartments, and found the Queen, Marie Antoinette, strongly urging the King to disclose to her the name of that singular state prisoner. The King told her it was impossible, for he was under a solemn obligation to reveal it only to his successor, and that it had come to him from Louis XIV. through the regent Duke of Orleans, and his grandfather Louis XV. "But," the King added, "if I were at liberty to tell you, you would be surprised at the importance which has been attached to this incident." The thread was cut by the revolution; for, during the latter days of his life, the unfortunate monarch had duties more serious, than the perpetuation of this traditional narrative.

* Page 138, of the English edition.

mount." "Turn ye, and take your journey." (Deuteronomy 1. 6 and 7.) At that time, the Lord had given to the Jews the "Mount of the Amorites, and all the places nigh thereunto in the plain, and in the hills, and in the vale, and in the south, and by the sea side, to the land of the Canaanites, unto Lebanon, unto the great river, the river Euphrates." (Deuteronomy 1. 7.) And they were then directed to proceed immediately to take possession. "Behold, I have set the land before you; go and possess the land." (Deuteronomy 1. 8.) Before, however, the Jews commenced an expedition which would inevitably lead to hostilities, they determined to send out what in our Western country would be called an *exploring party*, and what is termed in the Scripture a party of spies; and the instructions given to Moses, upon this occasion, are remarkable for their practical good sense. The party was directed "to see the land, what it is, and the people that dwelleth therein, whether it be good or bad, and what cities they be that they dwell in, whether tents or strong-holds; and what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein or not. And be ye of good courage, and bring up the fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the first ripe grapes."

This *exploring party* accordingly proceeded upon their dangerous tour, and penetrated to Hebron, which identifies the portion of the Canaanitish frontier, to which Moses intended to conduct his countrymen. "And the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, (not the Edomites,) dwelt on the mountains." These little tribes probably occupied all the country west of Canaan; and we may reasonably conclude, that Kadesh was not far from a direct line between Mount Sinai and Hebron, and that the intervening passes were occupied by a race distinct from the Edomites, with whom, as the descendants of Esau and their "brethren," the Jews were ordered not to "meddle." The spies returned in safety, and agreed in their report upon the fertility of the country, but differed in their estimate of its strength, and of the power of their people to force a passage. Two of them counselled an immediate advance; but the others, yielding to their fears, propagated the most alarming reports, representing the cities as being great, and walled up to heaven, and the people, sons of the Anakims, as greater and taller than the Israelites. Fear immediately gained the

ascendency in the Jewish camp, and with it came the usual reproach and lamentation, that Moses had led them, and that they had followed him, out of Egypt. The performances of the past, and the promises of the future, were equally disregarded. "Would to God, we had died in the land of Egypt," was the emphatic declaration of the multitude. During their whole route, whenever any difficulty occurred, they contemned the injunctions of their divine guide, and the remonstrances of their faithful leader, whose task, looking at the nature of the regions he traversed, and at the number and temperament of his countrymen, was one of the most irksome and responsible on record; and they longed for the "flesh," and the "fish," and the "cucumbers," and the "melons," and the "leeks," and the "onions," and the "garlic," of Goshen. And, by the by, it is worthy of remark how, in this instance, as in so many others, the Scripture narratives are corroborated by the existing habits and manners of the Eastern nations. Every traveller in Egypt must have observed the immense quantity of these vegetables which are consumed there, and the large proportion which they furnish of the subsistence of the inhabitants. And it is thus we every day receive some new confirmation of the truth of the oldest and most authentic record of human history.

But the representations and the efforts of Moses were unsuccessful. "*Notwithstanding all, they would not go.*" Then the Lord, indignant at their ingratitude and perversity, doomed them to that long and painful sojourn in the wilderness, the incidents of which are almost all lost; and interdicted to those of the nation, who were then over twenty years of age, except the faithful spies, Caleb and Joshua, the entrance of the promised land. "Surely they shall not see the land which I swore to their fathers." Then followed the terrible denunciation. "Your carcasses shall rot in this wilderness."

The Israelites, with that inconsistency which was so prominent a trait in their character, being terrified at the wrath of God, and at the malediction issued against them, and hoping to avert the decree, resolved to attempt to force a passage by the direct route, as they had at first been commanded. And, although Moses warned them not to go up, "for the Lord was not with them," still they persisted, and met the just reward of their new disobedience; for the "Amalekites

came down, and the Canaanites, which dwelt in that hill, and smote them, and discomfited them, even unto Hormah."

But two routes, to attain their land of refuge, were then open to them; one through the country of the Edomites, and probably by the valley of El Ghor, and the other to the east of the ridges of Seir, passing by the head of the Red Sea, attaining the high level country, beyond the present Akaba, and skirting the eastern frontier of Edom; following nearly the present road pursued by the pilgrims from Damascus to Mecca. The former was the shorter; but it was necessary, before taking it, to obtain the permission of the king of Edom; not only because the Edomites were powerful, but because the Lord had prohibited the Israelites from "*meddling*" with them. An embassy was therefore despatched to the Edomite capital, asking a free passage through the country, and urging in support of it the ties of consanguinity which united the descendants of Esau and of Jacob, promising to "go by the king's highway, and not to pass through the fields or vineyards, nor to drink the water of the wells." But the king of Edom gave a peremptory refusal to this request, and embodied his forces for the defence of his country. It is probable he occupied a position upon his frontier, near Kadesh, upon the *coast*, till his dangerous neighbours had passed; for we are told, that "Edom came out against him (Israel) with much people, and a strong hand; wherefore Israel turned away from him, by the way of the Red Sea."

All direct access to their desired resting-place, through the heart of the Edomite dominion, being thus barred, there remained to them only the route by the head of the Elanitic branch of the Red Sea, and by the high plains skirting the eastern base of the mountains of Seir. It was, accordingly, at Kadesh, that the order was given to change the direction of this great moving colony. "But as for you, turn ye, and take your journey into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea," &c. (Deuteronomy i. 40.) "Then Edom refused to give Israel a passage through his border, whereupon Israel turned away from him, and the children of Israel, and the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto Mount Hor;" And after this follows the episode of Aaron's death and burial (Numbers xx. 21, 22, et seq.). And the position of Mount Hor is described, (Numbers xx. 21,) as being upon the *coast* or border of the land of Edom, suffi-

ciently indicating its position upon the frontier, and probably without it; for we have just seen, that even the border was interdicted to the wanderers. Kadesh and Mount Hor being upon the frontier, and the king of Edom being in the field to watch their movements, there can be little doubt but that the Jews, in marching from the former place to the latter, kept on the outside of the boundary, while the king of Edom accompanied their movements with a corps of observation within.

After this general view of the situation and objects of the Israelites and Edomites, can it be supposed, that from Kadesh the former did not *turn away*, but made an irruption into the very heart of Edom, and took possession of the mountain overlooking what Mr. Stephens, and others before him, have maintained to be the capital? Such a conjecture is not only gratuitous, but is in direct opposition to the whole narrative, to the progress and result of the negotiation, and to the Almighty prohibition. All commentators agree, that the mountains of Seir, extending south of the Dead Sea and round El Ghor, were the cradle of the Edomite power, the place where Esau established himself, and whence his descendants extended themselves into the circumjacent regions. No position ever assigned to Edom would make El Ghor its western frontier.

The conjecture of Colonel Leake, that Kadesh may have been in El Ghor, or the Wady, and that the Israelites would therefore pass down that valley to the Red Sea, is unsupported, as we have already shown, by the Scripture geography. It would exclude the whole of that great valley from the Edomite dominions, and after all would leave the real difficulty in full force. For the Israelites, to reach Mount Hor, must have left the valley of El Ghor, — their only path, says Colonel Leake, to the Dead Sea, — and proceeded up the Wady Mousa to Mount Hor. The distance we have not the means of ascertaining, for none of the travellers through this region furnishes us with accurate geographical details; but, judging from the map of M. Laborde, it cannot be less than fifteen miles; and this by a route, described by Mr. Stephens as a "continued ascent," which "was difficult," "where our camels toiled laboriously," and where even the "sure-footed Arabians often slipped upon the steep and rugged path." And the whole Jewish nation clambered

along this almost impracticable road, for no other reason, that we can discover, but to come back again.

Mount Hor is probably to be sought in some of the extensive ridges, which border the Dead Sea and the Red Sea, and of which Mount Sinai is a prolongation on one side, and Lebanon on the other. The word Seir * seems to have been applied to the whole chain south of the Dead Sea ; and the spot rendered memorable by the death of Aaron was certainly west of El Ghor, and probably in a northwestern direction from Akaba, among the mountains designated in that quarter upon M. Laborde's map.

From Arabia Petræa our author entered Palestine by the way of Hebron, and passed on to Jerusalem. He describes his impressions, when first he came within view of this city, *the* city we may well say, whose associations are as imperishable as its everlasting hills. The contrast between the sombre picture sketched by Mr. Stephens, and the bright and vivid coloring of Dr. Clarke, is an extraordinary proof of the different aspects, which the same object often presents to different travellers. Dr. Clarke's glowing account of his approach to Jerusalem is as follows ;

" Ascending a hill towards the south, — ' Hagiopolis ! ' exclaimed a Greek in the van of our cavalcade ; and, instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen bareheaded, upon his knees, facing the prospect he surveyed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all. Who shall describe it ? The effect produced was that of total silence throughout the whole company. Many of the party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats, as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The Greeks and Catholics shed torrents of tears ; and presently beginning to cross themselves, with unfeigned devotion, asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed, barefooted, to the Holy Sepulchre. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis ; presenting a magnificent assemblage of

* That there are other parts of this chain, than those about El Ghor, specifically designated by the name of Seir, is proved by Deuteronomy ii. 2. " 'There are eleven days, by the way of Seir, from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea.' The Mount Seir, here described, being between Mount Horeb and Kadesh-barnea, must have been west of the valley of El Ghor.

domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries ; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendor. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance." — Clarke's *Travels*, p. 286.

Mr. Stephens says, soberly, and without displaying the slightest enthusiasm,

" Stopping to water my horse at a fountain in front of the monastery, I turned to take a last look at Bethlehem ; and, my horse moving a few paces, when I turned again I saw in full view the holy city of Jerusalem. I did not expect it, and was startled by its proximity. It looked so small, and yet lay spread out before me so distinctly, that it seemed as if I ought to perceive the inhabitants moving through the streets, and hear their voices humming in my ears. I saw that it was walled all around, and that it stood alone, in an extensive waste of mountains, without streets, or even a solitary habitation beyond the walls. There were no domes, steeples, or turrets, to break the monotony of its aspect, and even the mosques and minarets made no show. . . . . But all was tame and vacant. There was nothing in its appearance which afforded me a sensation."

Our own impressions, when we first saw the fallen city, from the top of one of the many rugged hills, which surround it, accorded much more nearly with those described by the American than those of the English traveller. But the difference in these pictures does not arise solely from a difference in the constitutions of the artists. Jerusalem is upon an inclined plane, opening to the northeast, and presents its fairest prospect to the traveller approaching it upon the road from Damascus, which, we believe, was the one followed by Dr. Clarke. But, from the south, the eye meets the higher part of the city, and rests almost exclusively upon its bleak hill and upon its dark and naked wall. It is indeed no longer " fretted with golden pinnacles," but neither did it strike us to be so utterly disconsolate in its appearance, as it is described by Mr. Stephens.

Our author pays a just tribute to the urbanity of the Mutselim, a governor of Jerusalem, and expresses much solicitude for his fate. He says ;

" Some months afterwards, at Genoa, I saw a brief article in an Italian paper, referring to a previous article, giving an

account of a then late revolution there, in which the Governor was on the point of falling into the hands of the insurgents. I have never seen any account of the particulars of this revolution, and do not know whether he is now living or dead. In the East life hangs by so brittle a thread, that when you part from a man in power, in all probability you will never see him again. I can only hope, that the Governor of Jerusalem still lives, and that his condition in life is as happy as when I saw him."

We can tell Mr. Stephens, with pleasure, that his hope has been fulfilled. There was no revolution in Jerusalem; the power of Mehemet Ali is too strong for that. His worthy friend, however, has retired to private life, and as yet avoided the bowstring. When we were in Jerusalem, all Christian tongues spoke his praise, and, perhaps, with the more sincerity, as he had been recalled and succeeded by another less kind and considerate. The story ran, that Moslem intolerance had been excited by the favor he exhibited to the Christians, and that such representations had been made to the Viceroy, as led to a change. We met him afterwards at table, in Damascus, and a fine picture he was of the Turkish gentleman of the old school. He was living in a retired way, but respectably; and we were happy to render him a slight return for his kind bearing to our worthy missionaries and countrymen at Jerusalem.

The Prince de Joinville, the third son of the French King, recently travelled in the East. After his arrival in France, the King, with that true sense of propriety, which distinguishes him, despatched a sloop of war to Beyroot with ample presents for all who had been attentive to his son. The worthy Governor we have mentioned was in office when the young Prince was in Palestine, and attended him through his government. Before the presents arrived, he had been superseded and had left Jerusalem. Owing to some misapprehension, those to whom the duty of distribution was intrusted, presented to the successor what ought to have been given to the predecessor. We heard of this *contretems* on our arrival at Damascus, not from the party, but from a Christian consul, and, on arriving in France, we took care, that the facts should be known in the *right* quarter. Nothing more was necessary to insure the proper correction of the error. And we do not doubt, that the worthy

Mutselim has many a time since looked with complacency upon the *backsheesh** of the Christian Sultan.

Jerusalem has been a fruitful theme in the journals of the travellers. Tradition has marked the spot of every interesting incident, which the Scriptures record as having occurred within its walls. Credulity and skepticism have equally examined and discussed these legendary tales. Men of the ardent temperament of Chateaubriand and Lamartine believe every thing; while others, like Volney, whose mental temperament is different, believe nothing. *Probably not one stone of ancient Jerusalem remains in its place.* They point to a part of the foundation of the walls, facing the valley of Jehoshaphat, where are some large blocks, apparently of an earlier age than the rest of the structure, and consider these as the relics of the ancient city. But this is a mere conjecture, resting upon no established proof. Jerusalem has been swept with the besom of destruction. The imprecations against it have been fulfilled. The Assyrian, the Greek, the Roman, the Crusader, the Turk, the Egyptian, have marched over its walls, and established their camps in its holy places. Superstition, fanaticism, revenge, have conspired to sweep away its monuments and to make it desolate. The great features of its topography no human power can change. They have been imperishably marked out by an Almighty hand. Its site occupies the projecting point of a high hill, bounded on the east by a deep, narrow valley, successive portions of which were called the valley of Kedron, of Jehoshaphat, and of Siloam, in the bottom of which flows the brook Kedron; and on the southwest and south by the valley of Sihon, where trickles the little stream called Gihon. These rivulets unite, a short distance below the pool or spring of Siloam, and wind their way among broken mountains to the Dead Sea. On the northwest the city joins the table-land of the country, and it is in this direction, that it has been successively enlarged and contracted, as prosperity or adversity augmented or diminished its population. And, although it has been supposed by some writers, that the ancient city extended across the valley of Gihon, yet the conjecture has been advanced solely to render the legen-

* The Arab word for presents, which is dinned often enough into the ears of every traveller in the East, to make him nervous.

dary sites of some of the miraculous events, which occurred within its walls, consistent with Scripture narrative, and is contradicted by the nature of the ground ; for it is unreasonable to suppose, that the advantage of a strong position would be abandoned by enclosing a deep valley, when there was space enough on the table-land for indefinite extension.

He who visits the various sites enumerated by tradition in Jerusalem, should visit them without investigating too narrowly the evidence by which they have been established. He cannot, indeed, be far wrong; for the compass, within which the facts occurred, is but a narrow one. And there is an indefinite sentiment of awe and veneration, in believing we are standing upon the very spot, where our Saviour was judged, was crucified, or was buried. If there were no idle mummeries around one, this feeling would be deeper and holier ; but it is impossible wholly to abstract ourselves from the circumstances with which superstition has invested these places. Still, the moment when he stands upon the hill of Zion is an era in the life of any man ; and he feels more concentration of existence at that instant, than is given to him to experience upon any other spot on the face of the earth.

Without the circuit of Jerusalem, uncertainty ceases. The Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane, Mount Gihon, the Mount of Evil Counsel, the pools, the fountains, the brooks, all remain as in the brightest days of Bible history ; deprived, indeed, of all their marble monuments, constructed when Solomon made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones, and when cedars were as the sycamore trees in the vale for abundance ; but impressive and interesting in their desolation. And he who can roam among these solitary places, without feeling his faith strengthened and his heart touched, has none of the true characteristics of a pilgrim, and will find himself a stranger in the Holy Land.

Our author had too much of the true spirit of a pilgrim not to visit Jericho, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. His recital of the journey is lively and amusing, and we have nothing more to expect from any traveller at this day. The country has been too often described, and its historical incidents too often recalled, to allow writer or reader to find any novelty upon the path. A more dreary-looking region we never saw but once, and that was upon the River Ontonogan,

which enters Lake Superior upon its southern side, and which, for barrenness and desolation, may have a rival, but can have no superior upon the face of the earth. And to those, who know the acuteness of the Indians, in directing their course through the forest, it is a sufficient proof of the nature of this district to say, that an active Chippewa, who was with us, was unable to thread his way out of this labyrinth.

From Jerusalem to the precipitous cliffs, overlooking the plain of the Jordan, the country offers a succession of high sharp hills, without trees or any kind of verdure, and covered with black, rugged rocks. The narrow path winds its way amongst these stupendous masses, following the gullies worn by the watercourses, until it attains the brow of the ridge, looking down upon the valley, the river, and the lake. And a quiet-looking sheet of water it is ; but oh ! how different from those beautiful reservoirs, which our own beloved country spreads out, embosomed among green and fertile hills, and variegated by all that can render them pleasant and useful. Within this vale there are no trees, no vegetation, no inhabitants, no domestic animals ; for a few miserable wandering Arabs are not enough to form an exception. Neither is there any soil to minister to the wants of man ; for a saline incrustation, deposited by the fogs of the sea, covers the earth, and is destructive to vegetable life. The descent of the mountain is so precipitous, that great care is necessary to prevent accidents. When we made this journey, the faithless guides were desirous we should pass the night at the miserable residence of the Sheick on the ruins of Jericho ; but, knowing the dirt and worse than dirt of an Arab village, we determined to avoid it. We were told, there was danger from some of the wild tribes, if we stopped short ; but we put our faith in the terror inspired by the name of Mehemet Ali, and slept soundly and safely at the spring of Elisha, and blessed the prophet for his miraculous intervention, which had converted the saline waters of this lovely fountain into as pleasant a draught as ever delighted a thirsty traveller. If this is not the fountain of the palm trees, where the Christian Knight and the Saracen Emir kept truce together, after the combat recorded in " The Talisman," we know not where to seek it. The topography, indeed, of this region is not in strict keeping, in this most interesting romance ; but, though false to fact, it is true to

nature. If the pilgrimage of the Scottish crusader led him to the convent of Santa Caba, in the desert of Saint John, his visit to the Dead Sea was a work of supererogation to himself, but most acceptable to the reader; who finds in the description of this *détour*, some of the most powerful delineations of natural objects, and some of the most striking incidents, which we owe to the admirable genius of Scott.

The reverberation of the sun's rays gave to the vale of Siddim an equatorial heat in the month of August, and we raised ourselves from the fount of Elisha, and resumed our route to the Dead Sea, before the dawn of day, to avoid, as much as possible, the noontide sun. We traversed much of the space between Jericho and the shore of the lake in the night, and a most impressively mournful ride we had of it; over barren sands, covered here and there by low, stunted bushes, every now and then striking us in the face, to warn us, as it were, that the home of the wild Arab was around us. And, as the streaks of morning light dawned over the mountain of Moab, a most extraordinary spectacle presented itself to our eyes; an army appeared upon the dreary, deserted sand, between us and the dark water, which stretched away beyond our view, lost in the high ridges, which overhung it. No deception was ever more complete; for long ranks of soldiers seemed drawn up, marching and countermarching in all directions, with great regularity. It looked as if the genius of the place had embodied his forces, to bar all access to his gloomy dominions. And it was only as the day advanced, and as we approached the shore, that our formidable enemy assumed the peaceable shape of countless flocks of birds, of the heron species, who, the Arabs say, come to pass the night upon the sand, and in the day seek their food among the reptiles in the mountains. The immensity of their numbers exceeded all imagination; and, if the regions of Palestine are fertile in nothing else, they must be most prolific in snakes, if the Arab *natural historian* may be trusted. And this is the Dead Sea, and below these dark waters are the sites, perhaps the ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah, such as "when the smoke of the country went up, as the smoke of a furnace." There is a tale, that nothing living, not even a bird, can ever cross this sea. But there is no need of imaginary stories to heighten the desolation of the scene, and we, as well as other travellers, can testify to its inaccuracy, by our

own observations. We believe, however, that its waters are unfavorable to animal life ; and, though a shell or two may be occasionally picked up upon the shore, yet these have been probably brought down by the Jordan. The water is excessively bitter and nauseous ; and, if additional evidence were wanting, we also could testify to its great gravity, and to the buoyancy of the human body, when immersed in it. It is only by much exertion, and for a very short time, that any one can get and remain below the surface.

We went from here to the Jordan, and struck the river, where tradition says, the children of Israel passed over, when they first entered the Land of Promise. On the west side is a low bottom, and on the east a high sandy bluff, and the shores of the river are covered with aquatic bushes. The water was thick and turbid, and the current rapid, and too deep to be sounded, "for Jordan overflowed all his banks, all the time of harvest." And here crossed the Jewish nation, over this turbulent stream, "on dry ground, until all the people were passed clean over Jordan." And we followed their route to Jericho, the frontier city of the Canaanites, where "the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city." There is no city now to take, nor are there any walls now to fall. There are a few miserable hovels, made of rude stones and mud, and the ruined walls of a building of the middle ages, where the wretched Arabs burrow, rather than live. Jericho has disappeared as completely as her rival cities, which sunk before the wrath of the Almighty. And it requires an effort to be satisfied, that here the great miracle, which attended the entrance of the Jews into Canaan, was performed, though the truth of the denunciation is before the eyes of the traveller ; "Cursed be the man before the Lord, that raiseth up and buildeth this city Jericho."

But the length of our article admonishes us, that we must take leave of our interesting companion, and suffer him to wend his way alone to Beyroot, across the hills of Judea, or on the plains of Galilee. And, whatever region we may hereafter visit, we desire no more pleasant guide upon the route, nor a more attracting narrative to recall the mind and manners of the country, after exchanging the excitement of the actual journey for its calm retrospect in the closet.

ART. VI. — *Remarks on Literary Property.* By PHILIP H. NICKLIN. Philadelphia. 1838. Nicklin & Johnson. 12mo. pp. 144.

IT is universally admitted, that nothing is more manifestly one's own, than the products of his intellectual activity; and there is no species of the fruits of industry, of which the producer has a better title to the benefits; — and never, in the annals not only of legislation and jurisprudence, but also of robbery by sea or land, was a more dishonest and insolent sentence uttered, than that of Lord Camden in the House of Lords, in Great Britain, in the case of Donaldson *versus* Becket and Others,* that "glory is the reward of science, and those who deserve it, scorn all meaner praise." For it was a reply to the author, who was asking for legal protection of his right to what was, by the universal law of nature, his, being the fruit of his labor; and to whom his Lordship, wielding his fraction of parliamentary omnipotence, says, "I take it away from you, and confiscate it to the public use, because you have received an adequate consideration for its value, in the reputation of having produced it." It is as if a martyr, appealing to the justice of a tyrant, should be told, that the crown of martyrdom was an adequate compensation for his life. It is a sheer and flagrant wrong, accompanied by deliberate mockery, that would be disgraceful, even to the red flag.

Among the objects for establishing social institutions, one is, the guaranty, to each member of the community, of his private, individual rights. If any one, by his industry, fabricates a utensil, or produces corn, the law protects him in the use and disposition of the product of his labor. But not so of the author. He, it seems, is an exception to the rule; and joins society, not as a party to the general bond, but as an outlaw, who is among us, but not of us; an infidel, to whom we good Christians, according to the old Roman Catholic doctrine, are not bound by any oath or compact, — or a Jew, to raise contributions upon, and be despoiled. He is a man of too much glory to mind hunger; and so we take away his bread, he himself protesting all the while, that, maugre the glory, he, and his children too, must needs eat.

* 4 Burr. 2408 (1774).

From the time when literary property became a subject of juridical cognizance in England, down to the statute of 8 Anne, 1710, securing limited copyright, and, indeed, seventy years after the passing of that act, until the decision of the case of Donaldson *versus* Becket and Others, in the House of Lords, the perpetual copyright of the author, or his assignees, was familiarly recognised at Stationers' Hall by the booksellers, and sanctioned by the courts of justice, both in equity and at law. This is called the Right at Common Law; by which is meant, that, merely by the construction of an author's rights and his acts according to the legal principles upon which every man's rights and property are recognised and protected, independently of any express legislation, and then again (at the epoch of that case) by the custom and precedents distinctly traceable through a period of more than two centuries, and, therefore, by the essential and transcendent principle of the unwritten law, an author and his assigns had the exclusive right in perpetuity of multiplying copies of his works, as long as he chose to avail himself of such privilege. This did not amount to a universal prohibition of all publications, except by authors and their assigns; for, as the absolute proprietor of land may dedicate it to the use of the public as a highway, by his acts merely, and without any written declaration, so an author might dedicate his published book to the public use, not only for reading, quotation, and abridgment, and as materials for making other books, which is always implied by the act of publication, but also for the purpose of making and selling copies. And the public were not to be left in doubt, whether the author did thus dedicate the fruit of his labors to public use, since he was presumed so to do, unless he entered the copyright at Stationers' Hall, and gave notice of this fact. This was a notice to the public, that, though he published his work, and sold copies of it, he did this with the reservation to himself, and his assigns, of the right of multiplying copies.

This seems to be very intelligible and very just; since, undoubtedly, the author has the absolute control of his manuscript. The community never pretended to the right of compelling any one either to write a poem for the general benefit, or to publish one he had already written; and, as the author has the control of the publication of his manuscript, it seems to be a natural inference, that he has a right to prescribe the

conditions upon which he publishes and sells it ; so that these conditions are a part of the contract upon which the purchaser of a copy accepts it. And these conditions, in the above case, are, that he may make use of the copy he has bought for any other purpose, excepting that of multiplying copies. What would be the effect of such a notice, in terms printed in every copy of a work published by the author, has not been the subject of judicial decision ; nor do we recollect, that the right of the author has been put upon this precise ground in any of the cases in which the question of perpetual copyright has been contested. The proper subject of legislation seems to be, in this case, not whether the author shall be entitled to what is his own by the plain application of all the principles by which the great mass of individual rights are regulated, but what notice he shall be required to give, that, by publishing his work, he does not abandon the exclusive privilege of multiplying copies.

But so deeply has the notion taken root, that an author has only a temporary right to an exclusive property in what is more emphatically his own creation than any material product of labor can be, that the framers of our constitution do not seem to have dreamed of his having any thing more than such temporary exclusive right ; since they provided, *for the encouragement of learning*, only that Congress might grant the exclusive privilege of publication for a "limited time." Singular *encouragement* this ! It is as if Congress had been empowered to encourage the fisheries by allowing the fisherman some part, not exceeding nine tenths, of all the fish he should take ; or agriculture, by allowing the farmer some portion, not exceeding nine tenths, of the wheat that might grow upon his own land. Governments seem to consider literary productions somewhat in the light in which they formerly did gold and silver mines ; one fifth, tenth, or twentieth part, and sometimes the whole of the product of which, was reserved to the sovereign in the old charters, by which this continent was originally granted to companies and individuals. There was some basis for these reservations, since the European governments, especially those of Roman Catholic countries, after the Pope had granted them their respective diagrams of latitude and longitude of this hemisphere, claimed the dominion and property of the soil. But to carry this doctrine of prerogative and supereminent dominion into

the intellectual world, and set up an exclusive right of the public to one tenth, or five tenths, more or less, of the profits or benefits of the literary compositions, which all subjects or citizens whatsoever might spin out of their own brains, is really a transcendent stretch of arbitrary pretension. But, as the constitution gives Congress an indefinite latitude of discretion, as to what "limited time" copyrights shall be allowed for, it leaves room for substantial justice to authors, or, rather, does not impose upon Congress the necessity of a flagrant and outrageous wrong to them, since the period may be so extended, as to be substantially equivalent in present value to a perpetual right.

In the case of Tonson *versus* Collins, which came up in 1760, Mr. Yates was one of the counsel for the defendant, and accordingly argued against the perpetual copyright. Sir William Blackstone was one of the counsel for the plaintiff, and argued very learnedly and ably in favor of perpetual copyright; and one readily recognises, in his remarks upon copyright, in his "Commentaries," the phraseology and mode of presenting the subject adopted in his argument in that case, as reported by himself. Lord Mansfield and the other judges of the King's Bench were in favor of perpetual copyright, but gave no judgment. When the last elaborate case on the question, the final decision of which, on appeal in the House of Lords, was fatal to the rights of British, and, by consequence, to those of American authors, came before the court of King's Bench, the same Mr. Yates, (we take him to be the same,) who had argued for Collins in the former case, was one of the judges of that court, and still adhered to his former opinion against the rights of authors, and dissented from the opinions of Lord Mansfield and the other two judges, who still maintained the perpetual right. The case occupies over one hundred pages in Burrow's "Reports," so that authors were not disfranchised without an honorable struggle. It is not our purpose to go minutely through all the arguments alleged in favor of this sweeping confiscation of literary property; it will be sufficient to state leading grounds.

The bombastic, puerile trash uttered by Lord Camden, on the occasion of the fatal decision in the House of Lords, has already been noticed. "Glory," said he, "is the reward of science. It was not for gain, that Bacon, Newton, and Milton instructed the world." Fine stuff this, to gloss a pillage.

Yates, — who seems to have emerged and disappeared with this question, — in his argument as counsel in Tonson *versus* Collins, in 1760, and his argument of three hours in length, in Millar *versus* Taylor, 1769, dissenting from the other three judges of the King's Bench, on the subject of the copyright of "Thomson's Seasons," lays down, as one of his main positions, that "nothing can be the object of property, which has not a corporeal substance. There must," says he, "be something visible, which has bounds to define it, and some marks to distinguish it. The property here claimed is all ideal; a set of ideas, which have no bounds or marks whatever. Their whole existence is in the mind alone; incapable of any other modes of acquisition or enjoyment, than by mental possession or apprehension."* "The subject," said Thurlow, afterwards Chancellor, who was also counsel with Yates in the first case, "must be the abstracted, ideal, incorporeal composition. It should," said he, "be something that should be seen, felt, given, delivered, lost, or stolen, in order to constitute property." † "How," asked Lord Mansfield, interrupting him, "would you steal an *option*, or the *next turn of an advowson?*" — a question which presented, in a demonstratively ridiculous light, the sophistry of this objection. The law, as everybody knows, recognises many species of property which cannot be seen, delivered, stolen, &c., such as right of way, of air, light, fishery, common, and the like. The sophistry is double, therefore; first, in assuming that nothing is regarded by the law as *property* excepting corporeal substances, or things having essential reference to such substances; and, secondly, in assuming that, unless you can call the right of the author *property*, it is no right.

Both assumptions are wholly false; the first as we have seen, the second as may be familiarly illustrated. The services of a child are not, any more than the child himself, the *property* of his parent, and yet the parent has an action in case of his being wrongfully deprived of the child's services. A man's reputation is not any species of property, an article of merchandise, a chattel, any kind of goods or effects, by the common law, and yet he has an action for damages against one who libels or slanders him. If we substitute the word

* 4 Burr. p. 2361. † 1 Blackstone's Reports, p. 338.

*right*, instead of *property*, we shall readily find, that every man has many abstract rights, which are recognised by the law, and which others cannot violate with impunity. Among these rights, an author or his assignee claims that of exclusively multiplying copies of his work. If the law is disposed to protect this right, what occasion is there for any of this metaphysical jargon about *property*, *substance*, *visible*, *palpable*, *impalpable*, *ideal*, *imaginary*, and the like, any more than in vindicating his right to his good name. It is a miserable libel upon the common law, or statute law, or any body of law, to say, that it is profoundly ignorant of whatever is not a direct object of all or some of the five senses. It is not the law, that refuses to recognise whatever is seen only by the mind's eye ; the fault is in the blind judge.

But, then, say the same champions of confiscation, the author, by publishing, abandons his right, or property, or privilege, or whatever he was possessed of, or invested with, before publication. By publication, says Mr. Yates, the author's sentiments, arrangement, and language, "are thrown into a state of universal communication." * "I insist," said Thurlow, "that every subscriber has a right to do what he pleases with the book he has subscribed for." † "Can he complain," says Mr. Justice Yates, "of losing the bird he has himself voluntarily let out ?" ‡ And yet the same judge says, "If the author had not published his work at all, but only lent it to a particular person, he might have enjoined that he should only peruse it ; because in that case the author's copy is his own, and the party to whom it is lent contracts to observe the condition of the loan. But when the author makes a general publication of his work, he throws it open to all mankind." § This is the *gist* of the argument, and a virtual admission of all that is claimed in behalf of copyright ; for if the author can *lend* on condition, why not *sell* on contract with the reader that he may read, abridge, criticize, and make extracts from his work, but shall not multiply copies ? The publisher may sell the paper, ink, and binding, with the right of reading or obliterating the printing, or writing, but not of making copies for sale. Now this is precisely what he does, when he publishes with notice of a claim of copyright. We cannot see but that the cases of loan and sale, in

* 1 Bl. Rep. 334. † 1 Bl. Rep. 407. ‡ Millar *v.* Taylor, 4 Burr. § 4 Burr. 2364.

this respect, are precisely parallel. And if they are so, and Mr. Justice Yates is right in his position about the lent manuscript, this ends the argument, as far as this ground is concerned ; and it is, in fact, the main one, and substantially the only one on which the invaders justify themselves. The rest is, for the most part, but spongy declamation, or quibbling metaphysics.

In the discussion in the House of Lords, Lord Kames said, such a right "would be a monopoly more destructive to learning, and even to authors, than a second irruption of the Goths and Vandals." "Monopoly"! as if it were an odious *monopoly*, that a man should have the fruits of his own labor. This is upon a par with the repeal of copyright by the French National Convention, because it had been recognised by law under the description of *privilége*, and so was classed with the privileges of the nobility. What was society instituted for, but to give every man a monopoly of what is his own by the law of nature, and secure it against the rapine of Goths, Vandals, and pirates ? As to such a privilege, or rather the concession of such a right, being destructive to authors themselves, the suggestion is too absurd to be seriously answered. It is very true, that publishers would be more benefited than authors themselves. This, however, is a matter of contract between them ; and though we may regret, that Milton received but fifteen pounds for the copyright of "Paradise Lost," which yielded his publishers as many hundreds or thousands no doubt, yet he had no reason to complain, any more than any other person who has made a bad bargain. But how Lord Kames could persuade himself, if he did so persuade himself, that perpetual copyright would be destructive to authors, cannot easily be divined. As to the destruction, which would ensue to the public by reason of an author or his assignee having the fruit of his labor, it is by no means to be so greatly dreaded, as that likely to follow from the monopoly, which an agriculturist has of the corn, or a grazier of the meat, which he produces on his own farm by his own labor. It would have been much more plausible, had his Lordship proposed the pillage of the farmers, lest we should be starved to death; for their productions we must have, whereas we really can exist without those of the author, however excellent they may be ; and if, instead of scattering them at large by a sale, at a reasonable

price, he chooses to limit their circulation by a high price, or to absolutely suppress them, he will starve nobody but himself.

But how ridiculous to talk of destruction to the public from the exercise of a right, which was conceded in England for two centuries and a half after the invention of printing, with entire harmlessness? It is evident, that all the destruction, which could accrue from a perpetual copyright, will necessarily ensue from a limited one, which the Goths and Vandals do not object to; for it never has happened, in all the copyrights ever granted, that the public were not supplied with copies in sufficient number, at reasonable prices. The publishers have suffered from surplus copies infinitely more, than the public for want of them. But, if there is danger that some authors may turn dogs in the manger, this is no reason for disfranchising the whole species. The true remedy is, to take their copyright for the public use, and allow them a reasonable compensation, as we take a proprietor's land for a public highway. It is quite a new principle in legislation, to take away the plain and essential rights of a whole class, lest some of that class might, by possibility, injure themselves, for the singular satisfaction of withholding a benefit from the public. If a man should write a book for the public, and, finding the public wanted it, should thereupon withhold it, he would be a suitable subject for guardianship, so that the law already provides against the catastrophe foreseen by this wise legislator.

We have gone over the leading arguments, as far as the question of perpetual copyright has appeared in British jurisprudence, and have only to notice one objection more, which was offered in the British House of Commons, in the discussion of Mr. Talfourd's bill for the extension of copyright, at the last session of Parliament. There is, it seems, in London, an enterprising bookseller, (or book-buyer, we ought, perhaps, rather to say,) by the name of Tegg, who purchases up all the dead stock to be found in the warehouses of the London publishers. A certain member of Parliament, by the name of Taylor, if our memory is not at fault as to the name, made a speech on that occasion, intended, as we understood it, as republished in some of our newspapers, to be against Mr. Talfourd's proposed bill. To show, — demonstrate, we should say, — that the bill should not pass, he enumerated the cartloads upon cartloads of unsalable editions,

that had been bought up by Tegg, and carted to his premises, to the great profit of the carriers, and the great grief of the authors and publishers, where trunkmakers and readers can be supplied with a pile of books of the size of a haycock, for a song ; whereupon, the said Mr. Taylor seems to have drawn the extremely natural and quite necessary conclusion, that Mr. Talfourd's bill ought not to pass. The logic stands thus, we suppose, — for we are not sure that we fathom it ; — With the present limited copyright, one half of the books go to Tegg's limbo ; therefore, under an extended copyright, they would all go thither ; and thereupon would ensue the destruction to learning and learned men predicted by Lord Kames ; the publisher would be blown into the same region, and readers cease upon the earth ; while Mr. Tegg, and pastry cooks and trunkmakers, would thrive and grow fat. Or the ratiocination may be thus ; A great part of the books published are worth nothing, an utter loss to both author and publisher ; therefore the public ought to plunder the proprietors of those which are worth something. In short, the argument has divers phases, and proves one thing just as well as another. Whether it convinced the House of Commons does not appear, as no vote was taken, the subject having been laid over to the next session ; when we shall learn, perhaps, on the renewal of the discussion, what the number of loads of dead book-stock, carted to Tegg's, has to do with the extension of copyright, more than the loads of other dead stock carried to the provision market.

Our subject is international copyright ; and, in order to present a view of it, we have thus gone over that of copyright to domestic authors ; because the reasons bearing upon the one are, for the most part, applicable to the other. If one had any doubt, that an author, no less than others, has the *right* to demand of society the protection of the fruits of his labor from theft and piracy, he would be convinced of it, by looking at the shallow and dishonest reasons urged against it. We venture to say, that the investigation of the question will lead every fair mind to the conclusion to which Mr. Verplanck and the other members of the committee of Congress came, in their report on the copyright law of 1831. They say ; " Upon the first principles of proprietorship, an author has an exclusive and perpetual right, in preference to any other, to the fruits of his labor. Though the nature of liter-

ary property is peculiar, it is not the less real and valuable. If labor, in producing what was not before known, will give title, then the literary man has title, perfect and absolute."

What ground of distinction, then, is there between a foreign and a domestic author? If the domestic author has "a title, perfect and absolute," to the profits of his labor, why not the foreign? It is only in the most barbarous and savage countries, that the inhabitants rob and plunder, indiscriminately, all foreigners, who come upon their shores. In all other countries, the persons and property and private rights of foreigners are, in time of peace at least, respected, and protected by law, and, to a great extent, even in time of war. It is true, we send out privateers in war time, to take all the private property of the enemy found at sea; but robbery of unarmed men is not then permitted by land. By what rule of natural or international law, then, are letters of marque and reprisal granted, against all foreign authors, in time of peace no less than in a time of war? If a foreigner brings into the country any material product of his labor, wherever produced, and whether he hail from the rising sun or the setting; whatever his nation, his color, or his product, we receive him hospitably, and extend protection to his person and his property. Why, then, if he brings an immaterial product, a literary work, shall we rob him? The true nature of literary property being once admitted, the right, we say the absolute *right*, of the foreigner to have it protected and guarantied to him follows of course. Among all the objections that we have seen stated to this, we have not met with a solitary one that deserves an answer. The objections are unanswerable, because there is nothing in them to answer.

Mr. Nicklin, for instance, in his little publication in opposition to the proposed law for international copyrights, seems to us to advance very little that needs a reply. He begins by professing a vehement desire for the extension of the period of copyright to American citizens, because, forsooth, he has a most tender solicitude for the rights of poor laborious authors. And whence this solicitude for American authors, when he very coolly recommends piracy upon foreign ones? Almost all the copyrights are in the hands of the publishers, and any extension of the time of those now in existence operates for their benefit; for the law of 1831 operates, and any other law framed for this purpose will operate, in favor of

the proprietor of the existing copyright, whoever he may be ; since it is not easy, and it is doubtful whether it would be right, to give such a law a different effect. Hence the great solicitude of *the trade* for a more adequate protection of *domestic* literary property. But in regard to poor foreign authors, the case is quite different. None of the literary property created by them is possessed by our publishers, who, therefore, demur ; and their love of letters, and concern for the rights of authors, abate and die away amazingly in respect to such authors. Accordingly, Mr. Nicklin, in his book, goes into a computation of the number of persons, paper-makers, printers, book-binders, publishers, &c., some thousands, who derive their support from the republication, in this country, of the works of foreign writers, all of whom must, as we understand Mr. Nicklin to insinuate, lose their bread, if a law shall pass granting copyright to foreigners. It is really unfortunate, if we have some thousands of worthy and industrious citizens, whose living depends upon the sacrifice of the just right of alien authors to the fruits of their own labor, by the sale of its productions in our market. But this does not happen to be the case ; for the whole objection is removed by limiting the copyright to works, of which only copies published in this country are put into circulation. Justice may thus be done to foreign authors, without depriving our own citizens of their employments. Or it may be required, that copies printed in the United States, shall be kept on sale at reasonable prices, sufficient to supply the demand, and a high duty imposed on imported copies of the same works. Any measure should be adopted, rather than to deprive authors of the profits of their labors.

Perhaps it would be said, that the foreign proprietors will put too high a price upon their copyright. This objection applies to copyrights to our own citizens with the same force as to those to aliens. Experience demonstrates, that a reasonable price is most for the profit of the proprietor, in either case. But of this let the proprietor judge for himself. Men have the privilege of fixing an extravagant price upon the cotton, tobacco, or flour, which they produce, and thus injuring themselves by their own cupidity ; and why not indulge authors with the same privilege ? But if there is any great danger, that the public may be deprived of the benefit of the works of authors from this cause, this would be a reason,

not for depriving them of a privilege to which they are entitled, of common and natural right, but for regulating their use of it.

Why, it may be asked, if authors, both foreign and domestic, have so strong a claim to a very extended copyright, that would be equivalent, as far as they are themselves concerned, to a perpetual one, has it not been acknowledged in the legislation of civilized nations? To which it may be replied, that the right of domestic authors is acknowledged in its full extent in some civilized communities, as in Sweden and some of the German states, and to a very considerable extent in every one. Nor are we aware, that the rights of foreign authors are rejected in civilized communities generally. We have not been able to learn, that any distinction is made in England between an alien and a British subject in regard to the privilege of copyright. The statute of 8 Anne, makes no such distinction. The case of D'Almaine and Others, *versus* Boosy,* is an instance of a copyright taken out in England by an Englishman, for a musical composition of a French composer, resident in Paris; the English copyright having been taken out before the publication of the music in France. In the defence of an action for a piracy of the music, no objection was made on the ground of the author being a foreigner. We apprehend, that a foreigner may avail himself of an English copyright, though some specific provision on that subject might be an improvement in the British law.

Movements have been recently made on the same subject in Germany and France; but with what result, we have not learned, nor is this much to the purpose. Before our law of 1831, no country had ever thought of insisting on a reciprocity of tonnage duty on shipping, between itself and other countries. The United States then put forth a general law, for the reciprocal equalization of those duties with all countries, and the principal commercial nations have accepted the proposal. Here was a grand innovation in international legislation, which has swept away the causes of a multitude of vexations to trade, and irritations between nations. It had the effect of putting an end to the exasperating contests of commercial regulations, then going on between France and this country, which might have else led to a spirit of hostility.

* 1 Younge and Collyer, 288.

If the field were equally open on the subject of international copyright regulations, it would be equally honorable to the United States to take the lead, and propose a reciprocity of copyright privilege with every nation whatsoever, that would accept the proposal. We are late, it is true, having been in some degree anticipated in Great Britain, if not elsewhere; but still not too late to do our country great honor, in further securing to authors their just rights.

It may be made a question, whether we shall not be the losers by such a reciprocity. Admit that we shall be so; shall we deprive individuals of their just rights, by refusing to protect them by law, because we may gain an advantage by doing them a wrong? But how shall we suffer? It will not extinguish the light of science, and bring back the dark ages, if the readers of any foreign work hereafter written, that may be thought worth a copyright here, shall contribute something to the author, as well as to the paper-maker, printer, binder, and publisher, for the pleasure and instruction to be derived from his productions. It will certainly not be pretended, that the general progress of science and learning will be thereby retarded. Of recent modern books, a very large part now in general use, namely, those of our own authors, are subject to copyright. If such future works of foreign authors, as shall be deemed of sufficient importance to secure the privilege, shall be added to the list, the difference in expense, or in the diffusion of knowledge or amusement, will not be perceptible. There would be a certainty of economy in the expense of single copies of works very much read, by reason of the publishers' being able to put out very large editions, or to stereotype, which they cannot now do, because of the necessity of haste, in order to anticipate rival editions; and the larger the number any one establishment can print of a work, the cheaper it can be afforded, as everybody very well knows. But whether it would be so or not, let us honestly pay the author something for his part, — no mean part it must be confessed, — of the labor and expense of supplying us with entertainment and knowledge. He doubtless has strong claims upon us in equity, and in law too, if law and right are synonymous; nor is it apparent how it is less discreditable to supply ourselves with books at his expense, than for an insolvent customer to supply himself with coats at the expense of his tailor.

But the publishing class, the *trade*, would they lose? It seems that some of them suppose that they should; at least so we infer from their anxiety concerning the loss and damage to the printers, binders, &c. But we really do not see how they would be the losers by the proposed law. Do the publishers now lose by publishing copyright books? We presume not, in general; for in such case it would be great folly to publish so many; and we cannot see how they would be more likely to be sufferers by publishing the books of foreigners, on contract with the proprietors of the copyright, than by publishing those of American citizens under such a contract. Not that it is at all necessary to prove, that they would not suffer by the proposed law, in order to justify it; for here, as elsewhere, throughout the whole argument, we steadily enter our protest against the dishonesty of gaining by injury to others. For if, by doing justice to foreign authors in allowing to them the fair fruits of their labors, any class of our citizens should be deprived of reaping where they had not sown, it would be no good reason against the law. But we really do not see how it can be made out, that they would suffer any damage. And we are very glad to come to this result; for the publishers are a very important and useful class in the community, and the whole public is in fact interested in their prosperity, no less than in that of the other classes; and upright, honorable dealing, in this as in most other cases, works advantageously for all parties. The fact is, that a very large proportion of the American copyrights to foreigners will fall into the hands of American publishers, as do those now granted to Americans; and there is no special reason for supposing, that they would not bargain as sagaciously for the former as the latter.

ART. VII. — *A Dissertation on the Nature and Character of the Chinese System of Writing; in a Letter to John Vaughan, Esq.* By PETER S. DU PONCEAU, LL. D., President of the American Philosophical Society, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and of the Athenæum of Philadelphia; Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, &c. &c. *To which are subjoined a Vocabulary of the Cochinchinese Language*, by Father JOSEPH MORRONE, R. C. Missionary at Saigon; *with References to Plates containing the Characters belonging to each Word, and with Notes showing the degree of Affinity existing between the Chinese and Cochinchinese Languages, and the Use they respectively make of their Common System of Writing*, by M. DE LA PALUN, late Consul of France at Richmond in Virginia; *and a Cochinchinese and Latin Dictionary, in Use among the R. C. Missions in Cochinchina.* Published by Order of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia. 1838. 8vo. pp. xxxii. and 375.

THIS is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable publications of the present day. The able author, — the veteran philologist of America, — was the first writer, who gave to the learned world just views of the extraordinary structure and peculiarities of the aboriginal languages of this continent; views, which were originally opened in his interesting "Correspondence" with the late Reverend Mr. Heckewelder, and in his "Report to the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia" (between the years 1816 and 1819), and which have been more fully developed in the various publications made by him since that period. The last of these is yet hardly known in the United States, in consequence of its being written in the French language, conformably to a rule of the Institute of France, to which body it was offered as a competitor for the prize established by Count Volney for the advancement of Comparative Philology, or, as it is sometimes technically called, *the Science of Linguistics.* The title of it is, "Mémoire sur le Système Grammatical des Langues de quelques Nations Indiennes de l'Amérique du Nord." It deserves the more particular notice, as it is the latest work of Mr. Du Ponceau on that subject, and is

the first instance, within our knowledge, in which an American author has had the distinction of obtaining one of the prizes, offered by the French Institute, for the best essay on any of the literary questions proposed by that learned body. In the present case, the Institute not only did the author the honor to award to him the well-merited prize, but conferred on him the additional distinction of subscribing for a part of the edition, as "a mark of the particular satisfaction," which his profound and learned work had afforded them.*

We have adverted to that work for the purpose of drawing the attention of our readers to the extended and philosophical views, which Mr. Du Ponceau is accustomed to take of the subjects that come under his investigation. Some of the native dialects of America, it is true, had been before observed to abound with highly compounded words; and our venerable "apostle Eliot," in speaking of the Massachusetts Indians and their language, after giving an example of their long words, says, in the quaint style of his age;

> "It seems their desires are slow but strong,
> Because they be utter'd *double-breath't* and *long*." †

Mr. Du Ponceau, however, was the first writer who took a comprehensive view of the languages of the whole continent, and established the general conclusion, that the American dialects, from one extremity of the continent to the other (with perhaps some exceptions), form a distinct class, or family; which, from their highly compounded character, he has happily designated by the term *polysynthetic*.

Now these complex American dialects are at one extremity of the series, or chain, of human languages; while at the other we find the very simple and inartificial language of China; these two extremes, when contrasted with each other, presenting this extraordinary phenomenon, that the savage tribes of the New World, though destitute of all

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* The Committee of the Institute at that time (1834) consisted of MM. Destut de Tracy, Raynouard (president), Jay, Eugène Burnouf (secretary), Amédée Jaubert, Reinaud, Flourens. M. de Tracy and M. Raynouard were afterwards succeeded by M. A. Dupin, and M. Feletz; M. Amédée Jaubert being president. The prize question proposed was; "To determine the grammatical character of the Languages of North America, known under the names of the Lenni-Lenapè, Mohegan, and Chippeway." Mr. Du Ponceau's Mémoire was published at Paris, 1838, in 8vo. pp. 464.

† Eliot's "Massachusetts Indian Grammar," in *Mass. Hist. Collections*, Vol. IX. Second Series, p. 243.

literature and even of *written* languages, are found to be in possession of highly complex and artificial forms of speech, — which would seem to be the result of cultivation, — while in the Old World, the ingenious Chinese, who were civilized and had a national literature even before the glorious days of Greece and Rome, have for four thousand years had an extremely simple, not to say rude and inartificial language, that, according to the common theories, seems to be the infancy of human speech. This phenomenon well deserves the consideration of the philosophical inquirer, and especially of those speculatists, who have assumed a certain necessary connexion between what is considered the refined or artificial state of a language, and the cultivation of the human race ; but it is not our purpose to enter upon an examination of this great question on the present occasion.

Our learned author having, as we remarked, thus investigated the structure of the complex Indian dialects of America, now goes to the other continent, to the

> "plains
> Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
> With wind and sail their cany wagons light," *

and proceeds to examine the true nature and character of the *monosyllabic language of China ;* which, as we have just observed, forms the other extreme of the chain of languages. And, as a general remark, we may here add, with confidence, that the present able work will reflect as much honor upon the author and his country, as his various publications on the American languages have done ; while in Europe it will attract the greater attention, from the circumstance, that the subject itself is more interesting to the learned in that quarter of the world, and that Mr. Du Ponceau has been the first to maintain views of the real nature of the Chinese language directly in opposition to the opinions hitherto entertained by the scholars of Europe. For these reasons, and especially as the reputation of our literature has an interest in the case, we shall devote more space to the subject than under ordinary circumstances we should be willing to do. But, though the discussion may lead to some minute particulars, we have no fears that the subject itself will not possess interest enough to induce readers of all classes to

* Milton's *Paradise Lost,* Book III. 438.

follow us ; not merely professed scholars, but all those persons also, who are ambitious of such a portion of general knowledge upon different subjects, as belongs to what Milton calls a "generous education."

In order, however, to make the discussion more readily intelligible to those readers who may not have directed their attention to the points which have been in controversy among philologists, it will be necessary to give a short account of the study of the Chinese language as hitherto pursued in Europe, particularly in Great Britain and France.

A leading British review several years ago observed, that it was "rather remarkable," that, "notwithstanding the great commercial intercourse which England had maintained with China for more than a century," the *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, or *Penal Code* of China, translated by Sir George Staunton in the year 1810, should have been "the first work ever rendered out of that language (Chinese) directly into our own."* The same journal, on another occasion, asked with some emphasis ; "Why has it not been made a point to have Englishmen acquainted with the language of China ? It has been learned by Portuguese, by Italians, by Frenchmen. . . . . The nation, which above all others maintains the greatest intercourse with China ; the nation, which above all has the greatest interest dependent on that intercourse ; the nation, which has had so many of her sons living for so many years on Chinese ground, was under the necessity *of going to Naples for an interpreter, when she thought of sending an embassy to China.*" (!) †

The truth is, however unpalatable a truth it may be, — and we advert to it, not in that taunting spirit which is so often displayed in certain transatlantic journals, but with regret, — the truth is, we say, that the state of Chinese studies in Great Britain, for a long time, and even to our own day, has been comparatively low. A striking illustration of this state of things will be found in the extraordinary and scarcely credible, though well authenticated anecdote of that accomplished scholar, Sir William Jones, (of whom no man can speak but with admiration and reverence,) who is supposed to have translated some Chinese odes, and yet has inserted in his own handwriting, as it is said, on one of the

* *Edinb. Review*, Vol. XVI. p. 477. † *Ibid.* Vol. XIV. pp. 412, 413.

blank pages of a Chinese manuscript *Dictionary*, presented to the Royal Society, a remark to this effect, — that, if the letters *A* and *B* can be supplied, the work will be inestimable.(!) The defect, as has been observed, was in his knowledge, and not in the dictionary ; for the Chinese have no word which, properly speaking, can be said to begin with the vocal *A*, nor does the power of *B*, as all Chinese scholars know, enter into their language. The same distinguished scholar frankly avows, that "it is to our French neighbours we are indebted for almost every effort, that has been made to elucidate the language and literature of China."

The well-known traveller, Mr. Barrow, who accompanied the English embassy of Lord Macartney to China, became sensible of the general ignorance of the language and literature of China, which at that time prevailed in England. "In Great Britain," says he, "we have known still less of the Chinese language and Chinese literature than on the continent;" and he relates the following amusing anecdote in relation to this subject.

"It is not many years ago, that one of the small copper coins of China, stamped in the reign and with the name of the late *Tchien-lung* (or, as he is usually called in the southern dialect of China, *Kien-long*), was picked up in a bog in Ireland, and, being considered as a great curiosity, was carried to an indefatigable antiquary, whose researches have been of considerable use in investigating the ancient history and language of that island. Not knowing the Chinese character nor their coin, it was natural enough for him to compare them with some language with which he was acquainted ; and the conclusion he drew was, that the four characters on the face [the emperor's name and the value of the coin] were ancient Syriac ; and that the reverse [which are Mantchoo letters] appeared to be astronomical or talismanic characters, of which he could give no explanation [!]" *

Another British writer, the Reverend W. Milne, who was among the first missionaries sent from England to China, states, that when the mission was first suggested (in 1807),—

"There were no helps in English to assist in the acquisition of the Chinese language. England knew and cared little about China beyond its commerce. . . . . Some even doubted the practicability of acquiring the language to any available

* Barrow's *Travels in China*, p. 258, 4to ed.

degree. . . . . At that time there was *but one British subject* [Sir George Thomas Staunton] who could be said to know the Chinese language ; and he was not then residing in the British dominions."*

It should be remarked, that Catholic missionaries, from France, Italy, and Portugal, had then been in China for about two hundred and forty years ; they had transmitted to Europe, as Mr. Milne candidly states, accounts of every thing that seemed most interesting ; and those countries were "far before our own" in the knowledge of China.†

The apology made for this ignorance, is at once amusing and instructive. The respectable author just quoted says, with much *naïveté* and candor ;

"There were two particular causes for the degree of ignorance in Britain relative to China. One was, the accounts which had been transmitted to Europe by the Catholic missionaries were all published in foreign languages [!], and often in the expensive and unwieldy size of quartos and folios. [!] Some of the missionaries were themselves verbose in the extreme ; and many of their manuscripts had fallen into the hands of diffuse and wordy French writers, who swelled them to an enormous bulk, . . . . . and it required *a considerable knowledge of the French tongue*, and an uncommon degree of leisure, patience, and fortitude, to encounter the fifteen quarto volumes of the *Mémoires*, or to wade through the twenty-six volumes, duodecimo, of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, which also contain detached pieces of information concerning China [!]"‡

Another reason assigned for the prevailing ignorance was, that those who did take the trouble to read the accounts given of China by the Catholic writers, *would not believe them.* Who would have supposed, for example, that the calm and philosophic Adam Smith, in speaking of the accounts of the Chinese roads, canals, and other public works, would have indulged himself in the following coarse language ; which subsequent accounts of China have proved to be unjustifiable ;

"'The accounts of those works, however, which have been transmitted to Europe, have generally been drawn up by weak and wondering travellers ; frequently, by *stupid* and *lying* missionaries. If they had been examined by more intelligent eyes, and if the accounts of them had been reported by *more*

* *Retrospect of the first Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*, &c., by William Milne, (Malacca, 1820,) p. 43.
† *Ibid.* p. 44. ‡ *Ibid.* pp. 45, 46.

*faithful* witnesses, they would not, perhaps, appear to be so wonderful.'*

Yet these accounts of "weak and wondering travellers," and of "stupid and lying missionaries," to which, however, Smith's work is much indebted, are now found to be quite as trustworthy as the accounts we have of most other parts of the globe. So true is the reflection of Sir William Jones, that "we all love to excuse or to conceal our ignorance, and are seldom willing to allow any excellence beyond the limits of our own attainments; like the savages, who thought that the sun rose and set for them alone, and could not imagine that the waves, which surrounded their island, left coral and pearls upon any other shore." †

It is true, indeed, that a considerable time has elapsed since the period just mentioned; and a few individuals have, in the interval, made respectable contributions to the very meagre and scanty common stock of that day. But what advances must we infer to have been made in Chinese studies in England since that time, when we find a leading Review of that country, so lately as July last, gravely appealing to that literary fanatic, De Pauw, and that disgraced literary charlatan, Dr. Hager, as *authorities* on the subject of the Chinese language! ‡ two individuals, who, as writers on this subject, hardly stand high enough to draw upon themselves even the contempt of the continental philologists of the present day. We had really supposed, that the unintelligible Chinese lucubrations of the latter, and his senseless reveries on the Babylonian bricks, had consigned the sheets of his books to other uses than that of serving for authorities even to a hasty reviewer, — *raptus in culinam, vel thuris piperisque cucullus.*

The accomplished English scholar, to whom we have before referred, when lamenting the neglect of the Persian language by his countrymen, observes, with equal elegance and truth, and in terms alike applicable to their neglect of the Chinese, that

"Some men never heard of the Asiatic writings, and others

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* Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Book V. Chap. 1, Part 3, Vol. III. p. 104, edit. 1822.

† *Persian Grammar*, Preface, p. 1.

‡ *Foreign Quart. Rev.* for July, 1838. De Pauw is well known to scholars, of all countries; and the philologists of the Continent will inform this English reviewer of the true character and value of Hager's speculations.

will not be convinced that there is any thing valuable in them; some detest the Persians, because they believe in Mahomet, and others *despise their language because they do not understand it*; . . . . . and they would, perhaps, have persisted in despising it, if they had not been animated by the most powerful incentive, that can influence the mind of man, — interest was the magic wand, which brought them all within one circle; interest was the charm, which gave the languages of the East a real and solid importance."*

But if this "powerful incentive" has produced the effect here ascribed to it in the case of the Persian and East Indian languages, yet even this interest, which is not the most honorable national stimulus, has produced but little effect in advancing the study of the Chinese language and literature. What may be the fruits of the lately established Oriental College in Hertford, we have not yet the means of judging; we hope for the best. At present, however, it is a truth, that Chinese studies in England have for some time appeared to be in a languid state, though the past reputation of the national school has been a little elevated by the desultory efforts of a few pious and devoted individuals connected with the missionary establishments; there has been, as Burke once said of a more important subject, a little rippling in that smooth water, which indicates something alive under it.

In France, on the contrary, to say nothing of Germany, — in France, we say, where a stimulus of a higher character than the poor incentive of "interest" has been the moving cause, Chinese studies have advanced within the last thirty years beyond all reasonable anticipation. The names of Rémusat, Klaproth, and others among the dead, and a bright constellation among the living, have, with the patronage of the government, given an impulse, which has enabled France to outstrip her great rival in this branch of knowledge. France was long ago wise enough to see the advantage resulting to her national reputation from the establishment of professorships of Chinese as well as of other languages; and, as a late sensible English writer justly observes, in peculiarly guarded terms, "that nothing of the kind should as yet (1836) have existed in England, is *remarkable*."† Indeed,

* Jones's *Persian Grammar*, Preface.

† *The Chinese;* by John F. Davis, Esquire, Vol. II. p. 144; published in the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," London, 1836.

we think it would not be hazarding much, to affirm, that at this moment, a student would be able, in a given time, to acquire a more thorough and exact knowledge of the Chinese language and literature in the Asiatic school at Paris, than he would, even in the city of Canton itself, with the ordinary means which he would there be able to command. We would not be so absurd as to assert, that he would be better able to *converse* in the language, than he would by daily intercourse with natives of the country; but that he would find more aids, adapted to Europeans, for understanding the true nature and character of the language and literature, than he would in any other country.

This state of things is the more "remarkable," as, in addition to the inducements and facilities afforded by the commercial intercourse of England, the Chinese language has a nearer resemblance to our own than to the French, in one of its striking features, the absence of all inflections in the principal parts of speech; so that it is proportionably more easy of acquisition to Englishmen than to Frenchmen. But we must proceed to the work before us.

It is justly observed by Mr. Du Ponceau, that,

"When, in the last century, the Chinese language, through the writings of the Catholic missionaries, became known to the learned of Europe, great astonishment was excited by its simple, ungrammatical structure, by its complicated graphic system, and by the small number of its monosyllables compared with the immense quantity of the characters employed in writing. Every new and extraordinary object must, with the mass of mankind, be a *monster* or a *miracle;* the latter was preferred. Admiration succeeded surprise, and then imagination did its work. The Chinese writing was called *hieroglyphic*, *ideographic*, and said to represent *ideas* entirely independent of *speech*. It was almost exclusively considered as *the* language; and the spoken words were called its *pronunciation*, as if they were only a secondary mode of communicating ideas, and dependent upon the ocular method. At last it was said, that the Chinese *characters* were read and understood, as in China, by nations entirely ignorant of the *spoken* idiom. In short, those visible signs were held up by enthusiasts as a model for an universal language, which should reach the mind through the eyes, without the aid of articulate sounds. These enthusiastic opinions were introduced into Europe by the Catholic missionaries, about the middle of the last century. Those venerable men imbibed them from the Chinese literati, whose national

vanity is without bounds. They were received as sacred oracles, and spread rapidly among the learned, who, like other men, are apt to be smitten with the wonderful. Even in this enlightened age these opinions are yet supported, to a greater or lesser extent, by men whose judgment in other matters is entitled to the respect of all." — *Dissertation*, p. 7.

The learned author adds, that he might quote, to this point, numberless passages from the writings of the early missionaries, showing the wild ideas which they entertained of the Chinese writing; but he contents himself with citing one example only, which is from Father *Cibot*, who wrote from Pekin, under the assumed name of Father *Ko*, a Chinese Jesuit. That author says, the Chinese characters are composed of symbols and images, which are *unconnected with any sound*, and may be *read in all languages* (!) They form a kind of intellectual, algebraical, metaphysical, and ideal painting, which expresses thoughts, and represents them by analogy, by relation, by convention, &c.*

The history of this prevalent opinion is so remarkable, and so instructive, — by showing us with what servility succeeding writers adopt, without examination, the theories and even vagaries of their predecessors, — that we shall ask the reader's attention to it for a few moments.

The accounts of the Catholic missionaries, to which Mr. Du Ponceau refers, are in substance embodied in the great work entitled "Description Géographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise," by the Jesuit Du Halde; which was diligently compiled from the original "Relations" of the Catholic Missionaries residing in China, and is, notwithstanding its imperfections, the best systematic account of that extraordinary and almost inaccessible people. We are indebted to France also for this work; and, as Mr. Davis observes, in his clever publication before cited, "it is singular, that no general and systematic work on China has ever yet been produced in this country (England). . . . . Père Du Halde's compilation has still remained the only methodized source of information on the subject." †

Now, in respect to the Chinese language, Du Halde, following the enthusiastic accounts of the early missionaries, makes the following remarks;

* *Mém. concernant les Chinois*, Vol. I. p. 22. † Vol. I. Introduction, p. 1.

"The language of China has nothing in common with the dead or living languages, with which we are acquainted. All other languages have an alphabet of a certain number of letters, which by their different combinations form syllables and words; it has as many characters and different figures, as there are words. . . . . The Chinese have two kinds of language; the one, vulgar and in use among the people, which differs in different provinces; the other, which they call the Mandarin language, is very nearly what the Latin is, among us, for ecclesiastics and learned men."

The author then adds the following observations, having relation to the question which is the subject of Mr. Du Ponceau's work;

"The *characters* of *Cochin-China*, *Tonquin*, and *Japan*, are the same with those of *China*, and signify the same things; these nations, however, in speaking, do not utter themselves in the same manner; so that, although the languages are very different, and cannot be mutually understood when *spoken*, yet these nations understand each other very well by *writing*, and all their books are common [!] These characters, in this particular, are like the numerals in arithmetic; various nations make use of them, but give them different names; yet they everywhere signify the same thing."*

This account of the Chinese characters has been adopted, in substance, and apparently without examination, by subsequent writers of all nations. Even Warburton, — whose extraordinary sagacity first penetrated the mysteries of Egyptian hieroglyphics, nearly a century before Champollion pronounced them to be *phonetic*, — even this acute and vigorous thinker adopted the current opinion of the Chinese characters.† But it must be admitted, at the same time, that this was rather a collateral part of his argument on the subject of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and consequently did not call for the same concentrated attention, which he gave to his main subject.

Among the later works, the well-known "Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China" adopts the opinion

* Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, Tom. II. pp. 268–270, 4to. edit. 1736.

† Warburton's *Essay on the Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, (extracted from his "Divine Legation of Moses,") translated into French, and published in 2 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1744.

stated by Du Halde, and compares the Chinese characters to the Arabic numerals, and the written notes in music, which "are uniform and intelligible throughout Europe, notwithstanding the variety of languages." The intelligent traveller, Mr. Barrow, who was private secretary to Lord Macartney on that embassy, entertained, as we should naturally expect, the same opinion. He says;

"It [the Chinese language] may, however, be considered as the nearest approximation to an universal character that has hitherto been attempted by the learned and ingenious of any nation; each character conveying at once to the eye, not only simple, but the most combined ideas. The plan of our countryman, Bishop Wilkins, for establishing an universal character, is in all respects so similar to that upon which the Chinese language is constructed, that a reference to the former will be found to convey a very competent idea of the nature of the latter. The universal character of our countryman is, however, more systematic and more philosophical than the plan of the Chinese character."

Mr. Barrow afterwards adds the following remarks;

"The sounds and various inflections, incidental to languages in general, are not necessary to be attended to in the study of the Chinese characters. They speak equally strong to a person who is deaf and dumb, as the most copious language could do to one in the full enjoyment of all his senses. It is a language addressed *entirely to the eye*, and not to the ear. Just as a piece of music laid before several persons of different nations of Europe would be played by each in the same key, the same measure, and the same air; so would the Chinese characters be equally understood by the natives of Japan, Tonquin, and Cochin-China; yet each would give them different names or sounds, that would be wholly unintelligible to one another. When on the present voyage we stopped at Pulo-Condore, the inhabitants, being Cochin-Chinese, had no difficulty in corresponding by writing with our Chinese interpreters, though they could not interchange one intelligible word."*

Malte-Brun, to whom we refer not as a very high authority in a question of philology, but because his popular work on geography is in common use, goes even beyond his predecessors, and discovers a deep state policy of the Chinese

* Barrow's *Travels in China*, pp. 250, 256, 4to edit.

government in compelling the people to adhere to their mother tongue! His words are;

"But the great secret of Chinese policy, and the very basis of the empire, is to be found in an institution which in some measure deprives the inhabitants of the power of forming new thoughts by depriving them of the liberty of expressing them by means of external characters corresponding to the words of their language. Such is the effect of the Chinese mode of writing. It has been compared, though not with much propriety, to the hieroglyphical or figured language of the Egyptians. It can only be compared to those systems of *pasigraphy* or universal character, by which some wrong-headed persons in Europe have brought upon themselves universal ridicule."*

After such opinions it is not very surprising, that a leading British review should have ventured to make such extraordinary statements, and in such a contemptuous tone, as the following;

"The written and spoken language of China, our readers are probably aware, have *no sort of connexion* or relation to each other. Their visible characters represent *things* or *ideas* directly, without any reference to the *sounds* by which the same things may sometimes be expressed. Nay, they represent many things which the Chinese, at least, cannot express by sounds at all. It is a *real* character, in short, which *has nothing to do with words*, and might have been invented by a race of beings who were destitute of the faculty of speaking. . . . . The fact, however, appears to be quite undeniable, that they have gone on for many thousand years *pittering* to each other in a jargon which resembles the chuckling of poultry more than the language of men, and have never yet had the sense to put their monosyllables together into articulate words [!]"†

The latest English writer on China, Mr. Davis, to whose interesting volumes we have before referred, follows in the track of his predecessors in respect to the language of that country. He says;

"The language of China realizes to a great extent the theory of a universal medium for the communication of ideas, as conceived by Bishop Wilkins, and methodized by him into an

* Malte-Brun's *Geogr.* Book XLIV. Vol. I. p. 412, Amer. ed. in 4to.

† *Edinb. Review*, Vol. V. pp. 276, 280. "*Pittering*, making a low and shrillish noise: 'And when his *pittering* streames are low and thin.' *R. Greene, Engl. Parn.* 67. *repr.* Herrick applies it to the note of a grasshopper." — Nares's *Glossary.*

elaborate treatise which he presented to the Royal Society. While the letters of our alphabet are mere symbols of *sounds*, the Chinese characters or words, are symbols of *ideas*, and alike intelligible to the natives of Cochin-China, Japan, Loo-Choo, and Corea, with those of China itself."*

Such had been the state of opinions among the learned in Europe, for more than a century, as to the real constitution and genius of the Chinese language, when our learned author began to examine into the supposed mysteries of that dialect of human speech ; his views of which were first made public ten years ago, in his well-known letter addressed to the celebrated traveller, Captain Basil Hall (on the 7th of July, 1828), and now republished in the Appendix to the present volume. To this letter, as the first in historical order, relating to this subject, we shall now recur ; since it contains in a condensed form the substance of such information on this curious and interesting question as our limits will allow us to lay before the reader. Mr. Du Ponceau says ;

"I was at first astonished at the wonders, which are ascribed to this mode of *ocular* communication, which appeared to me to be greatly exaggerated ; and I determined to pursue the subject as far as my means would permit me. The result of my investigations does by no means agree with the opinion that is generally entertained. . . . . The general opinion which prevails, even among those who are the most proficient in the Chinese idiom, is, that the system or mode of writing which is in use in that country, and which they call the *written* in opposition to the *spoken* language, is an *ocular* method of communicating ideas, entirely independent of speech, and which, without the intervention of words, conveys ideas through the sense of vision directly to the mind. Hence it is called *ideographic*, in contradistinction from the *phonographic* or alphabetical system of writing. . . . . It requires not a little boldness to fly in the face of an opinion so generally received, and which has so many respectable authorities in its support, and none against it but those of reason and fair logical deductions from uncontroverted facts. As you have, however, in a manner challenged me to produce the proof of my assertions, I do not hesitate to do it, in the spirit of humility which becomes me, and submitting the whole to your candor and better judgment.

"This opinion has naturally led to that of the Chinese

* *The Chinese*, by J. F. Davis, Vol. II. p. 140.

*writing* being an universal written language, conveying ideas directly to the mind, and which might be read alike in every idiom upon earth, as our numerical figures and algebraic signs are. This idea has been carried so far, that some missionaries have wished, that the Chinese *written language*, as it is called, should be cultivated through the whole world ; for then the New Testament, being translated into Chinese, all nations might read it, without learning the spoken idiom, and on a mere inspection of the characters. And, as a proof that this might be done, it has been alleged, that the Japanese, Coreans, Cochin-Chinese, and other nations, could read Chinese books without knowing or understanding the oral language of China. But these are not the only wonderful systems to which this opinion has given rise.

"This writing having been formed, as is supposed, without any reference to, or connexion with, spoken language, a question might naturally arise, which of the two was first invented. Nobody, to be sure, has ventured to say, that writing existed before speech ; yet, if that proposition has not been directly advanced, I must say, that sinologists have come very near to it. For instance, they affect to call the monosyllabic words of the Chinese language the *pronunciation* of the characters ; which leads to the direct inference, that the *words* were made for the *signs*, and not these for the words. A justly celebrated French sinologist, M. Abel Rémusat, does not, indeed, believe that a language was invented to suit the written characters *after* they were formed ; but he supposes, that some then existing popular idiom was *adopted*, to serve as a *pronunciation* to the graphic signs.* One step more (and hardly that) and *written* characters must have been invented before men learned to speak." — pp. 105 – 108.

The learned author then states very briefly some of his reasons for calling in question the prevailing opinion, and for entertaining one directly contrary to it. But as his "Dissertation" exhibits these, and various new grounds of argument, in a more expanded form than was admissible in his "Letter," we shall consider them presently in our examination of that part of the present volume.

The letter to Captain Hall was published by that gentleman in an English scientific journal, ("Annals of Philosophy," for January, 1829,) and, from that circumstance, was not brought immediately under the notice of philologists and

"* *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Vol. II. p. 52."

others, whose pursuits were purely literary, and who would not resort to a journal of that class for information upon questions in literature. In China, however, Mr. Du Ponceau's opinions excited no little attention among the European residents; who, having by mere practice, and without any study of the principles of the language, become able to chatter fluently, on the affairs of their daily business, in the colloquial dialect of Canton, with a natural self-complacency looked contemptuously upon any individual out of the territory of the Celestial Empire, who should presume to entertain different opinions from themselves, upon the language of China, even though his opinions should be the result of great study and investigation.

Accordingly, in the "Canton Register" (of March 17th, 1830,) we find a notice of Mr. Du Ponceau, and his correspondent Captain Hall, in which the opinions of both are treated with as little ceremony as might be expected under such circumstances. Captain Hall had stated (in his "Travels,") the new views suggested by Mr. Du Ponceau, which struck him with much force; and remarked, that he had himself formerly published the opinion, "that in China, Japan, Corea, and Loo-Choo, though the *spoken* languages were different, the *written* character was common to them all; and consequently, that, when any two natives of the different countries met, though neither could *speak* a word of the others' language, they would readily interchange their thoughts by means of *written* symbols." But he became satisfied by Mr. Du Ponceau's arguments, that this was an error; he very candidly regretted, "that an error of this magnitude in the history of language, should still have currency"; and this regret on his part was the occasion of publishing Mr. Du Ponceau's Letter to him. The writer in the "Canton Register," however, who had on another occasion taken the gallant Captain to task, for his boldness of assertion in the presence of Bonaparte, now censures him for his want of boldness in the presence of Mr. Du Ponceau, and will not permit him to acknowledge, that he had committed any error in the case; but stoutly maintains, that his original assertion was correct; that is, that in China, Japan, Corea, and Loo-Choo, the Chinese *written* language is generally understood, by all who can be said to read and write; and that it is equally certain, that "when any two natives, who can *write* the Chinese charac-

ter, meet, though neither could *speak* a word of the other's language, they can readily interchange their thoughts by means of the Chinese *written symbols.*" The writer in the "Canton Register" adds, that, he has himself interchanged thoughts with Cochin-Chinese, Japanese, and Loo-Chooans, by means of the Chinese characters, although he could not understand one word they uttered, nor could they understand his speech. "Therefore, for all practical purposes, whether of religion, science, or commerce, it is difficult to see wherein Captain Hall's first assertion is erroneous." The writer then re-affirms his opinion, that the Chinese character *is* thus generally understood by five nations; and adds, in a peculiarly significant and courteous manner, towards Captain Hall and his learned correspondent, that, "seriously would it be to be regretted, that this fact should lose its hold on the mind of any Christian philanthropist, by the confessions of Captain Hall, before the President of the American Philosophical Society." *

We shall presently see, that, notwithstanding this writer has the advantage of residing on that little, confined spot of the Celestial Empire, which is allotted to foreign "barbarians," and where he ought to have obtained better information, yet he is altogether mistaken in his assertion, that the Chinese *written characters* are common, as a national system of writing, to the five nations mentioned by him. On the contrary, the fact is, that these characters are *not* common to the people of those nations in any other manner than the written words of the *French* language, for example, are common to the nations of Europe; that is, they are common to the people of those nations who have studied and learned to write them; just as among the *spoken* languages of North America, the Chippeway, for instance, is a *common* language of trade and other intercourse with various Indian tribes of totally different stocks; who from this circumstance, however, have been represented, by superficial and blundering travellers, as all speaking the same language, although their respective mother tongues are as unintelligible to each other, as Chinese is to an Englishman.

We shall presently consider this fact more at large; and

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* *Canton Register*, March 17th, 1830.

shall now proceed to the "Dissertation," and other parts of Mr. Du Ponceau's important volume.

After an *Introduction*, which contains a summary view of the main question, the learned author gives us an elaborate dissertation on the subject at large, in the form of a letter addressed to John Vaughan, Esquire, his respected friend and fellow member of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; a well-merited tribute to one, whose zeal and exertions in the cause of science and literature are well known.

It seems, that the circumstance which immediately led to the publication of the present volume was, the receipt of two manuscript Vocabularies of the Cochin-Chinese language, belonging to the valuable collection of that excellent establishment, the East India Marine Society, at Salem, in this State; to which association they had been presented by Lieutenant (now Captain) John White, an enterprising and intelligent officer of the American Navy; whose "Voyage to the China Sea" is well known to every reader, and who has, in the present instance, been the means of rendering an important service to the literature of his country, while he has set an example, which we hope will be followed by his brother officers, who may have the like opportunity of aiding the researches of their countrymen in the fields of literature or science. The history of the two manuscripts is thus given by Mr. Du Ponceau.

"A favorable circumstance brought these manuscripts into this country. In the year 1819, two vessels sailed from the port of Salem, in Massachusetts, on a commercial voyage to the China Seas, and touched at *Cochin-China*. They were, it is said, the first American ships that ascended the Don-nai river, and displayed the stars and stripes before the city of Saigon. On board of one of those vessels was Lieutenant White, of the United States Navy. During his stay in the capital, he became acquainted with Father Joseph Morrone, an Italian missionary, who made him a present of the above mentioned Vocabularies; the one in *Cochin-Chinese and French*, consisting of three hundred and thirty-three words, *with the appropriate characters prefixed* to each; the other, more voluminous, *Cochin-Chinese and Latin*, in the alphabetic form of a dictionary, but *without the characters*."— p. 4.

These two manuscripts are now published, on the suggestion and under the direction of Mr. Du Ponceau, by the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. The first, in two columns, (the

second column being a comparison of the Cochin-Chinese with the Chinese,) and in an English translation ; the other in its original state, *Cochin-Chinese and Latin.*

Mr. Du Ponceau justly estimates the importance of these manuscripts (which had been requested for publication in France), and observes, what we also believe to be the fact, that no similar work has yet been published in Asia or Europe.

"The languages of Tonquin and Cochin-China," as he remarks, "and, in general, the Ultra-Gangetic idioms, are very little known in Europe, and even in British India. The *Tonquinese* and *Cochin-Chinese* are sister languages to the Chinese, which they not only resemble in the derivation of their words, but in their monosyllabic character and grammatical structure ; and their *graphic* system is evidently borrowed from that of China. *A comparison of those languages*, therefore, as spoken, and written, is a subject of considerable interest." — pp. 1, 2.

With the aid of these two Vocabularies, Mr. Du Ponceau has accordingly made the comparison here mentioned ; and this comparison, with the investigations which he has made in consequence, has led him to the results stated in the following propositions ;

"1. That the *Chinese* system of *writing* is not, as has been supposed, *ideographic ;* that its characters do not represent *ideas*, but *words*, and therefore I have called it *lexigraphic.**

"2. That *ideographic* writing is a creature of the imagination, and cannot exist, but for very limited purposes, which do not entitle it to the name of *writing.*

"3. That, among men endowed with the gift of speech, all *writing* must be a direct representation of the *spoken language,* and cannot present ideas to the mind abstracted from it.

"4. That all writing, as far as we know, represents language in some of its elements, which are *words*, *syllables*, and *simple sounds.* In the first case it is *lexigraphic ;* in the second, *syllabic ;* and in the third, *alphabetical* or *elementary.*

"5. That the lexigraphic system of the Chinese cannot be applied to a polysyllabic language, having *inflections* and grammatical forms ; and that there is no example of its being so applied, unless partially or occasionally, or as a special, ellipti-

* In the Letter to Captain Hall (page 110), we observe Mr. Du Ponceau uses the word *logographic,* in describing the Chinese system.

cal, and enigmatical mode of communication, limited in its uses; but not as a general system of writing, intended for common use.*

"6. That it may be applied to a monosyllabic language, formed on the model of the Chinese; but that it will necessarily receive modifications and alterations which will produce material differences in the value and significations of the characters between different languages, however similar in their original structure; and therefore

"7. That nations, whose languages, like the Japanese, and (as it is said) the Loo-Chooan, are polysyllabic, and have inflections and grammatical forms, although they may employ Chinese characters in their alphabet, *cannot possibly understand Chinese books and manuscripts, unless they have learned the Chinese language;* and that if those nations, whose languages are monosyllabic, and who use the Chinese characters *lexigraphically*, can understand Chinese writings, without knowing the language, it can only be to a limited extent, which it is one of the objects of this publication to ascertain."—pp. xxxi., xxxii.

Mr. Du Ponceau adds, with that modesty which his adversaries and critics would do well to imitate;

"Although strongly impressed with the conviction of the truth of these propositions, it is nevertheless with great deference, that I submit them to the judgment of the learned."—p. xxxii.

From this statement of the results, it will be apparent, that the discussion involves a consideration of some of the highest questions in general philology; the examination of which would demand more space, than can be reasonably expected to be devoted to the subject in our pages. We shall, therefore, confine our remarks principally to the simple fact of the true nature of the *Chinese system of writing;* of which we are bound to say, in the outset, that we are inclined to agree with our learned author,—that it is not, as has been commonly supposed, *ideographic;* in other words, that the characters do not present to the mind *ideas* unconnected with *vocal sounds*, so as to make what is called an *ocular* language, of which words are only the *pronunciation;* and, consequently, (as Mr. Du Ponceau observes,) "a system of

"* In our alphabets we have single letters which represent *words;* as A, E, I, and O, in Latin; A and I, in English; E and O in Italian; U, in low Dutch; Y, in Spanish and French, &c. These are at the same time, *elementary, syllabic,* and *lexigraphic.*"

*pasigraphy*, to be read alike in all languages ; which absurd consequence appears now to be abandoned by philologists."

The argument in support of the *ideographic* nature of the Chinese characters has rested, first, upon the authority of travellers, missionaries, and others, who have visited China ; and, in the next place, upon the assumed fact, that these characters are read and understood by the Cochin-Chinese, Japanese, and other nations who speak various languages, and are ignorant of the language of China. Both of these grounds of argument terminate in the simple matter of fact, whether the different nations, alluded to, do understand the Chinese written language, without having ever studied it. We think our author has satisfactorily shown that they do not ; and we shall now submit his views to the reader, with such occasional remarks as have occurred to us in following him through his work.

The Chinese language is always described by philologists as a *monosyllabic* language ; each syllable is significant, and constitutes a *word*, as we usually denominate it. These words, or syllables, may be joined together in speaking, like our English words, *something*, *sometimes*, or they may be separated, as was formerly the fashion in writing and printing, into two words, or monosyllables ; as *some thing*, *some times*, &c. In the rapidity of speech there is no apparent difference in the utterance of these words, whether we analyze them into syllables or not ; and it is only by the typographical arrangement of the syllables, that we are aware of any difference, and call them monosyllables or polysyllables at pleasure. It is, therefore, as Mr. Du Ponceau observes, of no consequence, whether the Chinese language, *as spoken*, be called monosyllabic or polysyllabic ; but it is important to know, that every one of its syllables is a *word* ; and, as each character represents a syllable (which is called its *pronunciation*), it necessarily follows, that each character represents a *word*.*

In accordance with these views of Mr. Du Ponceau, we have often thought, that, so far as relates to *spoken* language, the people of all nations, Europeans as well as Chinese, utter themselves, not in single syllables, or words, as we usually call them, but in *sentences*, or *masses of vocal sounds*, each of which sentences or masses may, in a certain sense, be

* Page 19.

called *a word*, whether it consists of one syllable only or of many. Such is human speech by nature ; and the analyzing of each sentence, or mass, into single words, and each word into syllables, is an artificial process of the grammarians, who philosophize upon the constituent parts of human speech, as the anatomist does upon the component parts of the human body. This analysis, too, is often wholly insensible to the *ear*, and is not perceivable till the vocal sounds are reduced to writing ; then the eye takes cognizance of the analysis, and we make the separate syllables to be words, or parts of words, according to the taste or fancy (with some limitations) which happens to prevail in different ages. In our own language various changes in this respect have taken place within the last century ; and several words which are now written as compounds, were formerly written in their uncompounded state, each component syllable being treated as a distinct word. The words above mentioned, — *something*, *sometimes*, are familiar examples. Words of this class, according to the process which has generally taken place in our language, are at first united into a compound term by means of a hyphen ; by degrees the hyphen is omitted, the component syllables are brought into immediate union, and then constitute what we afterwards call a single word.

Now the effect upon the ear, as we have before intimated, is precisely the same, whether the component syllables of a word, or the component words of a phrase, are written separately or in the united form. For example ; the four monosyllabic words, which compose the familiar question, *How do you do?* fall upon the *ear* precisely like a single word of four syllables ; and the question might (for the ear) just as well be written in one word, *howdoyoudo*, as the monosyllables *yes*, and *no*, in answer to any question. In the same manner, so far as regards the ear, the well known monosyllabic line of Pope, —

"And ten low words oft creep in one dull line,"

might be written either in two or more portions, thus,

"Andtenlowwords oftcreep inonedullline,"

or even as one entire word of ten syllables, —

"Andtenlowwordsoftcreepinonedullline,"

which is but little longer than various words in our language, such as *incomprehensibility*, *incommensurability*, &c.

This point may be further illustrated by a comparison of the Chinese language itself with our own.

In Chinese (dialect of Canton), *tsam chung*, written as two monosyllabic words, signify a *silkworm*, which we, like the Chinese, might still write in two separate words, *silk worm*, as our fathers formerly did. In Ainsworth's Dictionary, it is so written; Johnson consolidated the two into one word; and our countryman, Dr. Webster, in his small Dictionary (1806), followed Johnson; but in his large Dictionary, we observe, he has changed his opinion, and divided it into two words, with a hyphen between them, *silk-worm*. Again; the Chinese names of the different kinds of tea, are each written in English, as one word (usually a dissyllable), though it is well known, that, to make the English word, we unite two distinct words of the original Chinese; as will be seen by the following examples, in which the word *chah* (still preserved in the Portuguese and Russian languages), is the generic term *tea*, and the accompanying syllables are the specific names:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sew | chung | chah, | Souchong tea, |
| Pek | how | chah, | Pekkoe tea, |
| Mow | ee | chah, | Bohea tea, |
| Sew | chu | chah, | Gunpowder tea; |

in which last example we might in our language have divided the word *gun powder*, and have kept the same number of *words* as in the Chinese. The word *gunpowder* itself is another illustration of this process of compounding and decompounding language. The Chinese, in Canton, call *gunpowder*, *fo yok* (*fire drug*, or *fire physic*), and write it in two separate parts or words; just as we anciently did in English, *gun powder*, and might still continue to do, if custom or caprice had not established a different mode. In Chinese, again, the two syllables *chah che* signify a *tea spoon*, and *chah seong*, a *tea chest*, both of which we still write in two separate words, like the Chinese.

On the other hand, when the Chinese adopt from us a word of more than one syllable, they analyze it into monosyllables, as the genius of their language requires; thus, of the English word *pudding*, they make what we call *two* words, and they write it *poo teen* 布顛 and not *pooteen*, in one, as they might do, so far as the ear is concerned, and in conformity with our rule. We fancy, by the way, that the reader will

be puzzled to find any thing in these characters *ideographic* of the substantial article of English cookery in question.

We will not pursue these illustrations any further, and will only add, that, as we speak in entire sentences or masses, according to the views above expressed, it would be natural, that, in committing the spoken language to writing, men should at first have written down the consecutive words of a sentence, without any separation, just as we now find them in the most ancient manuscripts.

Adopting, then, as we do, the reasoning of Mr. Du Ponceau, it is difficult for us to resist his conclusion; which is, that the Chinese *characters* are not unconnected with *sounds*, unless it should be contended (as he observes), that a syllable is not a *sound*. A syllable, indeed,

"may by analysis be reduced to more simple elements; but, though composed of those elements, it is still a reverberation of the human voice, produced at once, and in the same breath by the organs of speech. If, then, syllables are *sounds*, monosyllabic words are so likewise; and the *characters* which represent them, cannot be said *not to be connected* with them as such." p. 19.

But at this stage of the argument, we are met by an objection, that the number of characters in the Chinese language is not less than *thirty* thousand, on the lowest computation; and some state it as high as eighty thousand; while the (spoken) *words* do not exceed *two* thousand.

To this objection our author answers, — that the different *characters* are only so many different ways of spelling the same *word*; that a great many of the characters are out of use, and the whole number *actually employed* is very small. In proof of this, we may observe here, that, according to Sir George Staunton, the whole of the *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, or Penal Code of China, which he translated, contains only about two thousand characters.

But the difference, in point of numbers, between the written and spoken words, is not so great as is generally supposed. For, as our author further observes,

"In the first place, there are a great many *homophonous* words, which being pronounced alike, are, I presume, considered as one and the same pronunciation of different *characters*, and not so many different *words*, in relation to their sense. It is the same as if, in our own language, we should consider as one the words *fain*, *fane*, and *feign*, because pronounced alike, although they differ in meaning widely from each other.

"There is," he adds, "another mode of computation, which is directly the reverse of this. Because the monosyllables of the Chinese language are significant, they alone have been honored with the name of *words*, and their numerous compounds have been left out of view. I have said above, that those monosyllables might be compounded precisely as those of our own language, in *welcome*, *welfare*, &c.; and I may add here, that the greatest part of the Chinese idiom is formed of those *compounds*, which are separated only by the manner in which they are exhibited to the eye, when written. Thus in *our* dictionaries, *shoemaker* is found as a polysyllabic word; while *peartree* is not, but each of its component syllables must be looked for in its proper place, according to the alphabet. And yet it would seem that *peartree* is as much one word in English, as *shoemaker*, *shipwright*, and so many others. There are *English* words, which in *Chinese*, are expressed by *five* significant monosyllables. . . . . It is evident, that nothing is wanting but to give to the Chinese compounds the denomination of *words*, to make that language as rich, perhaps, as those whose composition is disguised by the foreign origin of the monosyllables, or the more artificial manner in which they are joined together." — pp. 21, 22.

The justness of these views cannot be contested by any one who duly reflects upon what takes place in our own language; as has been shown in the illustrations before given.

We shall now proceed to consider very briefly the simple fact asserted by English and other writers, that the Chinese characters are common, as a *written* language, to the Japanese, Cochin-Chinese, Coreans, and some other nations, who, it is asserted, cannot understand each other's *spoken* language.

We begin with the Japanese; and here we find, in the very outset, a marked distinction between this and the Chinese language; that the Japanese is *polysyllabic*, and has declensions, conjugations, &c.; and this structure of the language precludes the use of the Chinese characters *lexigraphically*, (as Mr. Du Ponceau calls it,) without material modifications.

In the next place, the Japanese have a *syllabic alphabet*, or *syllabary*, consisting of forty-seven characters, and called (from its first three characters) the *I-ro-fa*; as ours was originally named, from its first two, the *alphabet*. The knowledge of this very limited number of characters, it is obvious, would not enable a Japanese to read the numerous characters used by the Chinese, whether we reckon them at eighty or thirty thousand, or at a much lower number.

The truth is, the Japanese adopted from the Chinese as many characters as were required for their language; and of these, four only are now entirely Chinese. Their historians relate, that, in the year of Christ 284, their sovereign sent an embassy to the Emperor of China, to request of him a man to civilize his kingdom. *Vo-nin*, a prince of imperial blood, was sent. He introduced the Chinese civilization, language, and literature; and for a long period there was no written language in Japan, except the Chinese; in which all the learning of the country was contained, just as happened in Italy and France during the dark periods of the Middle Ages, in the case of the Latin language. It was not till the year 733, that a selection was made from the Chinese of *forty-seven* characters, and applied to the Japanese language, by one *Kibi*, a man of high rank, who modified the characters to adapt them to the syllables, of which his alphabet (or syllabary) was composed.

The Chinese language, thus introduced into Japan, still remains there as a *learned language*, and is taught as such. Many of its words, too, have been adopted by the Japanese into their language; and this is also the case in various other countries. The Japanese, therefore, who have *not learned the Chinese* language cannot make themselves understood by the Chinese, in *writing*, any more than in *speaking*. For these views of the language, we refer such of our readers, as may wish to pursue the subject, to the works cited in the margin.*

We may add further, that Chinese books are constantly *translated* into Japanese, and *vice versâ*; but what necessity would there be for this, if the two nations used a *written* language in common? We have now before us a Comparative Vocabulary of the *Chinese*, *Corean*, and *Japanese* languages, originally compiled by a native of Corea, and published at

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* 1. *Explication des Syllabaires Japonais*, par J. P. Abel Rémusat. (With plates. Prefixed to the French Translation of Father Rodriguez's "Japanese Grammar," by M. Landresse.) Paris: Dondey Dupré. 1825.

2. *Epitome Linguæ Japonicæ*, auctore Ph. F. Siebold. pp. 70. (With plates. In the XIth Volume of the *Bataviaasche Verhandelingen*.) Batavia. 1826.

3. *Sur l'Introduction de l'Usage des Caractères, Chinois au Japon, et sur l'Origine des différents Syllabaires Japonais*, par M. Klaproth. pp. 30. (With plates, in the 3d Volume of the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*.) Paris: Imprimerie Royale. 1829.

4. *An English and Japanese, and Japanese and English Vocabulary.* Compiled from Native Works. By W. H. Medhurst. Batavia: 1830.

Batavia, in 1835 ; in which the *Chinese* character is first written at the top of the page, then follows the *sound* of that character, expressed in *Corean* letters, after that comes the *Corean* word (both in the vernacular and learned idioms), and finally, the *Japanese*, all expressed in Corean letters.* Besides, it is a well-known fact, that there are various native dictionaries, in *Chinese*, with Japanese explanations ; and in *Japanese*, with interpretations in Chinese. Chinese books, with *interlineary* Japanese translations, are also used in Japan.†

It will be interesting to many readers, who have not had occasion to direct their attention to Japanese literature, to know the curious fact, that the Empress Catherine of Russia, whose great *Comparative Vocabulary* gave a most powerful impulse to philological studies, actually established in her dominions a professorship of the Japanese language, at Irkutsk, in Eastern Siberia. It had been observed, as M. Klaproth states, for a century,

"that Japanese vessels had been driven by stress of weather upon the coasts of Kamchatka. These vessels, being ordinarily intended merely for the coasting trade along the shores of Japan, were not properly equipped to be at sea for a long time, and their crews were accordingly always found reduced by hunger and distress to one half, or one third of their original number. Russian hospitality never failed to receive these unfortunate shipwrecked men ; and the commanding officers in Kamchatka, conformably to their orders, sent them to Irkutsk, because, according to the laws of Japan, no person born in that kingdom, and having quitted it, can return to it again under the penalty of death. The Empress Catherine the Second, desiring to turn to account the residence of those unfortunate persons in her dominions, established at Irkutsk a *School for Navigation*, and with it a professor's chair for the *Japanese Language ;* which probably yet remains. The chair is always filled by a Japanese, who teaches his native language to some of the young Russians ; but these pupils seldom make much progress."

M. Klaproth adds, that during his residence at Irkutsk, in 1805 and 1806, the chair was occupied by a Japanese named *Sinsou*, a native of Isseï, who, being converted to the Greek

* This work is published under the name of *Philo-Sinensis ;* who is understood to be the Reverend W. Medhurst, the intelligent missionary in the East.

† See Mr. Medhurst's recent *Account of China*, p. 276, Amer. edit. It should be remarked, that Mr. Medhurst's work was not published till a long time after Mr. Du Ponceau's various publications on this subject.

religion, had taken the Russian name of *Kolotygin*, and for his name of baptism and surname, *Nikolaï Petrovitch.**

We must now ask the reader's attention, for a few moments, to the instance of the *Corean* language ; which, as Mr. Gutzlaff justly observes, is but little known. The inhabitants of that peninsula, it is constantly asserted, understand the *written* language of China ; but this is not the fact ; though it is true, that they, like the Japanese, have a mixture of Chinese in their language.

The simple fact above stated by us, that we have now before us a Comparative Vocabulary of the Chinese, *Corean*, and Japanese languages, compiled by a *native of Corea*, sufficiently shows, that the people of that country require translations of Chinese books, and cannot read the written character of China, without having studied it. In Corea, the Chinese is a *learned language ;* and the inhabitants would pronounce a man to be "illiterate" who could not read it ; as Captain Hall says he was considered, by the people of the Loo-Choo Islands, for the same reason. The Corean alphabet is very ingenious, being at once syllabic and elementary ; but the whole number of characters (several hundred) may be analyzed into fifty-two syllables or elements.

We forbear going into further particulars in respect to this language ; and will here add only one general remark on the use of the Chinese *characters* by other nations. Although the Chinese civilized those nations (the Japanese, Coreans, &c.), and introduced their own language and writing among them, yet the Chinese system of writing could not be applied to the idioms of all of them, and the natives accordingly devised alphabets, or graphic systems, of their own. The *Cochin-Chinese* and *Tonquinese*, however, whose languages are monosyllabic, adopted the Chinese system, but with modifications, to adapt it to their idioms ; and, what is a most material fact in relation to the ideographic theory, those nations, in numberless instances, applied the Chinese characters to the *sound* which they wanted to represent, and not to the *sense* of the character.

We shall now advert to the case of the *Cochin-Chinese*, who, it is asserted, also make use of the written language of China, in common with the inhabitants of that empire, though they cannot understand the spoken language. The two important Cochin-Chinese Vocabularies, which were the imme-

* *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Tom. III. p. 19, (for January, 1829.)

diate occasion of Mr. Du Ponceau's publication, and which we have now before us, afford ample materials for deciding this question.

The mere fact, in this case, as in that of the Japanese, is, that in Cochin-China, the Chinese is a learned language, and as such is understood by educated persons. The Cochin-Chinese have, it is true, adapted the characters of it to their own spoken language, but not without many modifications; and, as we just now observed, in thus applying them they frequently appear to pay more regard to the *sound* than to the *meaning* of the characters, as used by the Chinese themselves. Thus, as Mr. Du Ponceau observes, the character *tsan* or *san* (in his accompanying plates), which in Chinese means *drizzling rain*, is applied in *Cochin-Chinese* to the word *sam*, thunder; the character *ko*, a lance, to *qua*, yesterday; *kin*, metal, to *kim*, a needle, &c. As much stress is laid upon this case of the Cochin-Chinese (including the other Anamitic dialects) in support of the prevailing opinion, that they use a written language in common with the Chinese, we shall, in addition to the examples above cited from Mr. Du Ponceau's work, give a few others from Morrone's Vocabulary, which will show, that this is not the fact; but that, on the contrary, they use Chinese characters just as they find them convenient, with or without changes or modifications, and not with reference to their signification in Chinese; as in English we use the Roman elementary characters (or letters) without regard to the powers which they had in the language of the Romans, from whom we have borrowed them. The valuable Notes furnished by M. de la Palun (late French consul at Richmond, Virginia), who was a pupil of Rémusat, and well versed in the Chinese language, will supply all the elucidations necessary to make the subject intelligible to every reader. We copy a few examples, with the characters, from the original manuscript vocabulary, only translating them into English. Accordingly, in the first of the following columns, after the characters, will be found the Cochin-Chinese word as pronounced in that language, with the meaning affixed to it; and then the sound and meaning affixed to the character by the Chinese. The remaining examples are extracted from Mr. Du Ponceau's printed copy, but compared with the manuscript. The reader will thus be enabled to see, at a glance, that written characters, which are applied by two nations in senses so widely different as many

of them are, cannot be used as a common language between them, except as in the case of French and other European languages, when both nations have studied them.

| | *Cochin-Chinese.* | | *Chinese, of De Guignes.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 其欠 | Khi, | *time.* | Kỹ, | *to despise.* |
| 店 | Dêm, | *night.* | Tién, | *a shop.* |
| 吒 | Cha, | *a father.* | Tchá, | *to be angry.* |
| 古 | Cổ, | *the neck.* | Kòu, | *ancient.* |
| 絏 | Giây, | *paper.* | Sïe, | *to tie* or *bind.* |
| 柊 | Chôi, | *a broom.* | Tchỹ, | *fetters.* |

The following examples are extracted from the Vocabulary as printed by Mr. Du Ponceau, to whose work we must refer the reader for the characters themselves. They may be readily found by the numbers affixed to them.

| | *Cochin-Chinese.* | *Chinese.* |
|---|---|---|
| " 58 | Cay, *trees and woods.* | He, *stone*, or *seed of a fruit.* |
| 60 | Goe, *trunk of a tree.* | Wo, *a house.* |
| 67 | Rung, *a forest.* | Ling, *an angle ; square piece of wood.* |
| 70 | Chuoi, *figs.* | Tchy, *shackles* (compedes) |
| 74 | Bo song, *the banks of a river.* | Po, *a hillock ; a mound of earth for a sepulchre.* [The *bank of a river*, in Chinese, according to Morrison's Anglo-Chinese Dictionary, verbo *Bank*, is *te pa*, in two characters. Why do not the Cochin-Chinese use these?] |
| 88 | Que, *fatherland* (patria) | Kwei, *a kind of sceptre.* |
| 95 | Nguoi ta, *man.* | 1. Gai, *some impediment ;* 2. Sie, *a little, not much.* |
| 98 | Me, *mother.* | May, *a woman of an elegant figure and pleasing countenance.* |
| 117 | Ten linh, *the soldiers.* | 1. Sien, *before ;* 2. Ling, *another.* |
| 125 | Oc, *the brain.* | Wo, *fat.* |
| 127 | Chan may, *eyebrows.* | Tching, *happiness.* |
| 142 | Vai, *the shoulders.* | Wei, *light of the sun.* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 154 | Mong tai, *the nails.* | Mang, *to gather.* |
| 172 | Ao, *the coat.* | Yaou, *the earth producing things out of season.* |
| 189 | Phong, *room* or *chamber.* | Fang, *a dyke or embankment.* |
| 193 | Kinh, *a mirror.* | King, *term, end, limits.* [In Chinese, employed to indicate the pronunciation of another character for *King*, a mirror; which shows, that the sound has been more attended to than the sense.] |
| 196 | Nem, *a bed cover, blanket.* | Men, *a rope of bamboo.* |
| 197 | Mong, *a curtain.* | Mong, *a dream.* |
| 198 | Goi, *pillows.* | Hoey, *to paint.* |
| 217 | Keo, *scissors.* | 1. Kin, *gold.*<br>2. Chin, *an arrow.*<br>3. Kow, *a measure of capacity.* [All these approximate in *sound*, but not in *sense*.] |
| 232 | Kim, *a needle.* | Kin, *metal.* [We notice this word, particularly, to show how firmly great men adhere to preconceived opinions. A late eminent Sinologist in Paris, when this word was put to him as an example against the *ideographic* hypothesis, still boldly affirmed, that in no language could *kim* signify a *needle*. Yet, in the face of all theory, we have here proof, that it does actually mean a *needle*, in the language of Cochin-China.] |
| 236 | Bac, *silver.* | Po, *to land, bring a ship to shore.* |
| 237 | Vang, *gold.* | Hoang, *a large bell.* |
| 241 | Chi, *lead.* | Y, *a sort of kettle.* |
| 259 | Com, *rice.* | Kan, *sweet.* |
| 290 | Khien, *ants.* | Tching, *a kind of oysters.*" |

The reader will find a few other instances of these discrepancies between the Chinese and Cochin-Chinese languages, in some of the words contained in the following table; which we subjoin, however, not with that view, but as a specimen of one of the manuscripts before mentioned. This list of words was originally selected by our learned countryman, the Reverend Dr. Jenks, of Boston, to accompany Captain White's voyage, and was published in the *American* edition of that work; but in the reprint of the Voyage in England, it was suppressed, — another indication, we regret to say, though a slight one, of the little interest taken by our English brethren in Chinese studies.

In copying this table, we ought to add, that we have for our present purpose so far deviated from Dr. Jenks's arrangement, as to transpose his columns, and place them in the following order; 1. the characters; 2. the Cochin-Chinese sounds or words; 3. their meaning, in English; and 4. the Chinese sounds or words.

| | *Cochin-Chinese, of Father Morrone.* | | *Chinese, of De Guignes.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 代 | Dời | *time, life* | Tay′ |
| 意悶 | Y′ muôn′ | *the will* | Y′ mén |
| 躰体 | Than | *limbs, bodily members* | Tyˇ [chin pen]* |
| 跪 | Quì | *the knees* | Koùˇey |
| 世間 | Thê gian | *the world* (*universe*) | Chíˇ kiēn |
| 坦 | Dâ′t | *the earth* | Tànˇ (plain) |
| 民 | Diân | *the people* (*subjects*) | Mîn |
| 城 | Thành | *a city* | Tchíˇng (walls) |
| 官 | Quan | *magistrates* | Koūan |
| 墻 | Vách | *a wall, the walls* | Tsiâˇng |
| 車 | Xe [she] | *a chariot, car, carriage* | Tchēˇ |
| 茶 | Tra | *tea* | Tchâˇ |
| 冊 | Sach | *a book* | Tsēˇ |
| 冊傳 | Sâchtruyên | *a book of history* | Tsēˇ tchoùˇen [tchouan] |
| 刀 | Diao | *a knife* | Tāo |
| 金 | Kim | *a needle* | Kīn (metal) |
| 釘 | Dinh | *a nail* | Tīng |
| 金皂 | Chì | *lead* | Y′ (kettle) |
| 金失 | Sát | *iron* | Tchў *for* tiēˇ † |
| 金同 | Dông` | *brass* | Tôˇng |
| 泊 | Bac | *silver* | Po (to land) |
| 边北 | Bên bắc | *the northern quarter* | Koùey (*orbit*) pē |
| 边東 | Ben dông | — *eastern* —— | Koùey tōng |
| 边南 | Ben nam | — *southern* —— | Koùey nân |
| 边四 | Ben tay | — *western* —— | Koùey ssé [sy *or* si] |

* Note from M. de la Palun; "The first character is the 158th [Chinese]

We must now bring our remarks on Mr. Du Ponceau's important volume to a close, though we are sensible of not having done justice to the great subjects which are so ably discussed by him, and which afford room for much more ample developements than would be admissible in our pages. The learned author himself has, perhaps, aimed at too great condensation, presuming too much upon his reader's knowledge of the subject; and he may, consequently, be misunderstood by those persons who have not given the requisite attention to the points discussed, to qualify them to judge of his labors. Whether it has been owing to this cause (we hope it has not been to any one less worthy of a candid and liberal critic), that he has fallen under the animadversion of a writer in an English review of respectable standing, we do not know.* But certain it is, that the reviewer in question has misstated various opinions, which are assumed without reason to be those of Mr. Du Ponceau.

The reviewer admits, that, in England, "it is but too much the fashion to hold certain opinions on Oriental language and history, as so many articles of faith, and the more so, when all known facts militate the most strongly against them." Absurd as this is, the reviewer seems determined to be in the fashion; and he accordingly wonders at the boldness of Mr. Du Ponceau in holding opinions opposite to those of "the learned of all Europe and of China itself"; while, however, he avows his respect for that "independence of judgment, which spurns following a tract [?] merely because it is usual." †

He misstates Mr. Du Ponceau's conclusions, when he states the following to be his results;

"1. That the Chinese character contains, like alphabetic spelling, the elements of the sound, or word;" and

"2. That the word, or name of a thing, precedes the idea of it in the mind." ‡

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radical, *chin*, the body. Father Morrone has probably forgotten to give its pronunciation. The second character is pronounced [in Chinese] *pen*, ignorant, coarse. *De Guignes*, 164. It is vulgarly employed for *thy*, the members of the body. *De G.* 12651. These two characters together are pronounced *chin pen*, and signify, as in Cochin-Chinese, *the members of the body*, or the limbs."

† "*Tchy*, to sew clothes. *De G.* 11419. But this character is also used for *Tie*, iron. *De G.* 11593." (*De la Palun.*)

* *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 42; for July, 1838.

† Page 318, London edition. ‡ Page 343.

Now we are not aware, that Mr. Du Ponceau has said any such thing as is here charged upon him. He has not said that the Chinese characters represent *elements of sounds*; he has, indeed, stated, that they represent *words*, — which are sounds, — but not by the same elements. The Chinese characters are divisible into two classes. The simple characters, which are about two hundred, originally were figurative, according to Morrison, whom Mr. Du Ponceau expressly quotes to this point (pp. xv. xvi. of his *Introduction*), though this reviewer wonders at him for asserting this upon *his own* authority, and denies the fact himself upon the authority of those theoretical empirics, De Pauw and Hager! Mr. Du Ponceau, still relying upon Morrison, observes, that these characters have ceased to be figurative, and are become arbitrary; and he concludes, therefore, that they represent nothing but the words to which they are attached; that they represent a complex sound, as the letters of the Western languages do simple ones, and occasionally compounds, as in Greek, $\Xi$, $\Psi$, &c. The Chinese sounds, it is true, are each *coupled with an idea*, which they recall to the mind; so, also, are some of our English simple sounds, as the vowels, or words, *A* and *I*. But this makes no difference; our mind still receives the idea through the sound.

As to the compound characters, they are composed, by joining together two or more of the simple ones; these are the elements of the Chinese alphabet. The elements of our alphabets are the representation of sounds *without* meaning; those of the Chinese are sounds coupled *with* meaning; and this is all the difference.

The reviewer has misstated Mr. Du Ponceau's views again, in representing him as maintaining, that the word, or name of a thing, precedes the idea of it in the mind; and he takes credit to himself for combating this error! Now, what will be the reader's surprise to know, that Mr. Du Ponceau has asserted no such thing. His views, as we understand them, are; — in the first place, that the Chinese characters, having no outward *figure* to present ideas to the mind, can only present them through the *words* which they represent or recall; that there is nothing in their form which can awaken an idea. It is, therefore, true, that in this case the *recollection* of the words precedes the idea; but Mr. Du Ponceau never asserted, that this is so generally, as the reviewer would

have it understood. Ideas without words are vague and confused ; they can be fixed only by words ; and no idea comes into the mind of a Chinese, but through words.

The elements of Chinese writing are, a group of words to represent another word, — a method, which is made requisite by the great number of words to be represented. Those *elements*, as we have already observed, are sounds coupled with meaning ; ours, on the contrary (with the exceptions before stated), are sounds without meaning. Thus, says Mr. Du Ponceau, (p. xix.) " we combine the [non-significant] letters of our alphabet to give them a meaning, which, separately, they have not. The Chinese combine their significant characters to give to the groups thus formed a meaning which none of them possess separately."

But it is not our object to write an answer to this reviewer. We only wish to let our readers see, that he has made material misstatements of Mr. Du Ponceau's reasoning and conclusions ; and in that manner has argued down opinions, which never could have entered the mind of the latter.

We will add one remark on the subject of framing words from their constituent elements, as curiously exemplified in the aboriginal languages of America. " Nothing," says Mr. Schoolcraft, as cited by Mr. Du Ponceau in his *Mémoire* above referred to, " can be more unlike than the [Chippeway] language, considered in its primitive and elementary state, — in a vocabulary, for example, where the words are in their simple forms, — and the same language when those elements are amalgamated in the customary forms of speech. ..... The words of this language are of a nature so variable and so *transpositive*, that, like the pieces on a chess-board, their elementary syllables can change their places, to form new combinations and accommodate themselves to new circumstances." In other words, the selection of these elements, or syllables and parts of words, depends upon the taste and will of the speaker. Mr. Du Ponceau explains this, by comparing it to the inversions of phrases in the Latin tongue, to which it manifestly bears an analogy. But what has most surprised us is, that, independently of the knowledge of the *fact* here stated by Mr. Schoolcraft, the late great and lamented philologist, Baron William Humboldt, had, by the mere force of his genius and wonderful sagacity, drawn the same conclusion. In his great posthumous work, he says ; " From an

example given by Du Ponceau, (*kuligatchis*,) one is led to conclude, that it depends upon the speaker to change whole words or parts of words, and combine them together in one locution, &c." *

We shall conclude our remarks, with a brief recapitulation of some of the results stated by Mr. Du Ponceau.

He has, we think, established by a very satisfactory course of reasoning the several propositions which we have before quoted from him at large; † and has successfully combated the old and general opinion, that the Chinese system of writing is *ideographic*; showing that the characters do not represent *ideas*, but *words*, which recall *ideas*.

He is the first writer, to our knowledge, who has observed the important fact, that the Cochin-Chinese, in numerous instances, applied the Chinese characters to the *sound*, and not to the *meaning*, of the words represented by them; a fact, which clearly proves that the characters are not *ideographic*. We may here add a remark, which has often occurred to us on this subject; that the Chinese characters are each applied to numerous things, and may (some of them) have thirty or forty meanings, according to the accent or inflexions of the voice. Now we ask, how is it possible, that any such written character can be *ideographic*; in other words, how such a character can be the *picture* of so many different things at the same time?

Conformably to these views, Mr. Du Ponceau has, with much skill and judgment systematized the science of written signs, or *graphology*, as he has somewhere called it, by dividing the systems of writing into three classes;— *lexigraphic*, for entire words, like the Chinese; *syllabic*, for syllables not having necessarily an acknowledged meaning; and *elementary*, for what we call *letters*, or the least component part of a syllable. And, in respect to the case of *arithmetical figures*, to which the Chinese characters are likened, his opinion is, that they can never constitute *a language*, though they are auxiliary to some sciences, like telegraphic signs, &c.; but their use must always be very limited.

The *ideologists*, if we may use the term, argue, that the Chinese characters perpetuate the meaning or *ideas*, while alphabetical characters perpetuate *sounds* only; but neither of these propositions is true. The latter is not true; for if it

* *Ueber die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java.* Vol. I. Introd. p. cccxxxii. 4to. Berlin, 1836.

† Pages 289, 290.

were, we should now have the pronunciation of the Latin and Greek languages, whereas we do not even know that of our own language four hundred years ago, as any one may see by turning to his *Chaucer*, in verses where the metre does not agree with the syllables as we now read them. The words *grace* and *face*, for example, may have been dissyllables, — according to the pronunciation of the Gascons, and introduced by them while Gascony was an English province ; or, to take another example, how were the Norman French words, *jeo*, *ceo*, pronounced ? Mr. Du Ponceau conjectures, indeed, and upon good grounds, that *ceo* was pronounced as at the present day, in the *patois* of *Poitou*, that is, *tcho*, giving the *c* the Italian sound.* Again ; it may be asked, in our own language, how Shakspeare pronounced the word *aches*, which brought such a torrent of ridicule upon the tragedian Kemble, who made a dissyllable of it.

But, though sounds are lost, the groups of letters called *words* retain their meaning quite as much as the Chinese characters ; so that we can still read and understand Homer and Virgil, without knowing how they spoke ; to say nothing of the syllabic groups of letters of the Sanscrit, — a language long since dead, — the ancient Coptic, Persian, Zend, &c.

Here we are reminded of a common remark of the sinologists (adopted by Mr. Barrow†), that the Chinese characters speak equally strong to the deaf and dumb as to others. So do our groups of *letters*. Deaf and dumb persons, who never heard a sound in their lives, are taught to read and understand our books; and, we would ask, can Chinese characters do more ?

It is most manifest, that tradition alone keeps up and preserves the connexion between written or spoken *signs* and *ideas ;* but *written* signs are only a *secondary* method, and were not intended to communicate ideas except through *words ;* because language was invented before writing, and men could not have agreed upon the meaning of written signs, except as that meaning was clothed in the words of the language to which the characters were to be applied.

We cannot conclude the present article, without adding a few remarks upon the supposed difficulty of learning the Chinese language. It has been the fate of this curious dialect of one third part of the human race, to be enveloped in mystery,

* See his *Mémoire*, p. 102. † *Voyage to China*, chap. 6.

ever since Europeans have known that there was such a language on the globe. The impression of its extreme difficulty was, doubtless, first derived from the accounts given of it by some of the early Catholic missionaries; and one of them, Father Nic. Longobardus, a Jesuit, so long ago as the year 1598, in a letter to his Superior, says, he was congratulated by one of his Chinese friends, on having finished reading two of their books, one *De Adultorum Disciplinâ*, and the other *De Medio Sempiterno*, as if he had accomplished a great task; but, though his Chinese friend, with a little national vanity, declared that no person, except a native, could understand those books, the reverend Father adds, — very frankly adds, — "I found no more difficulty than in going through Cicero or Livy."* The opinion of its great difficulty, however, has been very general to the present day. But this and the other mysteries attendant on it, are now in some measure dissipated. Mr. Davis, whose practical knowledge of the subject is entitled to some deference on this point, — notwithstanding the sad failures in some of his *Translations* from the Chinese, for which he was too severely criticized on the Continent, — Mr. Davis, we say, assures us, that "the rumored difficulties, from the great number and variety of the characters are the mere exaggerations of ignorance"; † and Mr. Du Ponceau's investigations have shown, that this language is not so very different from others in many of the particulars in question. It is true, that writers on this subject, from age to age, have continued to tell us of the eighty thousand characters, or words; yet a small part of these are in general use, and the rest slumber quietly in the national dictionaries, as a great proportion of our English words do in the vocabularies of our own lexicographers. *Prémare*, whose most valuable grammar (*Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ*) has at length been published by the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, assures us, that after knowing *five* or *six* thousand characters, no book will stop one; and the Chinese themselves agree, that *ten* thousand are sufficient for a *scholar*, or lettered man, to know. Rémusat, also, in the Preface to his Grammar says, that the Chinese language "may be learned like any other, *and does not require any greater effort of attention or memory.*"

* *Epist. a P. Nicolao Longobardo, anno* 1598, *ab Sinis scriptæ*, etc.; (in the Latin Collection, published by J. Hayes, 1605.)

† Davis's *China*, Vol. II. p. 141.

It is true, that many characters have the same sound, and this occasions ambiguity. But that happens in all other languages; as in English (to take our examples from Mr. Du Ponceau), when we use the words or characters *fain*, *fane*, or *feign*, the ear can ascertain the meaning by the context alone; and in French, *cens*, *cent*, *sang*, *sans*, *sens*, *sent*, are like so many Chinese written words, having but one sound.*

Again; the want of inflections, and the promiscuous use of the same word as a verb, noun, or adjective, at pleasure, are imagined to be a source of great difficulty; yet in these particulars the Chinese language is not so very different from our own, as we should, without reflection, be led to suppose. Thus, to take an example from Dr. Marshman's valuable Chinese Grammar, (*Clavis Sinica*,) the word *sound*, if it follows an article, is a substantive, *a sound;* if it follows a personal pronoun, it becomes a verb neuter, as *I sound*, *they sound*, or, with an object, an active or causal verb, *they sound the bell;* or, if it is placed between an article and a substantive, it becomes an adjective, as, *a sound vessel.* So much does the meaning and grammatical character of words in English, as well as in Chinese, depend upon their juxta-position; verifying the just remark of Humboldt, that, in some of our modern languages, *especially in English*, phrases of considerable length may be constructed "which are perfectly Chinese."† Ambiguities must, from the imperfection incident to all human language, happen among the Chinese, as well as other nations. We may add, however, as an amusing singularity, that, as no new word can be introduced without the imperial authority, so an ambiguity, even in a man's name, can be removed by the same power; as will be seen by the following curious proclamation from the "Government Gazette," at Pekin, — "Whereas, the names of the Viceroy of Yunnen, and the Lieutenant-General of that province, being *pronounced* alike, though *differently written*, may occasion some confusion, it is therefore ordered, that the Lieutenant-General, *Shoo-lin* do change his name to *Schoo-ching*." *Edict of May 15th*, 1800. Our host of English and American *John-Smiths*, would soon be extinguished in the Celestial Empire.

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* *Mémoire*, p. 42.

† *Lettre à M. Abel Rémusat*, p. 16.

Many other alleged difficulties might be noticed, if our limits would permit. There are, in the Chinese, Cochin-Chinese, and other languages of that family, delicacies and peculiarities of idiom, accent, and tone, which foreigners never can acquire, any more than a Chinese could learn English so perfectly, as to pass for a native. In the Cochin-Chinese, for example, the natives speak in a *singing* tone, almost like the recitative of an Italian opera; as Captain White has personally informed us (with an imperfect imitation of the tones), and as is stated by Father Morrone, who says of their mode of utterance, "When they speak, they sing."* These niceties, however, are wholly unimportant to the philological student, or any other person, who does not intend to reside among the natives, but only wishes to acquire the written language; and this, we are convinced, can be accomplished with very little, if any more labor, than is necessary in learning any other language.

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## Art. VIII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *American Education; or, Strictures on the Nature, Necessity, and Practicability of a System of National Education, suited to the United States.* By the Rev. Benjamin O. Peers. *With an Introductory Letter*, by Francis L. Hawks, D. D. New York: Published by John L. Taylor. 1838. 12mo. pp. 364.

Let any man, dwelling in the United States, consider this fact; that he is living in the midst of some millions of human beings, having strong bodies, strong wills, clear heads, and mighty passions; let him consider, further, that these millions suffer him to pursue his business, and sleep quietly at night, because they see it to be their interest, or feel it to be their duty, to do so, but that, as soon as they cease to see their interest, or feel their duty, they may pull his house about his ears and hang him upon the nearest tree; — and he will feel, to his heart's core, the necessity of wide-spread moral and religious education *to his own safety*. And, should he go one

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* *MS. Vocab.* Dr. Ruschenberger, in his account of the Embassy of Mr. Roberts, says the same.

step further, asking how he could excuse himself were he to close his ears against the cries of boys and girls starving in the streets, and then remember that every crime is the inarticulate groan of a starving soul, and he will feel the necessity of universal religious education upon the nobler ground of his own duties. Religious education ; not intellectual education, — that of itself protects no man ; — not moral education, for morality without religion is for the mass of men impossible ; but religious education is wanted, nay, Christian education. Our government rests upon Christianity, as its basis. Take from man the Christian views of human nature, and liberty, equality, and republicanism would be perfectly farcical ; and in no way can we retain liberty and a republic but through the influence of Christian truth.

The purpose of the work before us is to make clear the absolute necessity that exists for giving to all our people Christian views and motives. We hear enough of our rights ; let us hear something of God's right and of our duties. The cry, that our rulers are our servants, rings through the land ; let us not be backward in spreading the counter-cry, that we are all servants of Christ. How is this to be done ? By the influence of schools, in a great measure. And, to make them effective, we must have teachers of the highest class ; and to secure such teachers we must pay them, and, more than all, honor them. The meeting at Exeter, held last August, when some of the first men of New England assembled to do honor to Dr. Abbot, their old schoolmaster, will long be a beacon-light. The time is gone by, when teaching was not one of the liberal professions ; it now must take rank with the very highest of human employments.

Such is the faith of Mr. Peers, himself an enthusiastic and excellent teacher. And he has ably set forth the need of Christian instruction ; the obligation to give it to all, leaving no soul to perish ; and the impossibility of doing it by the means now in use, with teachers whose salaries are barely enough to keep them from the alms-house, and schools in which there are ten children where there should be but one.

But is it possible to educate all ? Our author answers, that it is, if we but have it at heart, and will give time, labor, and money to the work. Legislatures cannot do the work, neither can societies ; but you, and I, and every man must do it. Do any doubt ? We answer, it is not yet proved impossible. And a true man has but one course to tread in any such case. Let him do his utmost fearlessly, heartily, and in good faith, and forget not that there is a God working with him.

This little book by Mr. Peers, we commend to all, as earn-

estly and ably written, and as the result of much experience. On some points, we do not agree with him. We think the community called on to do more than educate its members so far as to secure its own safety ; and we think, he insists somewhat more than enough upon the necessity of *paying*, as compared with *respecting* teachers. But his views are all freely spoken, and made alive by a true Christian spirit. May he find many and interested listeners !

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2. — *Life of Joseph Brant*, (Thayendanegea,) &c., by W. L. Stone. 2 vols. 8vo. New York : George Dearborn & Co.

When we first heard that Colonel Stone was writing the life of the great Mohawk chieftain, we thought it would come forth in a neat duodecimo, and would contain the personal history of that remarkable red man, a chapter or two on the Wyoming affair, in which Brant would be proved to have had no hand, and perhaps a disquisition upon Indian customs and peculiarities. We found, therefore, not without surprise, two large octavo volumes, containing more than eleven hundred pages ; and, though the title-page in part explained the size of the work, as it states the contents to be, not only the Life of Brant, but "the border wars of the Revolution, the campaigns of Harmer, St. Clair, and Wayne, and other matters connected with the Indian relations of the United States and Great Britain, from 1783 to 1795," it was not till we opened the volumes that we fully understood their great extent. Then we found, that they gave a general history of all the events which occurred in the United States during Brant's life, with large and original details of those varied scenes in which he, directly or indirectly, took part.

Whether Colonel Stone would not have done more wisely, had he confined himself to the relation of those events in which his hero was concerned, may be doubted. By going over too large a field, he has broken that unity which should be the first thing sought in a work of history ; and the result is, that his volumes have in part the character of annals, in part that of narrative. Joseph Warren, and Lord Chatham, and Logan, with his wonderful speech, rise from their graves, and pass before us, and are gone again ere we can say, "Stand !" Lexington, Bunker's Hill, Long Island, and every scene of revolutionary suffering and warfare are named, and left again, with a celerity which supposes an acquaintance with those scenes

on the part of the reader, and so serves rather to embarrass, than help the narrative. Had these references to great events been thrown into notes, and the story been suffered to flow on uninterrupted, we think it would have had more interest.

But, as it is, it cannot be said to lack interest ; for it treats of interesting times and interesting men, and does this in a familiar, minute, and interesting manner. The writer has used great diligence in collecting materials, and has secured some which are of most undoubted historic value, such as the papers of Brant himself, which throw a light upon the frontier occurrences of the years from 1783 to 1796, that has been hitherto wanting. He has also procured and used some of the original papers of Sir William Johnson, those of General Herkimer, General James Clinton, General Gansevoort, and other men of that day ; and has drawn largely from the correspondence of Brant with John Johnson, President Willard, the Duke of Northumberland, and others. Indeed, a large proportion of these volumes may be looked on as consisting of truly original contributions to American history, and to a very important and hitherto dark portion of that history, the Indian relations during, and immediately subsequent to, the Revolution. Much of the new matter is of the most authentic kind, being derived from letters and journals written at the time. Some again is drawn from conversations of the author with various persons. Colonel Stone appears to have compared and sifted all such oral evidence with due diligence, but it must be always received with great caution. For, strange as it many seem, the statements of those who were concerned in an event which took place many years before, are among the lowest kinds of testimony ; so apt are we to forget, and change, and displace facts, and even to state as within our own knowledge, what in truth we heard from another.

But it is not our purpose at this time to enter into an examination of this Life of Brant. We intend soon to discuss at some length the events to which it refers, and may then speak in detail of its contents, their arrangement, and the style of the work.

The volumes contain two prints of Brant, both from original paintings ; also, an engraving of his son ; one of General Gansevoort ; an excellent outline sketch of the Conference of General Lincoln, Timothy Pickering, and Beverly Randolph, with the Indians at Buffalo Creek, in 1793 ; the plans of one or two marches ; and an engraving of Red Jacket from Weir's picture. The print last-named we do not think any ornament to the work ; the painting was good, and the engraved plate good, but it is now too much worn to give impressions worthy of such volumes.

3. — 1. *Speech of* Mr. Cushing, *of Massachusetts, on the Subject of the Oregon Territory, delivered in the House of Representatives, May 17th and 22d,* 1838. Washington: Gales & Seaton. 8vo. pp. 13.

2. *Report of* Mr. Linn, *of Missouri, on the Part of the Select Committee of the Senate, to which was referred a Bill to authorize the President of the United States to occupy the Oregon Territory, June 6th,* 1838. Washington: Blair & Rives. With Two Maps. 8vo. pp. 23.

One of the extraordinary political phenomena of the age is presented by the unblushing pretensions of the English government to territory of these United States. While Great Britain is remonstrating, and that reasonably, against any hostile enterprises of our citizens on the side of Canada, she is putting a sober diplomatic face on a claim (one of the boldest ever ventured by an ambitious power) to about a third part of one of the States of this Union, while at the Northwest she more than tolerates her citizens in helping themselves to a country of ours worth half as much, at least, as the whole of British North America put together, and resists a peaceable adjustment of the controversy she has raised, till by actual settlement she shall have given more plausibility to her claim. We have thought it our duty, from time to time, to furnish to our readers some materials for forming a judgment on the arrogance of these assumptions; and having not long ago discussed at length the question of the Northeastern boundary, (Vol. xliii. p. 413, *et seq.*) we have presented, in the present number, some statements relating to the right of this country to the Oregon territory, both on the ground of discovery, and of succession to the right of Spain. The subject was taken up at the last session of Congress, and brought before the Senate in the Report of Dr. Linn, with the formality and seriousness which its importance demands; while in the Speech of Mr. Cushing, in the other House, it was handled with that exact research and clear exposition, which distinguish the arguments of that gentleman. In such hands it will not be permitted to be lost sight of, nor suffer any other injustice.

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ERRATA.

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| " 13, | " 22, | " | Liguri, | " | Ligures. |
| " 15, | " 5, | " | Grecia, | " | Græcia. |
| " 15, | " 38, | " | Picinum, | " | Picenum. |
| " 16, | " 23, | " | Petruzzi, | " | Prætutii. |
| " 219, | " 10, | " | Pentanger, | " | Peutinger. |

# QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

## ANNUALS.

The Youth's Keepsake. A Christmas and New Year's Gift for Young People. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 18mo. pp. 195.

The Christian Keepsake, and Missionary Annual. Edited by the Rev. John A. Clark. 1839. Philadelphia: William Marshall & Co. 8vo. pp. 312.

The Gift; a Christmas and New Year's Present, for 1839. Edited by Miss Leslie. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart. 18mo. pp. 328.

The Religious Souvenir, for 1839. Edited by Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. New York: Scofield & Voorhies. 18mo. pp. 288.

The Juvenile Scrap Book and Youth's Annual, for 1839. Providence: S. R. Weedar. 18mo. pp. 180.

The Violet; a Christmas and New Year's Gift, or Birthday Present, for 1839. Edited by Miss Leslie. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart. 18mo. pp. 216.

The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not. A Christmas, New Year's, and Birthday Present, for 1839. Philadelphia: T. T. Ash & H. F. Anners. 18mo. pp. 180.

The Lily; a Holiday Present, with Steel Engravings. New York: E. Sands. 18mo. pp. 232.

Peter Parley's Christmas Tales, for 1839. New York: Samuel Colman. 16mo. pp. 252.

Peter Parley's Gift, for 1839. New York: Samuel Colman, and Wiley & Putnam. 16mo. pp. 168.

Brown's Improved Almanac, Pocket-Memorandum, and Account Book, for the year 1839. Containing, in addition to the usual matter, Portraits of several of the most distinguished American Politicians and Literary Men of the Present Time. Published Annually. No. II. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 18mo. pp. 70.

The Ladies' Annual Register, and House-Wife's Memorandum Book, for 1839. By Caroline Gilman. With an Almanac. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 104.

The Child's Gem. New York: S. Colman. pp. 144.

A Christmas Gift from Fairy Land. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo.

The New Hampshire Annual Register, and United States Calendar, for the year 1839. By Jacob B. Moore. No. XVIII. Concord: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon. 12mo. pp. 143.

## BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

The Revolutionary Adventures of Ebenezer Fox, of Roxbury, Mass. Boston: Munroe & Francis. 18mo. pp. 238.

Memoir of William Randall Saxton, of Lebanon, (Conn.,) with the Funeral Sermon. By Charles T. Torrey, Pastor of the Howard Street Church, Salem. Salem: W. & S. B. Ives. 18mo. pp. 130.

The Life of George Washington. Written for the Use of Schools. By John Marshall, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Philadelphia: James Crissy. 12mo. pp. 379.

## EDUCATION.

A Grammar of the Italian Language. By Pietro Bachi, Instructor in Harvard University. A New Edition, revised and improved, with the Addition of Practical Exercises, and numerous Illustrations drawn from the Italian Classics. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. London: R. J. Kennett. 12mo. pp. 568.

Caii Crispi Sallustii de Catalinæ Conjuratione Belloque Jugurthino Historiæ. Sallust's Histories of the Conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War. From the Text of Gerlach. With English Notes. Edited by Henry R. Cleveland, A. M. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. 12mo. pp. 198.

Introduction to the German Language, comprising a German Grammar, with an Appendix of important Tables and other Matter; and a German Reader, consisting of Selections from the Classical Literature of Germany, accompanied by Explanatory Notes, and a Vocabulary adapted to the Selections. By David Fosdick, Jr. Andover: Gould & Newman. 12mo. pp. 270.

Fables de la Fontaine, avec des Notes Historiques, Mythologiques, et Grammaticales, à l'Usage des Colléges et des Écoles. Par F. Sales, Maître de Français et d'Espagñol à l'Université de Harvard. Boston: Jâques Munroe & C^ie^. 12mo. pp. 336.

My First School-Book, to teach me, with the Help of my Instructor, to read and spell Words, and understand them. By a Friend of mine. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 18mo. pp. 112.

## HISTORY.

A History of the State of Ohio, Natural and Civil. By Caleb Atwater, A. M. Cincinnati. 8vo. pp. 403.

## LAW.

Reports of Decisions made in the Superior Courts of the Eastern District of Georgia, by Judges Berrien, T. U. P. Charlton, Wayne, Davies, Law, Nicoll, and Robert M. Charlton; and in the Middle Circuit, by Thos. U. P. Charlton. By Robert M. Charlton, late Judge of the Superior Courts of the Eastern District. Savannah: Thomas Purse & Co.

A Charge to the Grand Jury of Adams County, delivered at the opening of the Special Term of the Criminal Court of Mississippi, on the fourth Monday of June, 1838. By J. S. B. Thacher, Judge of that Court. Natchez. 1838.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Chancery of the State of New York. By Alonzo C. Paige. Vol. VI. New York. 1838.

Reports of Cases decided in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the Eastern District, December Term 1837, and March 1838. Vol. III. By T. J. Wharton. Philadelphia: Nicklin & Johnson. 1838.

Reports of Cases adjudged in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the Third Circuit. Third Edition; including two cases decided in

the same Court, and hitherto unpublished. By John B. Wallace. Philadelphia: Nicklin & Johnson.

Digest of Cases determined in the Admiralty Courts of the United States, and in the High Court of Admiralty in England. By G. T. Curtis. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo.

## MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

Report of the Surgical Cases and Operations that occurred in the Massachusetts General Hospital, from May 12th, 1837, to May 12th, 1838. By Geo. Hayward, M. D., Surgeon to the Hospital. Boston: D. Clapp, Jr. 8vo. pp. 32.

Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic. Delivered in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the University of the State of New York. By the late David Hosack, M. D., LL. D., F. R. S., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic and of Clinical Medicine in the University of Philadelphia, &c. Edited by his Friend and former Pupil, Henry W. Ducachet, D. D., Rector of St. Stephen's Church. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 8vo. pp. 700.

An Essay on Scarletina. By James Conquest Cross, M. D., Professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence in the Medical Department of Transylvania University. Lexington. 8vo. pp. 48.

Practical Surgery; with one hundred and twenty Engravings on Wood. By Robert Liston, Surgeon. With Notes and Illustrations, by Geo. W. Norris, M. D., one of the Surgeons to the Philadelphia Hospital. Philadelphia: A. Waldie. 8vo. pp. 374.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

History of the Controversy in the University of the City of New York, with Original Documents and an Appendix. By the Professors of the Faculty of Science and Letters. New York: John S. Taylor. 8vo. pp. 50, xxviii.

The Merchant's Manual, comprising the Principles of Trade, Commerce, and Banking; with Merchants' Accounts; Inland and Foreign Bills; Par of Exchange; Equation of Payments, &c. By B. F. Foster. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. pp. 252.

Second Annual Report on the Geology of the Public Lands belonging to the two States of Maine and Massachusetts. By C. T. Jackson, Geological Surveyor. Augusta: Luther Severance. 8vo. pp. 100, xxxvii.

Slavery in America; being a brief Review of Miss Martineau on that Subject. By a South Carolinian. Richmond: T. W. White. 8vo. pp. 84.

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Vegetable Diet, as sanctioned by Medical Men, and by Experience in all Ages. By William A. Alcott, Author of the "Young Wife," &c. Boston: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon. 12mo. pp. 276.

Tales of the Day, selected from the most distinguished English Authors, as they issue from the Press. Vol. II. Boston: H. P. Nichols & Co. 8vo. pp. 380.

Principles of Political Economy. Part the Second. Of the Causes which retard Increase in the Production of Wealth, and Improvement in the Physical and Moral Condition of Man. By H. C. Carey, Author of an "Essay on the Rates of Wages." Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 466.

Public and Private Economy, illustrated by Observations made in England in the year 1836. By Theodore Sedgwick. Part Second. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 210.

The Young Man's Assistant in Efforts at Self-cultivation. By Jason Whitman, Author of the "Young Lady's Aid." Portland: S. H. Colesworthy. Boston: B. H. Greene. 18mo. pp. 394.

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Ornament, or the Christian Rule of Dress; containing Strictures on Judson's "Letter to Christian Females on Plain Dress," in a Series of Letters. By Mrs. Mary J. Torrey. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 32mo. pp. 68.

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The American Mechanic. By Charles Quill. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 18mo. pp. 285.

The Motley Book; a Series of Tales and Sketches. By the late Benjamin Smith. With Illustrations by Dick and others. New Edition. New York: J. & H. G. Langley. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 8vo. pp. 191.

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The Boy's Scrap Book, 1839. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. 16mo. pp. 255.

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Tales and Sketches, by a Christmas Fireside. By the Author of "Rose Graham," &c. &c. Boston: A. Tompkins & B. B. Muzzey. 18mo. p. 72.

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Gazetteer of the State of Michigan. In Three Parts. Containing a General View of the State, a Description of the Face of the Country, &c. &c. &c.; with a succinct History of the State from the Earliest Period to the Present Time; also a Particular Description of the Counties, Towns, &c., alphabetically arranged, with an Appendix, containing the usual Statistical Tables, and a Directory for Emigrants, &c. By John T. Blois. Detroit: Sidney L. Rood & Co. New York: Robinson, Pratt, & Co. 12mo. pp. 418.

## NEW PERIODICALS.

The Common School Journal. Vol. I. No. I. Boston: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon. 8vo. pp. 16.

Connecticut Common School Journal. Hartford: Case, Tiffany, & Co. 4to. pp. 16.

The Collegian. Conducted by the Students of the University of Virginia. Vol. I. No. I. Charlottesville: James Alexander. 8vo. pp. 32.

## NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

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Home as Found. By the Author of "Homeward Bound," "The Pioneers," &c. &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 239 and 253.

Pelayo; a Story of the Goth. By the Author of "Mellichampe," "Yemassee," "Guy Rivers," &c. &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 213 and 282.

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Althea Vernon, or the Embroidered Handkerchief; to which is added, Henrietta Harrison, or the Blue Cotton Umbrella. By Miss Leslie, Author of "Pencil Sketches." Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. pp. 276.

Stanley, or the Recollections of a Man of the World. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 258 and 256.

Riches without Wings, or The Cleveland Family. By Mrs. Seba Smith. Boston: G. W. Light. 18mo. pp. 162.

## ORATIONS, REPORTS, AND ADDRESSES.

A Discourse pronounced at Burlington, before the Literary Societies of the University of Vermont, August 1st, 1838, on the Day of the Annual Commencement. By Daniel D. Barnard. Albany: Hoffman & White. 8vo. pp. 56.

The Inaugural Address of the Rev. R. H. Morrison, D. D., pronounced at his Inauguration as President of Davidson College, North Carolina, Aug. 2d, 1838. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 8vo. pp. 23.

Man. A Discourse before the United Brothers' Society of Brown University, Sept. 4th, 1838. By John Neal. Providence: Knowles, Vose, & Co. 8vo. pp. 25.

An Address on the Origin and Progress of Political Communities, delivered before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. By James T. Worthington. Chillicothe. 12mo. pp. 22.

An Oration delivered before the Mechanics' Institute, and the Teachers and Scholars of the Sunday Schools of Urbana (Ohio). By the Rev. David Merrill. Urbana. 8vo. pp. 14.

An Address delivered before the two Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina, June 27th, 1838. By the Hon. Wm. B. Shepard. Raleigh. 8vo. pp. 29.

Discourse on the Importance of a General Diffusion of a Knowledge of Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene. Delivered at the Auburn Female Seminary, May 30th, 1838. By F. H. Hamilton, A. M., M. D. Auburn: 8vo. pp. 20.

An Address delivered at the Medical College of Georgia, on Opening the Course of Lectures, Oct. 17th, 1837. By Paul F. Eve, M. D.,

Professor of Surgery and Dean of the Faculty of the Medical College of Georgia. Augusta. 8vo. pp. 16.

A Discourse, delivered at the Opening of the Providence Athenæum, July 11th, 1838. By Francis Wayland. Published at the Request of the Directors of the Athenæum. Providence: Knowles, Vose, & Co. 8vo. pp. 37.

In this excellent Discourse, President Wayland first gives some account of the institution, at the opening of which it was delivered. The objects of the institution are then clearly pointed out, together with the principles which have guided the directors, in the selection of books for the library. About seven thousand volumes, it appears, have already been collected; and, as they are designed for the equal benefit of all the citizens, the directors have confined themselves to books in the English language, embracing all the most important works in elegant literature and the natural sciences. Admittance to the Athenæum is rendered so easy as to be, for all practical purposes, free. Works of an exclusively religious character do not come within the range of the design of the institution. These statements are followed by a series of wise reflections on the dissemination of intellectual culture among the people. The advantages of such a dissemination are considered under several points of view, the economical and social advantages receiving particular attention. Under both these heads, the President has given the results of much observation, expressed in language at once elegant and forcible.

In the second part of the address, the dangers attendant upon national prosperity are forcibly stated, and the benefits of intellectual cultivation, as an antidote, enlarged upon earnestly and impressively. The composition of this address is marked by strong language and a finely cultivated taste. Wherever it is read, it will carry the conviction that the destinies of Brown University have fallen into the right hands, — that a sound thinker, a cogent reasoner, and an eloquent writer is at the head of its affairs.

A Discourse on the Traffic in Spirituous Liquors, delivered in the Centre Meetinghouse, New Haven, Ct., Feb. 6th, 1838. By Leonard Bacon. With an Appendix, exhibiting the Present State and Influence of the Traffic in the City of New Haven. New Haven. pp. 54.

An Address, delivered before the Union Literary Society of Miami University, at its Thirteenth Annual Celebration, Aug. 8th, 1838. By John C. Young, President of Centre College. Oxford, Ohio. 8vo. pp. 29.

The Choice of a Profession. An Address delivered before the Society of Inquiry, in Amherst College, Aug. 21st, 1838. By Albert Barnes. Published by Request of the Society. Amherst: J. S. & C. Adams. 8vo. pp. 29.

Address of James Madison Porter, before the Diagnothian and Goethian Societies of Marshall College, delivered Sept. 25th, 1838, at Mercersburg, Penn., at the Annual Commencement. Philadelphia: Peter Hay, & Co. 8vo. pp. 22.

The Inaugural Address of the Rev. P. J. Sparrow, A. M., pronounced at his Inauguration as Professor of Languages in Davidson College, North Carolina, August 2d, 1838. Philadelphia: William S. Martin. 8vo. pp. 24.

Address to the Alumni Society of Nashville University, on the Influence of Institutions for High Letters on the Mental and Moral Character of the Nation, and the Obligations of Governments to endow

and sustain them. By the Rev. A. Stephens, Professor of Languages in the University. Nashville: B. R. McKennie. 8vo. pp. 39.

An Address delivered at the Consecration of the Worcester Rural Cemetery, September 8th, 1838. By Levi Lincoln. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 36.

A Lecture, delivered at Philadelphia on the 13th of April, 1838, before the Athenian Institute and Mercantile Library Company, on the Social and Moral Influences of the American Revolution. By Job R. Tyson. Philadelphia: A. Waldie. 8vo. pp. 38.

Report of the First Annual Fair of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, held at Cincinnati on the 30th and 31st of May and 1st of June, with an Address delivered by E. D. Mansfield, Esq., upon the Occasion. Cincinnati. 8vo. pp. 51.

Lecture on the License Law. By John S. C. Abbot, Pastor of the Eliot Church, Roxbury, Mass. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 12mo. pp. 35.

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# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

## No. CIII.

## APRIL, 1839.

ART. I. — 1. *Storia di Napoli del* 1734 *al* 1825, del Gen. COLLETTA. Firenze, 1837. (2da ediz.) 4 vol.
2. *Storia di Genova*, di GIROLAMO SERRA. Torino. 1834.
3. *Storia della Repubblica di Genova*, di CARLO VARESE. Genova. 1834.
4. *Storia d'Italia*, di G. SFORZOSI. Italia. 1830.

OUR age is the age of history. Numerous associations of able scholars are actively employed in the compilation of Cyclopædias, universal biographies, and contemporaneous memoirs. History appears in dictionaries and manuals, in general views, sketches, and essays. While the ephemeral literature of periodicals and magazines opens the treasures of memory to the newly-awakened curiosity of the people, works of a more solid stamp, noble monuments destined to immortality, are rising in all countries. Such in France are the works of Thiers and Sismondi, those of Schiller and Niebuhr in Germany, of Hallam and Mackintosh in England, of Sparks and Prescott in America. Every insignificant town, every obscure province in the old world, every state forty years old in the new, is publishing its annals for the instruction of posterity. Sepulchral vaults and family portraits, city archives and parochial registers, are rescued from the venerable dust that covers them, to become in their turn monuments

of irrefragable authority. Add to this the establishment of historical societies and historical lectures; tragedy turned into historical drama; and that ingenious device, recently substituted for ancient *epopee*, the historical novel. Verily, our age is the age of history.

This so decided tendency to look to the past, this restless inquisitiveness, that leads us to disturb the silence of the tombs of our forefathers, this universal rage for story-telling, is not so much a matter of choice with us, as of necessity. There are ages essentially destined to act, and ages inexorably condemned to write, history. The progress of human society is marked by an intermittent succession of activity and repose, which, without interrupting its eternal law of continuity, preserves it from the weariness of monotony. The generation, that comes after a stormy period of revolutions and wars, must necessarily be employed in repairing the ravages occasioned by the late convulsions. A council of philosophers is always seen seated on the bloody field laid waste by the rage of the warriors that preceded them, speculating on the causes of the past desolation, and, with theories and systems, providing against its recurrence. The social system proceeds by the impulse of two opposite forces, analogous to the centrifugal and centripetal laws of gravitation, that suns and planets obey. Man, in conflict with nature, is always aiming in his works at immortality. Cathedrals and capitols, forms of religion and constitutions of government, are always intended for an endless futurity. In all his fabrics and monuments, this being of clay seems ever to appeal against the short duration of the span of days that is assigned him.

Thus he prepares laws and institutions for the generations to come. He deplores the consequences of the errors of generations gone by. He endeavours to foresee all contingencies, to conciliate all interests, to remove all subjects of collision; and he fancies he has secured his sons against the horrors he witnessed in his childhood, and that he shall convey to them the peace and order with which his mature age is blessed.

But, with the new generation, new ideas come up, with which he was totally unacquainted. His sons, not having been struck by the view of the ravages of war, begin to feel tired of the monotony of a stagnating life. New ambi-

tions arise. Men begin to count each other, and to find that they are too many. The most active, at every step, find their neighbours in their way. They feel crowded, uneasy, and jealous. They can no longer breathe freely for want of room. The people riot in the squares ; the nobility conspire in their palaces ; confusion and panic seize diplomacy and police ; men's spirits are again stirred up by the trumpet, the rusty sword is taken down from the walls of the castle, the war-horse is once more harnessed, and the edifice of the prudent father is razed to the ground, like a castle of cards that costs a child so many hours of labor and patience.

But patience is an inexhaustible attribute of man. On the green sides of Mount Vesuvius, there are towns which have been several times covered, and, as it were, washed away, by torrents of lava. As soon as the molten stratum begins to cool, the scattered inhabitants return from their asylum to the beloved scene of danger, and, making the best of their disaster, rebuild their new house with the same lava which buried the old one ; and with such heroic perseverance, that the pavement of the streets of today is on a level with the roofs of the dwellings of former ages.

This is sad ; and yet, sad as the order of human society may appear, we have some reason to believe, that not only is it the result of the inscrutable designs of the Eternal Providence, but that the Utopias and dreams of the most sanguine philosophers, admitting even the possibility of their realization, could never suggest a plan by which human affairs could better be carried on. If all Europe, and all the rest of the world, should advance the arts of civilization to the present standard of England ; if all the systems of popular education, all philanthropic institutions could fully attain their aim ; if all encroachments upon the independence, the liberty, the commerce of other nations, should cease ; if every people should retire within its natural limits, and be contented with its own ; if soldiers and lawyers were sent to till the ground ; we could thus bring society back to the golden age of the poets, but what a fatal monotony would weigh upon life, how many aspiring spirits would pine and sink for want of an object of exertion, how many would say, like Alexander, "Alas ! our fathers have left nothing for us to do !" Evil is then an enemy left among us by a wisdom like that, with which Cato opposed the total demolition of Carthage, that the young Romans

might have an open field for exertion, and discipline might never relax. By the continual aiming at perfection without ever being able to reach it, mankind are preserved in a state of action and reaction, that keeps them almost constantly on the same level, and prevents them from falling into an apathy inconsistent with the demands of their spiritual nature.

It has been always considered as unwise to write the biography of a man before his death. In like manner, because society, and the nations that compose it, never die, or, at least, because the periods of their existence cannot be comprehended by the short-sightedness of man, general and partial history is to be composed during those intervals, which seem to divide it into so many distinct epochs ; when society, after a long period of struggle and violence, sinks into a state of comparative repose, into that condition of meditative torpor, during which it supplies its empty veins with new blood, and acquires strength for new catastrophes ; as the geologist, who would explore the crater of a volcano, must wait for an interval, in which the mountain lies still and cold, as if exhausted by the last eruption, and preparing in silence and darkness the glowing materials for a new one.

As soon as the hour of action has come, society is divided into injurers and sufferers. The bold range themselves in the lists as actors ; the timid stand appalled and silent, awaiting events. None is free from hope or fear ; hence none has patience or courage to write. There must be, necessarily, two ages for history ; the age of heroes, and the age of writers.

Our age is not, — the young and restless murmur against such a sentence, the benevolent offer thanks to Heaven for it, — our age is not an age for action ; we must be contented with writing. The last forty years (we mean the days of the French republic and empire) have furnished materials for a hundred volumes ; the history of the present age will be told in one page. Perhaps the task assigned to us by Providence is the noblest ; perhaps we are, in fact, the benefactors, the true builders, of our race ; but human curiosity is only attracted, where the trampling of hosts and the clashing of steel bewilder the terrified imagination. The history of mankind is only marked by works of destruction, as that of the earth they inhabit is traced by floods and earthquakes. Since 1815, the general peace of the world has been repeatedly threatened.

Events of the utmost consequence have been announced, which seemed likely to bring about a total subversion of things ; revolutions in Spain and Italy, — a deadly struggle in Greece, — wars between Russia and Turkey, — Algiers, — Navarino, — and finally the three days of July in Paris, and their consequences in Belgium, Poland, Italy, and Spain. Never, perhaps, did discord more madly whirl her torch all over the world. Yet while, in other times, only a spark would have been sufficient to raise a general conflagration, those partial and abortive commotions have naturally abated, without any extraordinary cause, or human provision, only in consequence of the general exhaustion and consternation into which the nations had been plunged by the bloody ravages they had recently undergone, and from which, in spite of the fair results of their statistical accounts, and the seeming prosperity of commerce and industry, they have but scarcely recovered.

We are builders. Arts and sciences, public education, societies for the diffusion of useful knowledge, the spirit of invention and discovery, manufactures, roads, navigation, all things useful or beautiful, present the fairest results. But, by the side of such an astonishing progress, wild and bewildering ideas prevail ; new or newly-combined doctrines and systems ; a daring, restless, all-pervading inquisitiveness ; a haste, a discontent, an anxiety, very much like the fever of suppuration after the infliction of wounds.

Such as it is, our social reorganization looks fair and bright in theory. Posterity must come and see how it will work in practice. But we envy them the sad experiment ; we endeavour rashly to hurry events ; we wish to see the motion of the machine we are constructing ; and, in that deplorable impatience, in that reluctance to submit to the eternal course of human vicissitudes, we worry and torture ourselves, and lose the proper blessings of the calm, meditative age, in which we are destined to live.

It would be difficult to form a just idea of the state of the European mind by merely following the general turn of thought in this country. Since the English colonies of North America have been raised to the rank of an independent nation, they have been separated from the world, or rather they have been called to constitute a world apart by themselves. It was fortunate for them, that their emancipation took place before they were liable to be involved in the horrors of the

French revolution. Yet, since it would be to entertain a mean idea of the divine wisdom, to suppose that much good is not to be derived from so much evil, it remains a matter of doubt, whether America will be able to reap the advantages of calamities, in which happily she had no share. To this circumstance, perhaps, is principally to be ascribed the difference of feelings and manners, visibly widening, between the old world and the new. The great achievement of American emancipation was an event wonderful in its success, immense in its results. Still there was, happily, little bloodshed, and a comparatively short and guiltless struggle. There was much firmness and unanimity, but very little exasperation of factions. The whole matter was controverted and settled between two nations of men. It was a fair play, a legitimate debate of right and wrong, something like a difference arising between brothers at the division of the paternal inheritance. Never was liberty purchased so cheaply; nowhere but in America could a liberty, so easily acquired, be so easily maintained. Since that time, Heaven has smiled incessantly on the land of the free. From her inaccessible shores, America has looked upon the conflict of nations periling at sea. She has had much to learn, much to admire, much to deplore, but nothing to fear or suffer.

This blessed security, this long enjoyment of order and tranquillity, has exerted a beneficent influence over the minds of her people. Conscious of unbounded existence, the American moves to his aim, circumscribed only by the natural orbit of his powers. He fears no encroachment, no obstruction. He relies on no intervention of miraculous agents. Hence his life is movement, not struggle; he is active, not restless; his interests are essentially in harmony with the interests of society, his private efforts are always tending to forward the public welfare. Accustomed to see revolutions carried by a majority of suffrages, when dissatisfied with his rulers, he awaits new elections; he has nothing to hope from violence, he has no occasion for secret conspiracies. His equanimity in social life has a soothing influence on his domestic affections. At home and abroad, the American is a reasonable being, *par excellence*. Disappointed in one branch of industry, he calmly turns to another. Crossed by fortune in the East, he resignedly migrates to the West. He is the citizen of a world; his rights, his name, and language follow

him everywhere. A descendant of pilgrims, he has no local notions of patriotism. His wooden dwelling is something between a European house and an Arabian tent. On the background of civilization, there opens before him a wide region of swamps and forests, a refuge for the outcasts of society. There, more than in any constitutional providence, lies the secret source of American security. As long as the valley of the Mississippi has marshes to drain and woodlands to clear, a rich soil and a blessed climate to rebuild broken fortunes and soothe disappointment, America will proceed with uninterrupted prosperity. As long as she is in possession of such an extensive and immediate means of getting rid of all corrupting elements, corruption cannot strike deep roots. Civil and religious passions may ruffle the surface, but the waters are too shallow to be much troubled by storms.

On the other hand, Europe is afflicted with the evil most attendant upon old settlements, surplus population. Everywhere land is failing the inhabitants. Domestic and foreign quarrels, plagues and famines, though more busy than ever, appear inefficient and slow. The stubborn human race eludes all agents of destruction. The meanest wretch clings to the roof of his fathers, claims his right to the soil, and hangs on society. He looks upon himself as a victim of the injustice of fortune. He ascribes his failures to a general conspiracy of the whole community against him. Once fallen, he never hopes, never strives, to recover. He curses the hard times in which he was born ; he sinks into dejection and dissipation, waiting for sudden vicissitudes to come to his rescue ; he expects the earth to be stricken out of its path for his sake. Placing thus his expectations in changes and revolutions, no wonder if he does his best to hasten them. The number of individuals of this description is considerable in Europe. They are ruined noblemen, half-pay officers, bankrupt merchants, and other men of all descriptions, with an elastic conscience and loose morals ; meddling, fretting, murmuring ; great haranguers, great alarmists, ominous prophets, seizing upon any pretext, real or apparent, of discontent, stirring and blowing, until they have kindled a few sparks into a general conflagration.

Such are the evil elements of movement in Europe ; but neither are good elements wanting or inactive. Civil commotions and struggles give to characters a high temper, and

teach individuals how to rely upon themselves. The continual spectacle of violence and persecution keeps sympathy and indignation awake. Opinion, fettered and crushed, becomes passion and will. The harmless dreamer is turned into an active enthusiast. Thus, when the season for trial and conflict is mature, the opposite elements bring their forces into the field, unanimous, compact, determined, to engage in a struggle of various success, to retire at the end with nearly equal losses and balanced advantages. Hence social progress is continual and uniform in America; in Europe it proceeds by fits and starts. Here it results from the combined efforts of masses; there it obeys the impulse of individuals. In the new countries it follows the dictates of reason; in the old it arises from the conflict of passions. It is evident, that civilization must advance on a more solid footing, and the influence of evil be less sensible, in this country, however life may appear more dull and monotonous. And so it will be, until America shall have fulfilled her mission of colonization all over the continent; until there shall no longer be wildernesses to be changed into territories, territories to be organized into states, and states to become powerful nations; until the spirit of enterprise and invasion shall be compelled, by want of space, to take a retrograde direction from the circumference to the centre, and the diverging interests shall be brought into contact and collision.

History is constantly watching over the different phases of social advancement. Its office ought to be that of a monitor; each of its pages ought to be intended for a lesson. And to its lessons we listen, as long as the consequences of past evils are upon us. But, at the first momentary relief, we feel a deplorable assurance, that the condition of our times is different from any of the preceding epochs; that the recurrence of such evils is incompatible with the newly-spread light of knowledge and wisdom; and we rush headlong down the precipice to add another foul page to that volume of sorrow.

It is on the ground of such considerations, that we deem it salutary to turn the attention of American readers to the history of other nations. America, as is the case with the young, has all to expect from the future. She has little or no past, and that little is all glorious and serene. A rare blessing of Providence is it, that she can safely derive from the example

of others what others often fail to learn from their own misdeeds and misfortunes.

The Italian historians, until the present day, have by the unanimous assent of all nations been placed in the first rank among the moderns. History, as well as almost every thing else that is noble or beautiful in Christian civilization, was originated or restored in Italy. The memories of past ages are written with indelible characters in the thousand monuments, which crowd that land. Every ploughman has a story to tell of his field. The Lombard plain is heaving with mounds covering the relics of all nations. Wave after wave, they came and passed away; the prints of their footsteps, and the tracks of their chariot wheels, may almost be traced; but they are gone, the fated land has swallowed them all. Dispersed, harassed, trampled upon, the native races have survived their destroyers. They have counted those numberless hosts. They have handed down to posterity the names of the tribes and their chieftains. They have preserved their annals with that sad diligence, and dictated them with that touching eloquence, with which sufferers are apt to dwell on their woes as if proud of them. The Italian chroniclers of the Middle Ages, generally the inmates of cloisters, respected by all the successive invasions, had the advantage, over their contemporaries of other nations, of a comparative security; and, although their writings were far from being free from the superstitions and absurdities of their times, it is not less true, that the little that remained of ancient lore found a last refuge in their cells.

But when, at the dawning of a better day, the Lombard and Tuscan cities gave modern Europe the first example of free governments, the young republics intrusted their worthiest citizens with the production of their national trophies; and history, taken from the silence and barrenness of the convent, and brought into the bustle of social life, began to exercise its highest functions, as treasurer of the past and preceptor of the future. Whilst those enlightened democracies made the first attempts towards establishing systems of general policy and diplomacy, their enterprising navigators brought home information from the remotest regions, and the annals preserved in their archives became universal records of undisputed authenticity.

Lastly, when, in consequence of the natural tides of human

vicissitude, Italy, exhausted by domestic jealousies, became a prey to strangers, and, the scene of active life being transferred elsewhere, she was left to exercise her dominion over the realms of the mind, historical studies were pursued under calmer circumstances, and with wider views; and, allied with strength of reasoning and the charms of style, they constituted that science to which the following ages have given so great an importance. The historians of the sixteenth century, writing in that period of dull repose which succeeded the conquest of Charles the Fifth, when the doom of Italy was inexorably sealed, and tyranny first declared war against thought, were early made aware, that a writer, espousing the cause of honor and truth, must unite to the power of genius the heart of a hero and the devotedness of a martyr. Whatever were the moral characters or the political feelings of some of them, while engaged in the debates of public life, such an air of candor and conscientiousness, of moderation and impartiality, prevails in every page of their writings, as gives a more favorable impression of the integrity and morality of their age, than their descriptions are intended to suggest.

Machiavelli, a stern misanthrope, a warm patriot, — by turns imprisoned and banished, and appointed secretary, ambassador, captain-general, — head and soul of a crumbling state, writing with a hand still bruised and benumbed by the rack to which the vengeance of the Medici doomed him, never betrays, by the slightest allusion in his "Florentine Histories," any bitterness of resentment. Entirely engrossed by the gravity of his subject, exhibiting his versatile talent in abstracting and generalizing ideas, and his great sagacity in judging of men, he ever shows himself an enthusiastic apostle of freedom and virtue, though he is apt to indulge in some fits of that inborn misanthropy, that a long dealing with men, and struggling with evil, had exasperated and deepened.

Guicciardini, a shrewd politician and a heartless patrician, relating events in which he had taken a great part, loaded with honors by popes and princes, detested by the people, deluded and disgraced by the ungrateful tyrant to whom he had given up his country, never permits himself to be drawn, by party spirit or disappointment, out of the dignity befitting his important ministry.

So Nerli and Nardi, Segni and Varchi, either impenitent republicans, dying in the distress and sorrow of exile, or awk-

ward courtiers, preferring the cause of truth to the favor of their lord, sometimes stabbed or mangled by his satellites, sometimes persecuted even in their tombs by his vile jealousy, that succeeded in burying their writings, and defrauding public curiosity for more than two centuries ; all of them equally excel in that self-possession, which, divesting the related events of all exaggeration or palliative, presents them, bare but striking evidences against the monsters whom they consigned to the unerring desecration of posterity. So Fra Paolo Sarpi, by a rare combination a monk and a citizen, scarcely recovering from the wounds treacherously inflicted by the poniard of Rome, in his " History of the Council of Trent," tracing from its earliest origin that reform which was for ever to part asunder the religious opinions of the Christian world ; so Cardinal Bentivoglio, by a strange anomaly a legate of the pope and a man of high feelings, writing an account of the great struggle of the Hollanders for their religious and political emancipation ; so Davila, an adventurer, a courtier of Catherine de' Medici, a soldier of Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth, describing the factions of the Huguenots, and the horrors of the wars of the League ; so finally, in times nearer to us, Muratori and Denina ; and Giannone, a hero and a martyr, for twenty years the inmate of a dungeon ; and a vast number of others, seem to instruct mankind by their example, that there is no state of violence or oppression, no seduction, no fear, that can allure or deter truth from its straightforward path, and save injustice or wickedness from the watchful retribution of the generations to come.

After such luminous precedents, it would be difficult for writers of after ages to mistake the task, that public confidence, and the great responsibility resting upon their works, impose upon them. But causes of a different nature, resulting from the very calamities of political division and subjection, equally tend to preserve the historians, as well as other writers of Italy, from contamination and baseness. Literature in Italy is no trade. The privilege of copyright can only be secured to the author or editor within the narrow limits of the district in which his works are published. He is well aware, that all around, at a distance of thirty or forty miles, there are a number of piratical printers, lawfully entitled to invade and ransack his property, as soon as it attains any popularity ; and, as the sale of books, except in the king-

doms of Naples and Piedmont is, commercially, free, those illegitimate republications extend their outrageous competition even under the eyes of the author.

Thus it is well known, for instance, that Botta was forced to sell in Paris, for waste paper, the superb French edition of his "History of Italy," while the Italian booksellers were making their fortunes by an uninterrupted series of new editions. Nor are the Italian princes any longer in a condition to be willing to hire the pens of venal writers. After the maxim of the aristocracy of Venice, they wish their governments never to be spoken of, either for good or evil; and they rather long for that day in which there shall no more exist either printing or reading. Consequently, all court-poets and historiographers have been dismissed; and, even were writers in Italy willing to sell themselves, they no more could find a purchaser. Flattery is a merchandise equally discredited before power and public opinion; and the writer cannot aspire to any better reward than the satisfaction of his own conscience and the esteem and gratitude of the good. Literature is there, in consequence, comparatively more sterile and silent, but more pure and dignified than in any of the free countries. It is more oppressed and fettered, hence less apt to grow licentious and insolent. It follows not the opinions and passions of the multitude in all its ephemeral wanderings, but it marches at the head of the movement, a stern censor, dictating and ruling with that authority, which the consciousness of its own irreprehensibility gives it a right to exert.

Of all branches of literature in Italy, history is that to which the greatest attention is generally paid, as it is also, of all studies, the most dreaded and resisted by the watchful curiosity of the governments. History has been long since banished from the Italian universities. In recent times, the heroic epochs of early Greece and Rome have been generally illustrated and understood; while of Italy not a word has been spoken. The very name of their country has conveyed to the Italians an indefinite idea. Their patriotic feelings have been restrained within the limits of a petty state or town, and all who came from beyond those limits have been pointed out as strangers. It is only in our days that they have begun to acquire some knowledge of themselves. The busy curiosity of the age has led them to interrogate the monuments and

writings of their forefathers. That Italy, which the relentless enmity of fate had long hid away from their anxious solicitude, at last they have discovered; but, like the Spanish hero in the chivalrous legends, the joy of the discovery has become a source of new distress, when that parent is found lying prostrate and low, her vigor and beauty wasted in tears and chains.

The great object of the Italians is now the composition of the history of their country; because, strange as it may appear, whilst, as we have said, that nation may justly boast of having produced a greater number of good historians than any other, there is, as yet, no work answering the purpose of a general history of Italy. Beyond all political impediments or sectional prejudices, that may oppose the completion of such a work, the most immovable obstacle lies in the vastness and arduousness of the undertaking. It would be impossible to form a just idea of the extent of the subject, by taking into consideration the works of a similar nature, on the history of any of the other countries of Europe.

The annals of these last can always be fairly referred to one determinate epoch, and comprehended within one period; and, though the natural course of events may have been repeatedly interrupted, and the national unity broken, still there is always a central organization, a great metropolis, a dynasty forming, as it were, the main *Cordillera*, from which all the secondary chains can be easily traced, and on which they all essentially depend. But the history of Italy is the history of many nations and states. With its head hidden in the clouds of the remotest antiquity, rehearsing for a long lapse of ages the principal part of a drama in which the other nations only played the episodes, twice at the head of the civilization of the world, twice constituting the history of the world; the history of that country is necessarily divided into several distinct periods, and each period into an infinite number of subdivisions offering but few general points of analytical survey.

The first period, that of Italy before the Romans, is rather indeed the province of the antiquary, than the historian. It comprehends the researches about the aborigines; the Pelasgi, Œnotrii, Itali, and Siculi, the Etruscans, the Ligurians, and a hundred primeval tribes inhabiting the peninsula, whose existence is attested by the remains of their cities and

the relics of their works of art, whose high civilization seems likely to have preceded the earliest periods of Greece, and whose names, residence, confines, laws, manners, and literature are, in great part, a ground for vague conjectures, and not very profitable controversies.

The second era, the best known and most universally studied, embraces the recital of the glories of Rome. But the history of the Eternal City is not the history of the whole country. The resistance that each of the native tribes opposed to the rising ambition of Rome, threatening its existence in its first growth; the share that each of them took in the exploits of Rome, when united with her; the settlements of the Greek colonies in the south; the invasions of Gauls and Illyrians in the north; the social war by which the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship were forcibly acquired by the provinces from the capital, and the name of Italy was virtually associated with that of Rome; are events which, in a history of Italy, claim a more eminent place than they occupy, when only the rise and fall of Rome are brought into consideration.

The Middle Ages form the third period. It includes the ruin of the western empire; the invasions of Western and Eastern Goths, of Huns, of Alani, of Vandals, and Gepidæ; (for Italy has seen all of them;) the reign of Odoacer; the fifty-seven years of Gothic empire; the two centuries of Lombard dominion; the eighty-eight years during which Italy was swayed by the French monarchs of the Carlovingian dynasty; the seventy-three following, in which she was distracted by the factions of her national dukes and marquises; the two succeeding centuries, during which she faintly acknowledged the dominion of the German emperors from Otho the First to Frederic Barbarossa; and all that long night of violence, ignorance, and superstition, during which the popular principle was gradually awakened, during which, instructed by the errors of the monarchical and feudal systems, by the discords between kings and vassals, between popes and emperors, the people lost all feelings of veneration and allegiance, and began to act for themselves. This is the epoch, during which, by influences then unperceived, a brute mass of serfs and burgesses were raised to the rank of men and citizens.

The fourth is the period of Italian freedom. The maritime towns set up an independent standard, rout the Greeks

and Saracens, and begin to ride from one end to the other of the Mediterranean, free, as the waters which they furrow, and the winds that wave their flags. The inland cities raise their walls and marshal their burgesses, join in a general league and shake off the yoke of the Germans. Liberty is no sooner secured than abused. The feudal and democratic systems, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the house of Swabia, and the house of Anjou, popes and anti-popes, crusades and heresies, feuds between neighbouring cities, factions within the walls of the same city, turn the whole country into a vast field of battle. Meanwhile, Roman institutions, Lombard statutes, Salic laws, feudal and monastic privileges, Imperial edicts, papal bulls, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, bring confusion and disorder into civil life, and those young republics are hurried on to destruction by excess of vigor and ill-directed energies; until at length a bloody tyranny at Milan, a crafty oligarchy at Venice, a stormy aristocracy at Genoa, a raving anarchy at Florence, a feudal despotism in Naples, and an aspiring hierarchy in Rome, open the way for foreign inroads, and invite the shame and misery of a foreign yoke.

The fifth and last period, embraces three centuries of degradation and bondage. It is a succession of invasions of French and Spaniards, Swiss and Austrians, by turns invited and expelled by Italian factions, until the deluded sons of Italy are forced to acknowledge a master in each of the auxiliaries they had the imprudence to invoke. Yet neither is this deplorable period destitute of high interest, nor did Italian greatness set without leaving glorious records. The long struggle of Venice against the league of Cambray, her wars against the Turks, the bold aspirations of Julius the Second, the last heroism of liberty expiring at Florence and Siena, give us reason to mourn over the fate of a nation, every fragment of which seemed able to sustain, alone, the glory of her name. But that fate was fulfilled. A long inaction ensued, only interrupted by a periodical warfare of French and Austrians, in the wars for the succession of Mantua, of Spain, of Austria; the progressive fall of Venice and Genoa; the extinction of the princely Italian families; the exaltation of the house of Savoy, and foreign rulers gaining ground inch by inch; a lingering decline of arts and sciences, and of all pious, generous, patriotic feelings; a deathlike torpor, a stupid indifference and oblivion; then, on a sudden, a general overthrow of all

states and orders, a re-awakening of energies, a maddening of spirits, a brilliant illusion, and a bitter disappointment.

For the erection of such an immense building, the Italians are in no want of copious materials. The patriotism of their municipal governments, the vanity of their lordly families, the diligence of their antiquaries, have not left the most obscure corner without illustrations, nor the most trifling event without description and commentary. It has never been penury of documents, or chasms in the memorials, that has made the compilers of Italian history at a loss. It was rather an indiscriminate redundance and confusion, that perplexed and discouraged all patience, and led astray all critical judgment. Archives and libraries seem to have escaped the ravages of time, and all sacks and conflagrations of cities to have sent down their treasures safe and sound for the gratification of our curiosity. There they lie in scrolls, parchments, and gaudy manuscripts, huge folios and ponderous quartos, with a variety of binding and gilding, in Gothic Latin, or in rude Italian, heaped up, piled up, drawn up in formidable array, the old-fashioned shelves groaning under their weight, dark and dusty, silent and moody, like spell-bound warriors ready to fall on the head of the daring mortal who should venture to break the enchantment.

But the enchantment has been broken, and with luminous success. Muratori, a giant with a hundred eyes and a hundred hands, one of those antique frames cast in bronze and steel, which would almost induce us to believe in a deterioration of the human race at the present day, whose labors would be a wonder, even if, like Nestor, he had outlived three generations and been always at work, with a perseverance rare in all climates, more rare under the seductions of a southern sky, abjured all the ties and charms of society, and buried himself with the dead, to search their monuments and reveal the secrets of the past. Placed over the *Ambrosian* library at Milan, and the *Estense* in Modena, maintaining a busy commerce with the most famous scholars of his times, he published, in one vast collection of twenty-seven volumes in folio, the chronicles and annals of all the towns and provinces of Italy under the title, "Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ab Anno Æræ Christianæ D. ad MD." Then, giving order and system to that formless mass, he published, in 1738, his Latin work, "Antiquitates Italicæ Medii Ævi," in six

enormous volumes, containing dissertations upon all civil, religious, and military orders and institutions, with a precise account of all invasions, settlements, and vicissitudes of the different tribes successively occupying the peninsula; and tracing the origin and progress of letters, sciences, arts, and language, from the fall of the Roman empire down to the year 1500; a work which he reproduced several years later, on a smaller scale, and translated into Italian. Finally, in this last language, he wrote his "Annali d'Italia," in sixteen volumes, from the beginning of the Christian era to the year 1749; closely following all memorable events of peace and war, with a minuteness and precision which leave nothing to be desired.

To the Atlantean efforts of this able workman, amounting to the most ample treasure of historical lore, we believe, that any nation can boast, the Italians are indebted for the foundation on which their historical works have been, and ever will be constructed; and it is a remarkable fact, that, though the activity of his successors may sometimes have added facts that escaped his vigilance, yet such were his sagacity and discernment, such his candor and integrity, that, in so prodigious an extent of narrations, whatever he stated has never, or seldom, been called in question. Thus, before him, nothing had been attempted in his country, but municipal and provincial annals, or contemporaneous history, such being, in fact, even the high performances of Paolo Giovio and Ripamonti in Lombardy, Bembo in Venice, Bonfadio in Genoa, Costanzo in Naples, Guicciardini and his illustrious contemporaries in Tuscany; whilst, after him, we have not only a good number of more or less successful attempts in general history, such as Denina's "Revolutions of Italy," and Bossi's "Ancient and Modern Italy"; but even such works as were devoted to the illustration of a single district, or a short period, such as Verri's Milan, Galluzzi's and Pignotti's Tuscany, and Giannone's immortal work on Naples, are conceived under general views, and treat the subjects in their relation to the great history of the progress of civilization.

Muratori and his successors having thus cleared and levelled the way for a work of genius, as early as the middle of the last century, the work of genius would long since have appeared, had it not been for the languor and apathy, and the total extinction of public spirit, that characterized the period immediately preceding the French revolution, and the feverish

effervescence of stormy passions that this last event brought with it. Now that, as we have said, the times are highly favorable to efforts of such a nature, among the mental results which will distinguish the present generation in Italy, we have all reason to expect a good history of the country; and a general review of what is daily published in that branch of literature will easily assure us, that our anticipation cannot fail to be speedily realized.

The fondness of the Italians for ruins, medals, and inscriptions, which so often proves contagious even to their foreign visiters, and the great efforts of Ennio Quirino Visconti and other illustrious antiquaries, have turned the attention of several able writers of the present age towards the earliest memorials of their country, and enabled them, in some degree, to rescue the primeval period of their history from the oblivious silence of ages, and the misguiding lore of mythological traditions.

At the head of such compositions, are the works of Micali, "L'Italia avanti i Romani," published at Florence, in 1810, and "Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani," printed in 1832. Choosing his own way, in the midst of jarring opinions and interminable doubts; by the aid of an enlightened criticism, stating and ordering facts with an admirable perspicuity, without attempting to give his subject more unity than it would naturally admit of, Micali endeavoured to collect the records of each individual race of the primitive inhabitants of Italy, one after another, in an easy succession, according to the chronological traditions of their earliest origin, and the influence which they exerted over the land; and traced their history down to that single point of coincidence to which they all naturally tend, the epoch in which their name was effaced from the list of nations, and their fate involved in the destinies of Rome.

The long period of the Roman republic and empire, the second epoch according to our arbitrary division, has been hitherto completely overlooked by the Italian historians. If we except the immortal discourses of Machiavelli on the Decades of Livy, there is hardly any Italian work on that subject. The Italians early reproduced the annals of Rome, by translations of Livy, Tacitus, and other Romans; but a methodical compilation of those annals, a work that should take up the subject, where Micali has left it, is still desirable; nor are the profound and philosophical

views of the German, Niebuhr, sufficient to answer the purpose, though they may serve to suggest new ideas and views on the subject, to such as shall attempt the work after him.

The history of Italy, in fact, may commence where the history of Rome terminates. The two epochs have hardly any link of connexion. The stage is the same ; but the two plays that have been acted upon it bear little relation to each other. With the first inundation of the northern races, with the first setting in of the night of the Middle Ages, commences the history of a new nation. The history of the Middle Ages, the narration of the inroads of the northern barbarians, their laws and institutions, their manners and morals, is still a work to appear. In this branch of history, also, the Italians have permitted themselves to be outrun by foreigners. The works of Hallam and of others, English and German scholars, have prepared the way for the historians of Italy ; but the Middle Ages in her history do not extend to the same epoch as bounds them in the history of the rest of Europe. Feudal disorder and anarchy continued in France until the days of Charles the Seventh, or Louis the Eleventh; the Middle Ages in Spain closed at the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella ; in Germany, under Maximilian the First ; in England, under Henry the Eighth or Elizabeth ; but in Italy, modern civilization dates as far back as the peace of Constance, in 1183 ; and from that year commences the fourth epoch, the history of Italian freedom.

On this period, a splendid work has been recently published, such as to leave hardly any chance of doing better, hardly any thing to be desired. Sismondi, a name dear to the Italians, descended from a Tuscan family, though a native of Geneva, always seemed to look with pride and affection towards the land of his ancestors. In his "History of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages," published in 1826, in sixteen volumes, and in the compendium of the same work, condensed into a small volume, under the title of "Rise and Fall of Liberty in Italy," printed in 1830, there prevails throughout a warmth of patriotism, that might be easily accounted partiality in a native of Italy. Ten years of travel and local researches enabled him to draw information from the most direct sources ; and that vast mass of erudition, organized with the wide and deep views of a master mind, and warmed with the enthusiasm of a virtuous and chivalrous heart, has

rendered this work one of the most important productions of the present times.

The history of modern Italy has been likewise abundantly provided for. The work of Guicciardini stands at the head of that period. Writing the history of his own age, from 1492 to 1522, from the first French invasion of Charles the Eighth, to the definitive settlement of the Austrian dominion of Charles the Fifth, Guicciardini amply illustrated that momentous era, which put an end for ever to the supremacy of Italy over the other nations of Europe. The continuation of Guicciardini, from 1522 to 1797, and the history of Italy during the last French invasions, from 1797 to 1814, have been written by Botta.

This Guicciardini of our days, this prince of modern historians, as he is generally styled among his countrymen, long since established a wide reputation in this country, by his "History of the War of Independence of the United States of America." It was at first, and is still surprising, how a foreigner, who had never visited the country, could have so deeply studied the complicated institutions of the English colonies of North America, divined the causes that excited and the spirit that supported them during the long struggle of their emancipation, and traced its principal events with a chronological and topographical accuracy, that might deserve encomium even in an eyewitness.

It is highly desirable for a nation to have its history written by an enlightened foreigner. It is important to divest the annals of a country of the selfishness and narrow-mindedness of a mistaken patriotism. It is curious and instructive to read what other people think of us. The Italians have been long since used to perform such good offices for their neighbours, and have lately been amply requited by the labors of Sismondi. Botta's "America," however, was written especially with patriotic views; and the author, while writing, was not much actuated by the expectation of the popularity that awaited him on this side of the Atlantic. The rights of men were in those days blindly debated in Italy as well as in the rest of Europe. Liberty, an epidemic disease, threatened a general overturn. Botta, desirous of giving his countrymen a salutary lesson, thought of deriving his instruction from that recent memorable event, which had perhaps chiefly contributed to give Europe the first impulse. He wished to teach the Ital-

ians, on what ground a people must found its aspiration to independence ; what public spirit, and what private character, become a nation of freemen. It was with that aim, that he dwelt with so much fondness on the simplicity and sanctity of the earliest planters of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It was as models to the chiefs of the Cisalpine and Italian republics, that he drew, with so much skill, the portraits of Washington, Adams, and Warren. It was as a contrast with *Jacobin* and *Sansculottic* rage, that he exalted the mildness and forbearance of the victors of Bunker's Hill and Saratoga. The length and prolixity of the work, and the pedantic affectation of its style, prevented the instruction from descending to those lower classes among which instruction was wanted. Botta was understood only by few ; and that history remained among the works that are more celebrated than read.

By that history, however, Botta having raised his name into public notice, he ventured on a work of still greater importance to Italy, by writing contemporaneous history. He was well aware of all the dangers attendant on such an enterprise. "Proposing to write," he says, at the beginning of the first book, "the history of events that took place in Italy in our days, I know not what the people of the present age will say of me." The judgment of his contemporaries did, in fact, bear harshly against him. That work was the object of virulent attacks, and the repose of his last years was disturbed by the animosities he had raised. But now Botta is dead, and we, his survivors, his earliest posterity, have a right to constitute ourselves his judges, and review the sentence that party spirit has passed against him. It is not difficult to vindicate his fame against all charges of venality. The indigence and exile, that were his portion after the fall of Napoleon, are sufficient evidence against such vile accusations. Equally reviled by all factions, he was sold to no faction. Those who have seen him in his humble dwelling in France, who know on what means he depended for his sustenance, must confess, that, had he ever sold himself, he must have made, to say the least, a very losing bargain. Nor is the charge of ingratitude towards the memory of Napoleon better founded. Botta was, at different intervals, a physician in the French armies, a deputy from his native district, a president of a scientific institute in France. He never attracted the attention of the great conqueror, except in the last years of his reign. With his great talent for

judging of men, and availing himself of their abilities, Napoleon employed Botta within his natural sphere, and conferred on him no favor from which he did not expect to derive equal advantages for the state. Botta was then bound to Napoleon's memory by no feelings that could hinder him from writing; nor could he, when writing, be hindered, by any personal feelings, from declaring what he deemed to be truth.

Botta was a patriotic historian. At the moment he began his narration, he had just awakened from a dear illusion, in which all the best friends of Italy had equally shared, and wished to leave in his history a warning to his countrymen against future deception. He had finally perceived, that the Austrians, though the most successful, were not the most formidable, enemies of the independence of his country; that the antipathy of all Italians, and especially the Lombards, against them, needed no further exasperation; that no time, no mildness, no soothing manners, could ever reconcile the conquered to the conquerors. Sure on that ground, he saw, on the other hand, that, notwithstanding the severe lesson by which Italy was still bleeding from all her veins, the eyes of all Utopians were still turned towards France for their rescue, and *Gallomania* was still, to many minds, synonymous with patriotism. He saw this; and, by a heart-rending picture of the horrors he had witnessed, he desired to impress upon his contemporaries that hard, but salutary lesson, which forms almost the conclusion of all his chapters, and so often recurs in the same words; "that Austrians and Russians, English and French, are equally the sworn enemies of unfortunate Italy; that there is no deception, no treachery, no ravage she has not reason to expect from them all; and that, to rely upon foreign aid for her emancipation, can lead to no better result than a change of masters." A holy lesson this, and a prophetic warning! But, at the moment it was given, the effervescence of men's minds was too great to allow calm judgment the exercise of its functions. The recent remembrance of the military despotism of Napoleon still dazzled the fancy with all the *prestiges* of glory. The dull and deathlike yoke of the Austrians made a sad contrast to the activity and life of the French dominion. The name of Italy was, as yet, imperfectly understood. The patriotic ranks were principally filled by malecontents from the Cisalpine assemblies, or from the French armies; Jacobins, royalists, constitutionalists;

opposite elements, cast together by common reverses, and used to call themselves French, and to speak and think in French; raising, in the secrecy of their homes, shrines to the memory of the "man of destiny"; looking towards St. Helena, as they had looked towards Elba, for a new rising of *the Star*; some of them, even to the present day, refusing all belief to the tidings of the death of the *Sultan of death*. To such a set of warm and heroic believers, no wonder if the history of Botta sounded like calumny and blasphemy; and no wonder also, if after so many lessons, so dearly purchased, in the revolutions of 1820 and 1831, the Italian patriots, resting on the fair promises of France, and plunging still into the same illusions, had the same calamities to deplore.

We do not know, however, how far the end can justify the means; and we would not take upon ourselves to affirm, that, in pursuance of his own views, Botta has not, in many circumstances, deliberately palliated or exaggerated the truth, making his best of an epoch, in which an impudent system of lying, in all official bulletins and newspapers, had involved truth in a maze of perplexity. He has, for instance, too far exalted the constancy and valor of the ever-beaten warriors of Austria; he has too often ascribed to chance the brilliant successes of the French; he has overrated the wisdom and mildness of the old governments, and underrated the talents and uprightness of the new ones. But, above all, the desire of giving to his history the dark hues of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, as he had given his style their turn and manner, has made him extravagant, in his exhibition of human simulation and perfidy. He has put before his eyes a smoked glass, and all around him looks dark and pale. Society is to him a den of wild beasts. Botta is a virtuous writer, but no believer in virtue. He is a patriot, but he has despaired of his country. He is a lover of good, but a prophet of evil. He revolts you with a faithful exhibition, and a strong execration, of baseness and crime; but he disheartens you by the conviction of their constant prosperity. If there is truth in his doctrines, still we do not see what they can lead to, but misanthropy and suicide.

His other history of Italy, a continuation of that of Guicciardini, from 1522 to 1797, the last of his works, written in compliance with the desire of an association of illustrious citizens from all parts of the country, who provided for the sus-

tenance of their proscribed historian, has met with less animosity, as it relates to an epoch not so intimately connected with the wants and feelings of the country at the present day. Nevertheless, the fondness of the author for an aristocratic or patrician form of government, such as, according to his ideas, principally contributed to the long prosperity of the Roman, Venetian, and Genoese republics, does not agree with the wild doctrines of democratic equality, of which the French revolution has spread the seeds throughout Europe. Italy is eminently a republican country. Wherever her different people, by any happy circumstance, have been masters of themselves, they have never made choice of any but a popular government. All the reigning families in the peninsula have erected their thrones on violence; none has ever been defended with such beautiful examples of devotion as we read of in the histories of the northern countries. *God save the King*, and *Vive le Roi*, are shouts which find no echo in Italian hearts. On the other hand, no republic is able to hinder true merit from shining, or people from valuing and rewarding it; nor can a man be put so high, that he may not aim still higher; nor can he enjoy consideration and power, without endeavouring to forward his descendants in the same career; nor can nations be prevented from looking with partiality and expectation towards the descendants of a man, who has bequeathed to them high claims to public gratitude. Aristocracy is innate in society; it is inherent in our best feelings. The republic is wise which provides against its abuses, and prevents this system from becoming injurious to the common interests. The republic is wise, that leaves aristocracy to public opinion, without sanctioning it by law; but even this is perhaps more than human foresight can do; as we generally see, where laws oppose aristocracy of birth, a new and more offensive kind of aristocracy arises, that of wealth. Such are the ideas of Botta. He regards aristocracy as the conservative principle of a free state, as the source of all that is really noble and disinterested in public life; and such principles are quite as likely to be willingly listened to in the democratic states of North America, as among the innovators of old, aristocratic Europe. Among the latter, at all events, they have destroyed Botta's reputation.

So much provision has been already made for the history of Italy. But the example of Botta has excited a noble

emulation among his countrymen; and, since his death, history has taken in Italy a significant step. Among the writings in which have been more ostensibly adopted the stern and melancholy maxims, the grand and classic manner, the lofty and affected style of Botta, are to be ranked especially two histories of Genoa; the one, from the earliest foundation of the city down to the year 1483, published in 1834, by Girolamo Serra, a man of noble birth, deeply implicated in the events that brought about the total extinction of his native republic; the other, from the origin of the republic to the year 1814, by Carlo Varese, a work now in course of publication, which has excited the highest expectation. Another work, received with equal applause, is the history of Naples by General Colletta, who died an exile at Florence, in 1830. His history, published soon after his death, in continuation of one of the most illustrious works in Italian history, the "History of Naples" by Giannone, taking up the subject from 1734 to the present day, gives a faithful account of the revolution of Naples in 1820, an event in which General Colletta played a most distinguished part. In like manner, each province or city is now republishing its annals; and the history of Como, by Cesare Cantu; of Saluzzo, by Muletti; of Pavia, by Robolini; and essays on the ancient laws of Piedmont, by Sclopis; on the commerce of Venice, by Mutinelli; on the Genoese colonies in Asia, by Sauli; would prove highly interesting in this country, if they could be introduced and circulated. But works written with more general views, and more worthy of the attention of American readers, such as the history of the celebrated families of Italy, by Litta, that of the Italian municipalities by Morbio, both now in course of publication, and the promised history of the house of Swabia, by Nicolini, one of the greatest poets of the age, are destined to be the forerunners of the great work, that, after so many generous efforts, still remains to be written, — a general history of Italy.

Conspicuous among the different attempts that have been made towards a general compilation of the memorials of the country, is "The Revolutions of Italy," by Denina, published at Turin, in 1769, — a work in three volumes, written with sufficient discernment and skill, but not with that wide power of genius, that embraces an immensity of objects, apparently unconnected, and presents them in their mutual rela-

tions, with that proportion and symmetry, which make of history an edifice obedient to the laws of architecture. Nor did the immense work of Luigi Bossi, on the "History of Italy, Ancient and Modern," published at Milan, in 1819, in nineteen volumes, better answer the purpose. Bossi, rather an antiquary than an historian, lost himself in dissertations and conjectures, which are incompatible with the highest aims of a philosophical history. His work is one of erudition, and it may be added to the vast amount of historical materials from which the history of Italy is to be framed. Among his most valuable productions, Botta has left the outlines of Italian history, in a work in three volumes, which he published in 1825, in French, for the Historical Society of Paris, under the title, "*Histoire des Peuples d'Italie*," embracing the whole period from the days of Constantine to the fall of Napoleon. It has been several times translated into Italian as well as into other languages. The depth of the master-mind of Botta is especially visible in this great effort, and his is, in consequence, thus far, the best essay on so arduous a subject; but what he has given, only exhibits the outlines of the great picture for which the artist has not yet appeared. Some praise is due to Sforzosi, who has condensed into one volume the whole history of Italy, ancient and modern. His work has been happily translated into English by a competent scholar in this country. It however had no higher aim than to be an elementary book, and is only to be recommended in that character. The great secret motive which deprives Italy of a work, of which the need is so generally felt, will be easily explained by the success that Cesare Balbo met with in an attempt of a similar nature. He published at Turin, in 1830, three volumes of a history of the Gothic and Lombard dominion, to which it was his intention to add a history of Italian Freedom, and of modern times down to our days; but he was forced to abandon his enterprise at the third volume. Such a work cannot be safely attempted under the iron rule of the Italian governments; but the ancient and modern works which we have noticed, furnish ample means of writing, to such of the sons of Italy, as are placed out of the reach of their enemies' power.

The office of erudition has been completed; the foundations have been laid, and important monuments have already risen, with shining success. A man of genius is

wanted, to take advantage of the efforts of such illustrious workmen, and raise an edifice, which will be the harbinger of union, independence, and regeneration, to that unfortunate people. The efforts the Italians of our days are making for a unity of language, literature, and history, are the best pledge they can give, of their being fitted for their emancipation. It is always by such a wise gradation, that the productions of arts, letters, and science, as well as the works of nature, are advanced to their greatest results.

The plan for the erection of the greatest of temples had long since been modelled and remodelled ; the treasures of more than one Pope had been lavished ; winters and summers had revolved over the rising aisles for more than half a century, before the Vatican felt the first impulse of that hand that was to start it into existence, — before, leaning upon the unwieldy piles heaped up by his predecessors, and taking his model from the works of creation, Michel Angelo raised to the firmament a firmament of marble.

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Art. II. — *The Poetical Works of* Robert Southey, *collected by Himself.* In Ten Volumes. 16mo. London. 1837, 1838.

None of the elegant republications of the day have given us greater pleasure than this ; the rather, as it is not a monument to the memory of its eminent author, but has been undertaken by himself, at the beginning of his old age, as a suitable close of his long literary life. " At the age of sixty-three," he says, " I have undertaken to collect and revise my poetical works." Of those sixty-three years, he has passed forty-four in the public presence, as an active and voluminous author. His literary life thus covers more than a complete generation of men, and has witnessed the beginning and the ending of more than one of those distinguished lives, which have made the nineteenth century famous. During this period, Byron and Mrs. Hemans, to name no more, achieved their whole work of immortality, and even Walter Scott ran his entire race, having made his first publication some years after Southey's reputation was established.

So the laureate has stood, like some steady light in the heavens, while stars and meteors have risen and fallen around him. The older and the younger are gone, and he still lives, with a smooth brow and untremulous hand, not an old man though an old author, to set his works in order by a leisurely revision, and bring his poetical existence to a dignified conclusion.

It is a spectacle of peculiar interest. Excepting Scott, Southey has been the most prolific of the distinguished writers of his time, and, perhaps without exception, the author who has written successfully on the greatest diversity of subjects, from the most trivial to the most important, from the lightest to the most grave. Equally at home in literature, theology, and politics; an historian, biographer, critic, poet, essayist, and polemic; allowed on all hands to be one of the few masters of English prose, and second to few of the great names of modern English poetry; often offending in matters of taste, but never untrue to moral purity and religious faith; bigoted as a politician and a theologian, in both which characters he had forsaken the opinions and connexions of his youth, but liberal as a man, notwithstanding his violence as a partisan; always before the public eye as an author, but living in beautiful retirement from the world, in his own domestic and scholarly retreat; he is a man whom, in some features of his character, we could wish other than he is, but whose intrinsic worth commands respect. We cannot refuse to see that he is unequal, inconsistent, often puerile, sometimes absurd; but he is always conscientious, never forgetful of moral obligation, and occasionally great. If it were inquired who, among the distinguished men of modern letters, has written the silliest things, we should answer, with little hesitation, Southey; if asked, who among them has written the greatest, it would not be without a pause and a struggle, that we should prevail on ourselves to dismiss his claim. We are confident, that he has not yet received the measure of reputation which is his due. In the crowd of admirable works, which, during his career, have jostled each other in their claims for regard, the reading public have allowed their impatience at the littlenesses and the vexatious violations of good taste, which annoyed them in the self-complacent volumes of the bard of Keswick, to divert their attention from his sterling merits. Yet he has not wanted readers and ad-

mirers. Some of his writings have been extensively popular; and we are confident, that this complete collection of his poetical works will find a hearty welcome, and will increase the number of his readers.

We should have been better satisfied with an edition of his poems, from which were excluded all the questionable trivialities of his earlier as well as his later days. But he republishes the whole, insisting, in one of his prefaces, that there is not a line which dying he should be ashamed of, and wish to blot; and, in another, acknowledging that some of the pieces might more fitly be destroyed than reprinted; "not," he says, "for any disgrace which could be reflected upon him by the crude compositions of his youth, nor for any harm which they could possibly do the reader; but, merely, that they might not cumber the collection." He retains them in this edition, simply because, having been once published, "pirated editions would hold out as a recommendation, that they contained what he had chosen to suppress," and it was prudent to forestall that evil by reprinting them himself.

Agreeing with him, that the poems to which he refers had better been "consigned to the flames," we think, too, that he has done right in not excluding them from the present collection; but we are not so easily satisfied with his course in regard to the correction of his earlier works. His method is, to arrange the pieces, as far as possible, in the order in which they were written, for the reason, that "such order is useful to those who read critically, and desire to trace the progress of an author's mind in his writings;" yet he adopts a rule in the revision of his juvenile works, which contradicts this purpose. "From these," he says, "the faults of diction have been weeded, wherever it could be done without more trouble than the composition originally cost, and than the piece itself was worth." And, as regards one of them, "Joan of Arc," he tells us, that it has now been corrected throughout,

"for the purpose of making it more consistent with itself in diction, and less inconsistent in other things with the well-weighed opinions of my maturer years. The faults of effort, which may generally be regarded as hopeful indications in a juvenile writer, have been mostly left as they were. The faults

of language, which remained from the first edition, have been removed, so that in this respect the whole is sufficiently in keeping. And for those which expressed the political prejudices of a young man, who had too little knowledge to suspect his own ignorance, they have either been expunged, or altered, or such substitutions have been made for them as harmonize with the pervading spirit of the poem, and are nevertheless in accord with those opinions which the author has maintained for thirty years, through good and evil report, in the maturity of his judgment as well as in the sincerity of his heart."

We certainly do not perceive how such thorough correction as this, extending both to "diction and opinions," can leave the work in a condition "to aid those who read critically, and desire to trace the progress of the author's mind." We have not been at the pains to collate the present with the earlier editions, and therefore cannot say, how far changes have been made;* but it is clear, that the author has deliberately adopted a course, which deprives the chronological arrangement of his works of a large portion of its usefulness. How are we to judge of "the progress of an author's mind," if his early productions are altered by him in mature life, so as to conform to the opinions which he then holds?

It is not, however, to all his juvenile pieces that this correcting process has been applied. The most celebrated, perhaps we should say notorious, of them, "Wat Tyler," composed at the age of nineteen, when his blood was hot with republican principles, and, after he had renounced them, freely used as a weapon of annoyance by his political adversaries, is here reprinted, partly in the spirit of bravado, just as it was written. The publication of this "notable drama" was at first made surreptitiously, twenty years after it was written. It obtained a far greater notoriety, through incidental circumstances, than its intrinsic merit or demerit could warrant; and posterity will wonder at the extreme acrimony exhibited in the writings of the parties, who waged a warfare of petty personal annoyance and spite, on account of so ordinary a performance. The secret is found in the fact, that

* They may be judged of, we suppose, from the omission, which we have just now accidentally noticed, of this line;

"La Fayette, name that Freedom still shall love."

the deadliest enmity is that of a party, which seeks to revenge apostasy; as Southey says, "gentlemen thought proper to revile me, not for having entertained democratic opinions, but for having outgrown them." And he faces down the shame which they attempt to fix upon him, by printing the obnoxious thing, "just as it was written in the course of three mornings, in 1794; the stolen copy, which was committed to the press twenty-three years afterwards, not having undergone the slightest correction of any kind;" and this he does, "that it may not be supposed I think it any reproach to have written it, or that I am more ashamed of having been a republican, than of having been a boy." This is capitally said; but the tetchiness and virulence of his political feelings give sometimes an apparent contradiction to this cool assertion of indifference.

Another of his pieces, equally notorious with "Wat Tyler," though in a different way, makes its appearance under very different treatment, and in a manner somewhat instructive as to one side of our author's character. Everybody has read "The Devil's Walk," which has been printed and reprinted, times without number, as Professor Porson's. The pith and piquancy of some of the stanzas are sufficient to account for its popularity. It seems, however, that there was blunder or mystification in the affair. Coleridge printed the verses among his works, under the title of "The Devil's Thoughts;" * assigning five of the stanzas to Southey, and claiming for himself the remaining twelve. But the authorship was still obstinately attributed to Porson, until declared to be Southey's, in a newspaper correspondence, which is quoted in these volumes and adopted as the truth. The lines, it is said, "were written by Mr. Southey one morning before breakfast, the idea having struck him while shaving; they were subsequently shown to Mr. Coleridge, who, we believe, pointed some of the stanzas, and perhaps added one or two." This account is clearly irreconcilable with that of Coleridge, and leaves us entirely puzzled as to what is the fact. Is it possible, that both of these great men deceived themselves, and misremembered? At any rate, here it appears with our author's mark on it; but in such a questionable shape, that we are disposed to address it in the words

* Vol. II. p. 83.

used of old to one of the Devil's companions, — "If thou beest he! but oh, how changed!" For the worthy author, tickled with the popularity of the piece, and apparently supposing that there cannot be too much of a good thing, has extended it to about four times its original length. The added stanzas are so little germain to the rest, that they ruin the quaint felicity of the primitive piece, and turn a pleasant *jeu d'esprit*, which made everybody laugh, into heavy and tiresome doggrel, which nobody will read. He says, this was done in "sportive mood"; but one rarely witnesses such melancholy merrymaking. And besides, the original portions of the piece are not left in their original state. Whoever the author may have been, of the whole or of any part, Southey uses the freedom of altering any part at his pleasure. A large proportion of the stanzas are somewhat altered, some of them essentially, and all, we think, without exception, are made worse. The spirit is taken out of them, and the point blunted. Let this be judged of by the two following instances.

"He saw a lawyer killing a viper,
On a dunghill hard by his own stable;
And the Devil smiled, for it put him in mind
Of Cain and his brother Abel."

Altered thus;

"Ho, quoth he, thou putt'st me in mind
Of the story of Cain and Abel.

The sting in the word *brother* is extracted.

Again;

"He saw a cottage with a double coach-house,
A cottage of gentility;
And the Devil did grin, for his darling sin
Is pride that apes humility."

Altered thus;

"And he owned with a grin that his favorite sin
Is pride that apes humility."

And so on, and much worse. Three stanzas are omitted; one poor one of Southey's own, and two of Coleridge's which were worth keeping. Perhaps this matter hardly deserves the room we have given to it. But we do not like explanations which

clear up nothing ; and we think there is nothing in these volumes which casts so strong a light on a certain infirmity of the author's nature, — namely, an inability to discern the difference between good and poor humor, so that he confounds the laughable and the ridiculous, and an equal inability to perceive that any thing can be ridiculous, which concerns himself or is done by him.

This explains the character of that large portion of his minor poems, which are intended to be humorous. Many of them are undoubtedly of that character ; their humor is rich and genuine ; it comes freely and unsought, from the overflowing good nature of a happy and self-complacent temper. But it unluckily happened, that Mr. Edgeworth once said to him, " Take my word for it, Sir, the bent of your genius is for comedy." We would not attribute too much to the influence of such a remark ; but Mr. Southey himself quotes it, as having made an impression on his mind, and we cannot doubt that it was one of the influences which prompted him to *try* to be facetious, and to manufacture, in cold blood, tales and descriptions, and forms of expression, which should sustain his character, as having a genius for comedy. The strained and awkward doings of his pen, in these attempts, are of so unhappy effect on his readers, that they are likely to forget the passages of natural, easy, quiet fun, which else would have been delightful. Some of his specimens of the heroi-comic are quite equal to any of that class that are to be met with.

The example of Walter Scott, in accompanying the republication of his works with auto-biographical prefaces, has been pleasantly followed in the present case. Each volume has its preface, narrating the circumstances under which its contents were written ; and some of the more important pieces have their own separate notices prefixed. Much interesting information respecting the author, and his works, and his friends, is thus furnished, from which it is easy to gather a connected history of his life and labors. It is that of a man, " dipped in ink " from his very earliest boyhood. The love of story and of verse seems to have been a sort of instinct with him, and to have filled his soul with visions of romance and fame. Hoole's translations of Tasso and Ariosto nourished in the boy a taste for the stirring and the marvellous,

and introduced him, at a very early period, to Spenser, whom he tells us he "took for his master." As he lisped in numbers, he caught something, as he thinks, from the older, and something from the contemporaneous writers. His schoolboy verses "savoured of Gray, Mason, and Warton"; his manner was affected by Akenside; he derived much benefit from Cowper, and more from Bowles; and from Dr. Sayers he learned to appreciate the rhythmical capacities of the irregular blank verse, which he used afterward in "Thalaba" and some of his minor poems. Thus imbued and heated with the poetic temper, it is not strange, that he longed to give it vent by the press as well as by the pen; and accordingly, in 1794, when he was only nineteen, and had just left school, he published at Bristol a little volume with the title, "Poems, containing the Retrospect, &c. by Robert Lovell and Robert Southey." These were a few of the productions of his juvenile pen, the larger part of which he at different times consumed in the fire, "piles upon piles." His industrious habits, and his extraordinary facility in composition, must have caused them to grow as fast as they were destroyed. He had already written, in a retirement of six weeks, the preceding year, an epic poem on the story of Joan of Arc; it had been corrected and copied, and was now advertised as ready for publication. We find nothing in the prefaces on which he dwells with so much fondness as this poem. He relates the whole story of its composition and printing with most affectionate minuteness, and treats it, in all respects, as a doting father his first-born child. He is so solicitous for its honor and reputation, that now, when it has been forty-four years in the world, he employs himself in revising and altering it, as if still his own character depended on its good appearance. Some may smile at this; but it is natural and amiable. It was a great achievement for an Oxford scholar, in a summer vacation; he never afterward did any thing of which it was possible to feel so proud, or which was to have so important a bearing on his destiny.

"I was not a little proud of my performance. Young poets are, or at least used to be, as ambitious of producing an epic poem, as stage-stricken youths of figuring in Romeo or Hamlet. It had been the earliest of my day-dreams. I had begun many such; but this was the first which had been completed,

and I was too young and too ardent to perceive or suspect that the execution was as crude as the design." — Vol. I. p. xvii.

The poem thus "crudely conceived, rashly prefaced, and prematurely hurried into the world," was received with great favor, and subsequently passed through five editions. Much of its popularity was owing to its political tone, which favored the liberal tendencies of the day, and caused it to be immediately reprinted in this country. It was not without merit in itself; and, in comparison with the other new works of the same period, it had an attraction incomparably beyond any it could possess if published at this time, "when a work of the same class would attract little or no attention."

Before "Joan of Arc" went to press, the author had begun to discharge himself of another epic poem, on the discovery of America, by the Welsh prince, Madoc; a subject which he had fixed upon, and talked about, when a boy. The composition of this he renewed at Westbury, in 1798. This year he speaks of, as one of the happiest portions of his life. He was full of invention and activity. The smaller poems, as he wrote them, were sent off to Charles Lamb, and the portions of "Madoc," as they were composed, were read to Davy, with whom Southey was then in habits of intimate intercourse.

"We were within an easy walk of each other, over some of the most beautiful ground in that beautiful part of England. When I went to the Pneumatic Institution, he had to tell me of some new experiment or discovery, and of the views which it opened for him; and when he came to Westbury, there was a fresh portion of 'Madoc' for his hearing. Davy encouraged me with his hearty approbation during its progress; and the bag of nitrous oxide, with which he generally regaled me upon my visits to him, was not required for raising my spirits to the degree of settled fair, and keeping them at that elevation." — Vol. IV. p. x.

"Madoc" was finished on the 12th of July, 1799, and the next day "Thalaba" was begun. The subject for this poem had been in the author's mind for four years, and the materials for it had been gathering during that time. The writing was interrupted by ill health, and he went to the south of Europe for its recovery the next spring.

"Change of circumstances and of climate effected an immediate cure of what proved to be not an organic disease. A

week after our landing at Lisbon, I resumed my favorite work, and I completed it at Cintra, a year and six days after the day of its commencement."— Vol. iv. p. xii.

"Thalaba" was published before the author's return, the press being corrected by his friends, Davy and Danvers. It was less favorably received than "Joan of Arc" had been, though an immeasurably finer work. It was so wholly strange and original in its plan and style, that the critics and the readers were at fault; they had no rules or precedents to judge by, and found it much easier to laugh at what was puerile and seemed affected, than to enter into the spirit of the author's design and boldly allow the excellence of his novelties. His name was now coupled with that of Wordsworth, by those who looked only at the superficial resemblances to be found in the extreme simplicity of diction which each affected, and who did not care to observe their essential differences. But it is not always by essential differences that a classification is made; and Mr. Southey should not complain or wonder, that a set of writers, all of them departing from the settled models, and well agreeing in some obvious points of their revolutionary creed, should be, for convenience or for wit's sake, put together under a common name. As to the justice with which, having been so classed, they were described and treated, that is another affair; and it certainly required no little forbearance in them to stand by for twenty years, "while every tyro in criticism who could smatter and sneer, tried his 'prentice hand' upon the Lake Poets; and every young sportsman who carried a popgun in the field of satire, considered them as fair game."

"Thalaba" being published, the author returned to the revision of "Madoc," which he pursued with great care and deliberation, "thinking that it probably would be the greatest poem he should ever produce." With this view he travelled through Wales in the autumn of 1801, in order to perfect himself in the localities and scenery of that picturesque country. In 1803, he took up his abode at Keswick, where he has ever since resided. There, he says, in the latter end of this year, the work was resumed, "and twelve months were diligently employed in reconstructing it."

The work, thus studiously prepared, was printed in 1805; was immediately reprinted in two elegant octavo volumes in

America;* was pronounced, by some of the critics, the greatest poem since "Paradise Lost," and enjoyed a deserved reputation in spite of some ill-natured criticisms.

While these larger works were in progress, the author had been amusing himself, by way of recreation in his more leisure hours, with the composition of a great variety of minor poems. Of these, three volumes were published, one in each of the years 1797, 1799, and 1805. Some of them were works of considerable pretension; some, very slight and insignificant; a few had the good fortune to be popular, and to become extensively known. Southey himself wished them to be considered "as the desultory productions of a man sedulously employed upon better things." These are reprinted, we presume all of them, in the present edition, as well as the contents of another little volume, published in 1815, and his various compositions as Poet Laureate. As he has advanced in life, he has written less and less of occasional and fugitive poetry, being absorbed in works of greater extent and of a different character. Indeed, he tells us, that the poetical impulse has ceased, and that "latterly the inclination has been so seldom felt, that it required an effort to call it forth."

"Madoc" being thus disposed of in 1805, he the next year resumed and finished another large poem, "The Curse of Kehama," which had been begun in 1801. Concerning this, he says,

"No poem could have been more deliberately planned, or more carefully composed. It was commenced at Lisbon, on the 1st of May, 1801, and recommenced in the summer of the same year, at Kingstown, in which 'Madoc' had been finished and 'Thalaba' begun. A little was added, during the winter of that year, in London. It was resumed at Kingstown, in the summer of 1802, and then laid aside till 1806, during which interval 'Madoc' was reconstructed and published. Resuming it then once more, all that had been written was recast at Keswick; there I proceeded with it leisurely, and finished it on the 25th of November, 1809. It is the only one of my long poems of which detached parts were written to be afterwards inserted in their proper places."

We presume, that this disclosure of laborious diligence and

* In Boston, by Munroe and Francis, in semi-monthly parts, with engraved title-pages.

painful revision will surprise many readers, who have been unable to account for the frequency and multitude of our author's large works, except on the supposition of hasty and even precipitate publication. It seems, however, that he was accustomed to exercise a scrupulous fidelity in this respect; and that, wherever he may have failed, it has been with thoughtful deliberation and mature reflection. A proper criticism of his works would suggest the same conclusion. There is another interesting fact, disclosed in the same preface; that his several larger poems form a sort of series, each being one part of a plan, which is completed by the union of the whole.

"While a schoolboy at Westminster, I had formed an intention of exhibiting the most remarkable forms of Mythology, which have at any time obtained among mankind, by making each the groundwork of a narrative poem.

"The plan upon which I proceeded in 'Madoc,' was to produce the effect of machinery, as far as was consistent with the character of the poem, by representing the most remarkable religion of the New World such as it was, a system of atrocious priestcraft. It was not here, as in 'Thalaba,' the foundation of the poem, but, as usual in what are called epic poems, only incidentally connected with it.

"When I took up, for my next subject, that mythology which Sir William Jones had been the first to introduce into English poetry, I soon perceived that the best way of treating it would be to construct a story altogether mythological. In what form to compose it was then to be determined. No such question had arisen concerning any of my former poems. I should never, for a moment, have thought of any other measure than blank verse for 'Joan of Arc,' and for 'Madoc,' and afterwards for 'Roderick.' The reason why the irregular rhymeless lyrics of Dr. Sayers were preferred for 'Thalaba' was, that the freedom and variety of such verse were suited to the story.

"It appeared to me, that here neither the tone of morals, nor the strain of poetry, could be pitched too high; that nothing but moral sublimity could compensate for the extravagance of the fictions, and that all the skill I might possess in the art of poetry, was required to counterbalance the disadvantage of a mythology with which few readers were likely to be well acquainted, and which would appear monstrous, if its deformities were not kept out of sight. I endeavoured, therefore, to combine the utmost richness of versification with the greatest free-

dom. The spirit of the poem was Indian, but there was nothing Oriental in the style."

"The Curse of Kehama" having been finished, on the 25th of November, 1809, he, the next week, December 2d, began "Roderick, the Last of the Goths"; and finished it, July 14, 1814, — an interval of four years and seven months. Of the history of the composition of this noble work, no particulars are given; but a letter from Hogg, "the Ettrick Shepherd," is quoted, which is well worth reading.

"I have read 'Roderick' over and over again, and am more and more convinced, that it is the noblest epic poem of the age. I have had some correspondence, and a good deal of conversation, with Mr. Jeffrey about it, though he does not agree with me in every particular. He says, it is too long, and wants *elasticity*, and will not, he fears, be generally read, though much may be said in its favor. I had even teased him to let me review it for him, on account, as I said, that he could not appreciate its merits. I copy one sentence of the letter he sent in answer to mine: —

"'For Southey I have, as well as you, great respect, and, when he will let me, great admiration; but he is a most provoking fellow, and at least as conceited as his neighbour Wordsworth. I cannot just trust you with his 'Roderick'; but I shall be extremely happy to talk over that and other kindred subjects with you; for I am every way disposed to give Southey a lavish allowance of praise, and few things would give me greater pleasure than to find he had afforded me a fair opportunity. But I must do my duty, according to my own apprehensions of it.'

"I supped with him last night, but there was so many people that I got but little conversation with him, but what we had was solely about you and Wordsworth. I suppose you have heard what a crushing review he has given the latter. I still found him persisting in his first asseveration, that it was heavy; but what was my pleasure to find that he had only got to the seventeenth division. I assured him he had the marrow of the thing to come at as yet, and in that I was joined by Mr. Alison. There was, at the same time, a Lady M—— joined us at the instant; short as her remark was, it seemed to make more impression on Jeffrey than all our arguments; — 'O, I do love Southey'! that was all.

"I have no room to tell you more. But I beg that you will not do any thing, nor publish any thing, that will nettle Jeffrey for the present, knowing as you do, how omnipotent he is with

the fashionable world, and seemingly so well disposed towards you."

Mr. Southey did not receive very graciously this proposal to propitiate the northern censor, and answered Hogg, as if he thought him a little officious. "Jeffrey crush the Excursion!" he exclaimed; "tell him he might as easily crush Skiddaw."

Since the completion of "Roderick," Mr. Southey has produced very little that is worthy of his fame. His muse seems to have fallen into her dotage. Whether the bays of the Laureateship, which he condescended to wear, are really mixed with poppy leaves or not, it is certain, that something stupefying has been mingled with all that he has done officially. Just at this date the tremendous wars of the French revolution came to a close with the fight at Waterloo, and Europe was witness to scenes, such as for grandeur and effect the world has rarely beheld. The overthrow of a terrible dynasty, the release of the civilized nations, the incarceration of the imperial prisoner at St. Helena, the assemblies of the crowned heads of all the great kingdoms at Paris and London, and a thousand more incidents of thrilling and sublime effect, would seem to offer to a poet capable of enthusiasm, such inviting and grateful themes, as could scarcely fail to make another Pindar. But though Southey was maddened by the eagerness with which he entered into the times, his madness had no poetry in it. He wrote an ode on the visit of the Allied Sovereigns to London, in blank verse, from which all enthusiasm as well as jingle was absent. He visited the field of Waterloo three months after the battle, and came home and wrote a long account in rhyme of his "Pilgrimage" thither, which would have been tolerable prose, if it had not been intolerable verse, — wordy and cold. He wrote on the marriage of the Princess Charlotte in a very similar strain. And when George the Third died, he finished the climax of all the fatuities of the official muse, by his "Vision of Judgment"; which was not "blasphemous," as it was declared to be, but simply puerile; being the failure of another attempt to introduce the ancient hexameter verse into our language, and still more signally a failure to produce an impressive and sublime description of the scenes to which a human spirit is introduced immediately after death. One would not have believed beforehand, that so complete a failure was possible.

After this, we are not aware that any royal verses have been attempted by our author. We suppose that King William and his times have been too democratic for his sympathy or his eulogy ; and, even if the vein of poetic adulation had not been exhausted on her grandfather, the accession of the youthful queen had too little of hope for the conservative bard, to induce him to take down his harp from the willows. There let it hang, never again to palsy the hand of genius with its torpedo wires, or turn to mockery the great events of national and royal fortune.

We have only to add the publication of the "Tale of Paraguay," in four cantos of Spenserian verse, in 1825, and two long ballads, called "All for Love," and "The Pilgrim to Compostella," in 1829, and we have completed the enumeration of the principal works which are collected in the volumes before us.

In order to judge fairly of a writer so copious and various, it is necessary to separate his works into classes, and form an opinion of each by itself. He may have failed in one direction and been successful in another ; *non omnia possumus omnes.* In the case before us, it is especially a duty to do this. If judged of by some of these volumes, the author would sink into insignificance ; while the due appreciation of others would assign him an exalted place. If he had written nothing but "Roderick" and "Thalaba," there would be no doubt in any mind that he is a poet of the first order, for none other could produce those extraordinary works. But the same judgment could not be passed upon the perusal of his innumerable ballads, epitaphs, eclogues, songs, sonnets, dramas, and what he calls "non-descripts." This varied assortment cannot be characterized in any general terms. Each parcel must be taken up by itself, and judged by its own merits ; and the ill opinion of any one sort must do nothing to prejudice the claims of another. But for such an investigation we have here no time or room. We can only say, that the reputation of the author rests on his larger works. A few of his smaller pieces are worthy of all praise, but a great proportion of them have little merit. They were chiefly written when he was very young, and bear the marks of an eager but unripe mind, easily excited and rapidly throwing off its excitement in a poetical form. A considerable number of them are ballads, founded on some ter-

rific or grotesque legend of vulgar superstition or the Catholic faith, in which witches and magicians, and especially the Devil, are the actors. It would have been hard to say, in regard to these, whether they were written in earnest or in jest, if the author had not expressed severe displeasure at one of them being styled mock-heroic. Undoubtedly, some of them are conceived in the true ballad vein, with a simplicity and truth which make them charming, and have secured their popularity. But others are mere doggerel, which we can just put up with, if allowed to regard them as extravaganzas; and perfectly insufferable, if the author insists on their being taken as specimens of the legitimate art. What especially surprises us, is, that he should have retained a taste for this sort of composition, even to his later years; the volume already noticed as printed in 1829, having for its contents nothing but certain long-winded ballads of his poorest manufacture, limping along in lame verses and still lamer prodigies, to the mere disgust of the impatient reader. We do not marvel, that his wife looked grave, as he tells us she did, with "more of reproof than of praise in her smile," when she found him, at the manly age of fifty-four, dealing out such trash for the amusement of his children; though the piece to which she especially objected, "The Young Dragon," is less obnoxious to censure than many others. It is a specimen of finished verse, and tells the story with an air of sly humor, which makes us enjoy it, childish as it is. The major part of the marvellous stories, which he has collected from the stores of monkish tradition, are too senseless to be read with any feeling but that of wonder that any man, to whom it was not assigned as a penance, could submit to versify them so poorly, or to versify them at all.

None of his minor pieces seem to us so good on the whole as his "English Eclogues." They are conceived with great truth, and are expressed in a style of manliness and simplicity, with many touches of unaffected pathos, and in a tone of high philanthropic morality. Similar praise may be given to some of the "Inscriptions" and "Occasional Pieces." Most of these are in the blank heroic verse. Blank also are many of his "Lyric Poems," even those which he wrote as poet laureate, on occasions of state and public rejoicing. In this he appears to have committed an error. The English accent does not form itself into lyric measures without

the aid of rhyme to mark its movement, and decide its rhythm for the ear. Without rhyme, it cannot be distinguished from ordinary blank verse. It is thus that "Thalaba" is written; the reader, aided by his eye, may observe the verse, but its peculiarity is for the most part undiscernible by the ear. And in short lyric pieces, in which the expression of tenderness or ardor, of pathos or triumph, is so much dependent on the palpable march of the verse, the whole artifice of the structure is in danger of being thrown away, when not made to tell by the recurrence of the rhyme. It is only by his rhyme, that the lyrist can beat time to his music. Great praise has been bestowed on Collins's "Ode to Evening," for the sweet and graceful melody of its stanza. Allowing it to be deserved, the piece has never been successfully imitated, and the result of all the experiments seems to be, that lyric poetry in blank stanzas is little consistent with the genius of the language.

The larger poems of Southey, which make pretension to something of epic dignity, are five in number, occupying each a volume in the present edition. He disclaims for them the title of epic, because, as he avers, it has been "degraded." This, however, is little to the purpose. If they belong to the class, they should be named accordingly. But the truth is, that the epic, strictly defined, is an obsolete form of the poetic art. It would not be acceptable at the present day. The change of manners, philosophy, and taste, demands a different representation; and it is because Southey has adapted himself to this change, not because the ancient form is "degraded," that his poems should not be called epic.

But, without elevating this into a question of importance, it is observable, that these five poems belong to two distinct classes, as unlike each other as if they had proceeded from the most opposite schools of art. "Joan of Arc," "Madoc," and "Roderick," are written in regular blank verse; their scenes lie within the limits of credible history, and they treat of human fortune, character, and passion, in accordance with the most moderate laws of poetic probability. "Thalaba" and "The Curse of Kehama," on the other hand, are tales of magic and supernatural life; the actors genii, sorcerers, and gods, as well as men; the incidents impossible, the *dénouement* incredible; the verse irregular, lawless, and strange, to correspond to the subject. It cannot be denied, that in each

class he has been eminently successful; so much so, unlike as they are, that it is not easy to decide in which of the two his master-piece is to be found. "Roderick" and "Thalaba" undoubtedly stand at the head of the two divisions; but which of these two is the superior, it would be hard to determine.

In remarking on the poems of the first class, we may observe, that they approach as nearly to the epic model as modern taste will allow. They are written in heroic blank verse, and a sustained tone of grave dignity. They treat historical subjects and personages. They are tales of national struggles and welfare, and of the achievements and fortunes of princes and brave men, intermingled with pictures of more private suffering, and the personal fate of distinguished and obscure individuals. The supernatural machinery, thought essential to the epic poem, finds a substitute in the religious sentiment, as existing among the personages who appear in the story, and forms a natural and effective ingredient;— in "Joan of Arc," the excited enthusiasm of the heroine, and the devout chivalry of that wild era; in "Madoc," the superstitious forms and rites of the savage Mexicans; in "Roderick," all that is beautiful, picturesque, and pathetic in the opinions and ritual of the Romish church.

"Joan of Arc," as it was first in the order of time, so was never to be properly regarded as any thing more than a splendid promise, and has not been reared into any thing higher by all the careful emendation of its author in his riper years. In "Madoc" he made a great advancement. The story is various, fertile in character and incident, lying partly in the old world and partly in the new, rich in all the contrasts presented by sea and land, civilization and barbarism, Christianity and idolatry. It conducts the Welsh prince from the troubles of his native country, through his voyage over the ocean, to his happy settlement in America. It describes the struggles and wars of the young colony, the fortunes and superstitions of the aboriginal tribes, and the erection of the homes and altars of the new people in faith and peace. It may be said, that there is some lack of vigor in the conduct of the poem, and not sufficient compactness in the structure of the plot; that the tone is too equably placid and gentle, without sufficient appeal to the more stirring emotions, or admixture of the powerful and grand. But such is the truth

of its pictures of nature and of man, such the vividness of descriptions, such the interest and probability of its incidents and the deep pathos of its subsidiary narrations, and, in a word, such the purity and sweetness of the whole, that the reader is led along, by a gentle but irresistible charm, from page to page, and comes to the end as if he had been listening to the true story of an old friend.

From "Madoc" to "Roderick," the advance is greater still. It is an amazing leap, from a poem simply good to one of the highest order. The author has attained a boldness and vigor, both in plan and in execution, of which the previous works contain few indications. As a specimen of versification, alone, it is deserving of all admiration. Harmonious, various, rich, expressive, it rises, in all the attributes of metrical composition, far above the tone of "Madoc." The writer has acquired a new sense of the affluence of the English tongue and the movement of English verse. Possibly, his manner may still be objected to as somewhat diffuse, and as needing an occasional terseness to give it variety and nerve. But the want is scarcely deserving of notice, and it is hardly just to name it as detracting from the merit of one of the most admirable pieces of sustained poetic diction in the language.

To the structure and order of the poem, the conduct of the story and the proportion of its parts, we give equal commendation. One does not know where to turn to find a plot more felicitous in its conception, or carried on with a more natural and satisfactory developement. It is simple in the extreme, with no perplexing involutions, no startling discoveries, no stage trick of unexpected surprises, no cutting of knots by an extravagant device for the purpose of getting over a previous extravagance ; but moves on in a dignified order, one event following another without confusion, and all tending to unfold the characters of the actors, and promote the progress of the story, which, without a moment's delay or pause, advances with a gradual but uniform increase of interest, without hurry, or bustle, or digression, till it ends in a natural and satisfying close. It is one of the neatest and cleverest specimens of the art of arranging a story, so as to put every thing precisely in its place, give every thing its proper proportions, and exclude every thing irrelevant, which the his-

tory of letters can furnish. This is great praise ; and we do not believe it can be gainsaid.

We are inclined to estimate no less highly the skill displayed in the more arduous tales of the second class of his larger poems, "Thalaba" and "The Curse of Kehama." In these there was a difficulty, almost insurmountable, lying at the very threshold. The nature of the narratives required him to reconcile his readers to the reception of the grossest absurdities and the most violent impossibilities, to familiarize them to monstrous and odious forms of superstition, and excite a sympathy with the most revolting scenes. How serious this preliminary difficulty was,* may be seen in the fact, that multitudes of readers have been deterred by it from the perusal of these poems, and assign the extravagance of the fictions as sufficient cause for turning away from them. Sometimes indeed, perhaps frequently, the strangeness of the measure, and the occasional peculiarities of the diction, are complained of ; but we suspect, that no one ever became familiar with either poem without being ready to say, with Henry Kirke White, that he would not, on any account, have had it written in any other verse, and becoming ready to excuse, if he could not approve, the passages of questionable taste. Nothing is easier, as Scott intimates in one of his letters, than to make these poems the subject of ridicule, burlesque, and satire ; matter for such treatment lies exposed on the surface, ready for the handling of all ; but whoever will go beneath the surface, and enter enough into the purpose and plan of the author to read him aright, will soon cease to feel annoyance from those superficial faults, and will be filled with admiration, ever increasing, at the proofs of power and genius which pervade the entire structure.

We are willing to delay a little on this part of our subject, because here it is that the real greatness of Southey is to be found, and yet precisely here it is also that he is likely to be always prejudged and misunderstood. It is likely to be taken for granted, as it has been, without adequate examination, that he has overstepped the legitimate boundaries of

* "'Thalaba' consists of the most wild and extravagant fictions, and openly sets nature and probability at defiance. In its action it is not an imitation of any thing, and excludes all rational criticism as to the choice and succession of its incidents." Here the "Edinburgh Review" (Vol. I. p. 75.) expresses the difficulty we refer to, and confirms the prejudice in the minds of its readers.

fiction, and substituted extravagance for romance. But it should be kept in mind, that the degree of probability belonging to a fictitious narrative may oftentimes more depend on the skill of the narrator, than on the intrinsic character of the incidents ; and it is a proof of high genius in a poet, to reconcile us to events and scenes which we would not listen to in another narration. Is it not thus, that Shakspeare leads us through the "Tempest," and the "Midsummer's Night's Dream," — ay, and "Lear" too, and "Hamlet"? It is the province and the test of genius to do this successfully ; and, instead of complaining that one has been so bold as to attempt it, we should simply ask, if he has succeeded in it. His very calling lies

> "In scenes like these, which, daring to depart
> From sober Truth, are still to Nature true."

As for the assertion, that magic, and sorcery, and fairies, and ghosts were once objects of the popular faith, and therefore rightfully used by the poets, but may be so no longer, because those superstitions have died out of the minds of men, — it appears to us to be nothing to the purpose. Are Homer, Ariosto, Shakspeare, and other ancient masters, any the less admirable to us, because the superstitions of which they treat are not now in being ? It is what those bards have done, not what we in our every-day life believe, that gives interest to those old poems. And, in point of fact, the supernatural personages and the strange traditions of "Thalaba" and "The Curse of Kehama," are just as much objects of our faith, as those of the "Æneid" and "Jerusalem Delivered" ; — that is to say, not at all so in our common life, but, while submitting to the power of the poet, altogether so. The world of imagination is of no age, and men never depart from it. The poet *lives* in it ; when he speaks as a poet, he speaks of it ; and if he speak consistently, as one simply telling what his fancy beholds, then it is the same thing as regards his merit, and ought to be the same thing in our judgment, whether he wrote at a period when the vulgar mind held that imaginary world to be a real world, or whether he writes now, when everybody knows it is not real, and yet loves it not the less. It is still the home of the poet ; the domains of magic and superstition are still parts of his empire ; and the question is not whether Southey, or any other, has a right to

enter them, but whether he can exercise any power in them; not whether he is at liberty "to call spirits from the vasty deep," but whether "they will come when he doth call for them."

Now we hold, that no man's incantations are more successful than those of Southey in the poems before us. So dexterously has he contrived the whole machinery, and arranged, and described, and employed the personages, that he makes every thing appear to the fair-minded reader perfectly natural, if not credible and probable. So remarkable is his power of throwing himself into the most impossible situations, that the reader, seeing him actually in them, ceases to think them impossible. So successfully does he invest the most impossible personages with the sentiments and feelings belonging to the place he assigns them, that the reader forgets, that such persons cannot be; he indeed sees that they are, and why should he doubt his eyes? And so he dwells on the story of their lot with the same interest that he gives to the beings of every-day life.

Now this is a wonderful power; it is that of genius, and genius of no mean order. It excellently realizes the description given by Coleridge, when, having spoken of poems of two sorts, he adds, "In the one, the incidents and agents were to be, in part at least, supernatural; and the excellence aimed at, was to consist in the interesting of the affections by *the dramatic truth of such emotions as would naturally accompany such situations supposing them to be real.*" It is to precisely this class that the poems in question belong; and we doubt if any can be named which more thoroughly fulfil the condition laid down by the critic in the sentence just cited. In all the wonders through which they pass, and the extreme demand they make on the imagination, among scenes unfamiliar, and actors unhuman and superhuman, the dramatic consistency and propriety are never violated; but every creature is true to the affections and principles which belong to his place, and which would command sympathy if it were real. As examples of what we mean, we appeal to that most exquisite episode in "Thalaba," of Laila and her father in the region of snow; to the repentance and death of Maimuna; and to the whole story of the father and daughter in the "Curse of Kehama," — so impossible and horrible, and yet made so probable and credible by the glorious loveliness of

that sweet union of parent and child, that we go with them through all vicissitudes on earth and in heaven and in hell, participate in their anxieties and trials, and burst into tears at their final triumph, no more doubting that it is all a solemn reality, than the story of our own lives. It is vain to talk of extravagance, impossibility, or bad taste ; the poet has conquered ; and it is the victory of a great genius.

In closing this cursory survey of the works before us, we are disposed to state, a little distinctly, the impression which is left on our mind of the characteristic traits of their voluminous and various author. And we would say, that as we have now turned over these ten volumes of his collected poems, we have been struck with the originality which belongs to them. They are his own, borrowed from nobody, imitated from nobody. Such as they are, good, bad, and indifferent, they stand by themselves, unrelated, of no school, ancient or modern. It was an objection, brought against him at the beginning of his course by some of the critics, that he departed from the approved classical models, that "he followed in the footsteps of no predecessor," that he ventured on untried methods and on unauthorized subjects. At the present day, we perceive no force in an objection, which was of weight only with those who were then standing on the border line between the old and the new era. Their habits and tastes had been formed on the staid mediocrity of the preceding half century, and they were alarmed at the prospect of a revolution. We are now rather disposed to give honor to Southey for his independence, in being so early to perceive and help forward a change which the state of letters demanded. We praise him for adopting a manner of his own, fettering himself by no model, inventing new topics, and executing them in a new way. It came to pass, indeed, that he committed errors, confounded deformities with beauties, and set an equal value on whatever was his own. Like most bold men who start a new method, he indulged a pleasant self-complacency, took no pains to conceal his contempt of those who did not like his novelties, and allowed himself no misgiving in his appeal to the judgment of posterity. This we may lawfully smile at ; there can be no doubt, notwithstanding, that to this spirit he largely owed his success.

The fertility of his invention is to be next observed, proof of which is to be seen in the great number and variety of his

works. No man repeats himself less. No man has sent forth a succession of works more different from each other. If "Madoc" had been anonymous, who would have referred it to the author of "Thalaba"? or if "Roderick," who would have ventured to call it an imitation of "Madoc"? and who would have guessed the "Tale of Paraguay" to be of the same parentage with either? It is not easy to conceive of a more determined diversity; and this establishes his claim to the title of an inventor, or poet, — this variety of incident, character, plot, style, so easily and successfully maintained as to appear the result of a spontaneous act of the mind rather than of express effort or studious art.

As to his style, which, as the great instrument of the poet, demands to be especially considered, its characteristics are mainly simplicity, melody, diffuseness, and the sweetness and grace, with an occasional languor, which belong to or result from those qualities. The higher and bolder qualities of concise strength, nervousness, and splendor, are rarely exhibited. Sometimes, indeed, there is a display of magnificence and of almost gorgeous amplification, as no one can deny who remembers the descriptions of Baly and of Padalon, in the "Curse of Kehama"; but its usual character is that of calm and wordy gentleness, so uniform and placid, that we sometimes impatiently wish for a pithy and abrupt expression, to break in upon the luxurious monotony of the "linked sweetness long drawn out." We say this with special allusion to his blank verse; and yet, when we remember the power of his description and narrative, we are almost tempted to recall our remark, and to say, that the diffuseness we refer to, is only an elegant and expressive copiousness. At any rate, we speak of it as observers, rather than as fault-finders. And we must add, that his diction is far more exalted, picturesque, and expressive in his later than in his early works; as any one may see, by comparing "Roderick" with "Madoc," and "The Curse of Kehama" with "Thalaba." It is a natural consequence of this copiousness of style, that he possesses little of the curious felicity of phrase, so valued in the poet, the happy combination of choice and pregnant terms, conveying a pointed thought in a pointed sentence, which sparkles like a diamond, and is as precious. This is that exquisite gift which makes a poet live in the memory of his readers, by attaching to their minds a thousand precious gems of expression. Snatches of

Shakspeare there are, which make part of the language of conversation; and scarcely a book is printed, but draws its most apt and illustrious mottos from his pages. In everybody's mouth, too, are phrases and maxims from Milton, Pope, Gray, and other and later bards. But of all this Southey furnishes hardly any thing. His thoughts do not clothe themselves in burning words. They are expanded, not compressed; diffused, not concentrated; no diamond, though ample store of gold; and this not in bars or ingots, but beaten, — sometimes too thin. One is frequently struck with a fine thought or a noble image, but never in such guise that it haunts him afterward like a strain of delicious music, and will not be gone; and if he seek to impress it on his memory, he soon finds that the *words* to which the poet has attached it are unessential, it readily escapes from them, and is content to carry away the sense and forget the expression.

If one, therefore, were making up a collection of the "Beauties of Southey," it is to passages of extended description and sentiment that he would have recourse; and of these he might find abundance, unsurpassed in their kind for elegance and sweetness. Some of them are familiar to all readers; as that beautiful passage beginning, "They sin who tell us love can die." Many such may be selected from these volumes; to name no other, we do not know that there can be found any thing more graceful, than the manner in which a scene of passionate emotion melts away into tranquillity at the close of the twenty-first book of "Roderick."

"Soothed by the strain
Of such discourse, Julian was silent then,
And sate contemplating. Florinda too
Was calmed. If sore experience may be thought
To teach the uses of adversity,
She said, alas! who better learned than I
In that sad school! Methinks if ye would know
How visitations of calamity
Affect the pious soul, 't is shown ye there!
Look yonder at that cloud, which through the sky
Sailing alone, doth cross in her career
The rolling moon! I watched it as it came,
And deemed the deep opake would blot her beams;
But, melting like a wreath of snow, it hangs
In folds of wavy silver round, and clothes

The orb with richer beauties than her own,
Then, passing, leaves her in her light serene.

Thus having said, the pious sufferer sate,
Beholding with fixed eyes that lovely orb,
Till quiet tears confused in dizzy light
The broken moonbeams. They too by the toil
Of spirit, as by travail of the day,
Subdued, were silent, yielding to the hour.
The silver cloud diffusing slowly past,
And now into its airy elements
Resolved is gone ; while through the azure depth
Alone in heaven the glorious Moon pursues
Her course appointed, with indifferent beams
Shining upon the silent hills around,
And the dark tents of that unholy host,
Who, all unconscious of impending fate,
Take their last slumber there. The camp is still ;
The fires have mouldered ; and the breeze which stirs
The soft and snowy embers, just lays bare
At times a red and evanescent light,
Or for a moment wakes a feeble flame.
They by the fountain hear the stream below,
Whose murmurs, as the wind arose or fell,
Fuller or fainter reach the ear attuned.
And now the nightingale, not distant far,
Began her solitary song ; and poured
To the cold moon a richer, stronger strain
Than that with which the lyric lark salutes
The new-born day. Her deep and thrilling song
Seemed with its piercing melody to reach
The soul, and in mysterious unison
Blend with all thoughts of gentleness and love.
Their hearts were open to the healing power
Of nature ; and the splendor of the night,
The flow of waters, and that sweetest lay
Came to them like a copious evening dew
Falling on vernal herbs which thirst for rain."

His power of description is another characteristic. He greatly excels in the vivid, graphic delineation of scenes and persons. His descriptions are pictures. As one of his early reviewers remarked, "he describes with all the apparent truth of ocular testimony."* Our memory of the scenes which he has depicted is like our recollection of those at which

* General Repository and Review, Vol. I. Cambridge, 1812.

we have been personally present; we look back to the story of Oneiza, Laila, Adosinda, more as if we had been with them, than as if we had only read of them. Moath's tent is a real place to us, and we cannot rid ourselves of the impression that we were in the crowd at Arvalan's funeral. From this cause the writings of Southey are singularly adapted for illustration by the painter and engraver; situations and attitudes are conceived with such vividness, and portrayed with such force, that it is to the artist almost as if he had the actual persons before him. The Edinburgh Review allowed this in the case of "Thalaba," saying, that "no poem has a greater number of lively images, or would afford so many subjects for the pencil." The spirit of the remark may be extended to all his poems; and we cannot but wonder that they have not been seized upon by the artists as treasure-houses of beautiful and magnificent design. For instance, to take the first example out of fifty which occur to us, what a capital picture would Allston make of Roderick, kneeling before the old monk:

"Then Roderick knelt
Before the holy man, and strove to speak.
Thou seest, he cried, . . thou seest, . . but memory
And suffocating thoughts represt the word,
And shudderings, like an ague fit, from head
To foot convulsed him; till at length, subduing
His nature to the effort, he exclaimed,
Spreading his hands and lifting up his face,
As if resolved in penitence to bear
A human eye upon his shame, . . Thou seest
Roderick the Goth! That name would have sufficed
To tell the whole abhorrëd history:
He not the less pursued, . . the ravisher,
The cause of all this ruin! Having said,
In the same posture motionless he knelt,
Arms straightened down, and hands outspread, and eyes
Raised to the Monk, like one who from his voice
Expected life or death."

Or the following, though it contains one admirable point, which does not address itself to the eye.

"Thus while the hero spake, Witiza stood
Listening in agony, with open mouth,
And head, half-raised, toward his sentence turned;
His eyelids stiffened and pursed up, . . his eyes

Rigid, and wild, and wide ; and when the King
Had ceased, amid the silence which ensued,
The dastard's chains were heard, link against link
Clinking. At length upon his knees he fell,
And lifting up his trembling hands, outstretched
In supplication, . . Mercy ! he exclaimed, . .
Chains, dungeons, darkness, . . any thing but death ! . .
I did not touch his life."

One of the most observable traits in the works of this author, is his delight in illustrating the gentler affections, and the sober pleasures of domestic life. He does not avoid the vehement, harsh, and bold ; but he turns, with preference, to the mild and humble. He loves the fireside. He is best satisfied when depicting the amiable relations of brother and sister, parent and child. This has been made a ground of complaint and disparagement with some of the critics ; and it might be regarded as a defect, if he had proved himself equal to nothing else. But, after being excited by his scenes of violence and wrath, by his pictures of magic and revenge, of jealousy, remorse, and war, we esteem it matter of congratulation, that the author is disposed to retreat, with evident delight, into the sanctuary of home, and give his feelings refuge amid the sacred affections of domestic privacy. There are poets enough for the hero and the prince, for the passionate lover and the despairing knight. What is public, tumultuous, and ostentatious, will always find pens ready to commemorate and adorn it. Let there be one, at least, to appreciate the holiness of the fraternal bond, as in Thalaba ; the beauty and worth of the filial affection, as in Laila and Kaylyal ; to celebrate the loveliness and power of maternal influence, as in Rusilla and Roderick, and the charm of the complete domestic ring, as in the family of Pelayo. The world will lose nothing by turning its sympathies away from kingdoms and ambition, to families and childhood ; and the poet who knows how to do this, is to be esteemed a benefactor.

Mr. Southey does not stop here. There is a close connexion between this class of affections and the religious sentiment, and he passes constantly into the latter. He writes like a man whose habitual devoutness of temper associates all scenes with spiritual thoughts, discerns the moral uses of whatever occurs, and interprets all by a reference to some

providential order. His poetry, accordingly, is not simply innocent and pure, but directly and persuasively religious. The tendency, the very moral, of each of his greater works is expressly favorable to faith and piety; three of them might, with no impropriety, be styled religious allegories; and rarely are the highest virtues more affectingly taught. A distinguished critic, apparently incapable of sympathy with any expression of religious sentiment, speaks of his poetry as "outrageously religious and fanatical." We may pardon his injustice in pity for his ignorance. He who knows what faith and devotion are, would rather esteem it as beautifully illustrative of that deep and glowing, but calm and steadfast principle of rational trust and filial piety, which especially becomes a creature like man. He would see in it nothing overwrought, nothing unduly enthusiastic, but a just delineation of that spirit which is equally distant from coldness and excess. With this spirit his best works are imbued; it sheds light and beauty over their pages; it clothes them with peculiar tenderness, purity, and grace; and, when occasion offers, it breaks forth, in distinct and prominent expression, as if the spontaneous breath of the author, who could not but utter the language familiar to his heart.

Without making any comparison between this poet and his distinguished contemporaries, without wishing that they had received less honor, or attempting to decide his relative rank among them, we yet cannot refrain from declaring our wonder, that a higher place in the public estimation has not been assigned to Southey. It would avail nothing to prophesy, that so gifted an author cannot be kept for ever in undeserved neglect, for we do not believe that the present celebrity of writers is a fair test of their absolute or relative merit; but we may express a strong hope that less injustice may be done in time to come, and that some of the attention now wasted on frivolous and demoralizing publications, may be given to the principal works of this equally entertaining and never corrupting writer. It is mortifying, that, amid the infinity of reprints from the British shops, no place has been found for these. It is time that it were otherwise.

ART. III. — 1. *Fireside Education.* By the Author of Peter Parley's Tales. New York: F. J. Huntington. 12mo. pp. 396.

2. *Home Education.* By ISAAC TAYLOR, Author of "Natural History of Enthusiasm," "Physical Theory of another Life," &c. &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 322.

WE recur to the subject of education. Indeed, we can hardly pass it by, if we would have our journal keep up with the progress, the changeful progress, of opinion; for it is evidently about to take its turn as a prominent object of interest. The usual signs of incipient excitement are to be seen and heard. Periodical journals are devoted to it. Societies are formed; lectures pronounced; conventions held; speeches made; offices created; and, what is perhaps in this country the surest sign of all, funds are provided. To say the whole in a few words, Education begins to promise much notoriety, and some money, to its foremost partisans; and the obvious, inevitable consequence of this is a struggle to be foremost. Out of which there may come some evil, but there must come much good. We must have a hobby of some kind; because, if we may judge from the past, society is so constituted here, that it stagnates if not constantly stirred by some agitating topic. The common duties, the regular ongoings of life, have not interest enough; and, therefore, Anti-masonry, Non-resistance, Bran-eating, and the like, chase each other along. But Education, when its turn comes, is not likely to excite much anger and bitterness. Some there will be, for all our controversies are zealous, and zeal is seldom pure. Still the questions to which this subject may give rise, can hardly kindle a fire which shall burn so fiercely, that no one may pass through it, to go to his brother; and in this respect, Education will have greatly the advantage of most of its predecessors.

But the interest of this subject is great, is obvious, indisputable, universal; penetrating the whole mass of society, and all its component parts; embracing within its sphere, religion, government, letters, and all things else of mind or heart; and reaching in its influence through an unending future. It may be hoped, therefore, that when it comes to be

a topic of common agitation, and multitudes are active about it, it will call into its service good sense, sound principles, the energy which is not rashness, and the prudence which is neither fear nor indolence, seldom as these qualities are found in popular excitements. And hence, also, it may be hoped, that whatever zeal be manifested in the cause of education, it will not be intemperate ; and that, in the effort to reform education and diffuse its blessings, it will not be forgotten, that all reform should be cautious and kind if it would not confirm the evils it assails, or substitute new ones for those which it removes.

Any consideration of the subject in its whole length and breadth, will convince one, that, before new truths and higher principles can have an opportunity to improve the processes of education, much is to be done in making ready for them, and in securing to them the possibility of free and successful activity. For it is certain, that no improvement in education of great value can be expected, which is not based upon the correction of some errors, which are, at once, very prevalent and very injurious. The work must begin with the establishment of new and better principles, as guides in all thought, feeling, and action, in relation to it.

Among the very foremost of these errors, is that which regards education as occupying a secondary place, if any place, among the great objects of human interest ; as something, which, if it be let alone, or intrusted to the aids that chance puts within our reach, will take very sufficient care of itself. It is looked upon as extending its domain over a very narrow portion of life, as excellent employment for the child or the youth, when they must be doing something, but cannot yet do man's work ; and all its fruits are thought to be secured, if the boy is fitted to take his place among men when his beard is grown, without discreditable want of common acquirements and with equal advantages for the strife or work of life.

When we say that these are the views concerning education which now prevail in society, we do not mean that this is the way in which men talk about it, but that it is the way in which most men act. And while these views, low, mean, false, as they are, prevail, a thousand practical errors spring from them and cannot be corrected.

Education is the perpetual law of our being ; beginning

when we begin to live, its future course is measured by our own immortality. If the duty of education falls first and chiefly upon parents, it is because they represent in this the Universal Parent; and it is not too much to say, that his perpetual and universal Providence is always doing for all men, and all spirits, the work of education. All the circumstances which make up the feeble life of the wailing babe, are educating him; and when the older child is brought under the discipline of a school or of his home, he is still, at school or at home, at work or at play, sleeping or waking, subjected to constant influences which are moulding him for manhood. And when he is "free," his education "finished," as is said, and a place given him among men, then is it still true that his education is growing in importance every day; and the value of every hour, of every act and every emotion, is to be measured by its usefulness in building up within him that spiritual being, which death only liberates for future developement. And all reason and religion concur in assuring us, that progress is still the law of spiritual life, — progress from state to state; where all that is, for ever reaps the harvest of all that was, and sows the seeds of all that will be. And therefore, whatever efforts are made in the cause of education, or in the application of its principles to individual cases, it is plain, that they can succeed only so far as they coincide with the general laws which govern the growth and progress of all who live, and only so far as they seek the same end which the Author of all life regards as the end of life. In other words, education cannot be viewed from too high a ground, for it occupies the highest. The search which would detect its ruling laws, and learn the science which combines them into orderly arrangement, and attain to the wisdom which teaches to use this science to good purpose, cannot penetrate too deeply into the mysteries of man's constitution and destiny; for in the inmost depths of his being these laws are at work, and at the earliest moment of his being they began their work.

We have no purpose of following these views into those questions of psychology and of human destiny, which open before them. The discussion would be out of place here; it would require more room than other topics could afford, and a mood of mind, a measure and a quality of attention, not precisely those, which a Review is in the habit of demanding. If, then, it be asked why we have adverted to

these views at all, we answer, that the mere magnitude and importance of the subject lead to some results which we propose presently to consider ; and, if it were not so, something is gained whenever the views we have expressed are remembered. Something is gained, if education stands the higher in the thought and care of a single individual. We do not suppose, that in any thing we have said, we have published a discovery. Such things, in substance, must needs occur, and must always have occurred, to whoever reflects upon the gifts and the wants of his own nature ; for they cannot but be suggested by the consciousness, that its wants are those of one born for a spiritual immortality, and the hope that its gifts are those which may make this an immortality of happiness.

But these truths, however often, however plainly, they may have been seen, do not yet form a part of the common daylight in which we all move and live. And every effort to make them so, however feeble, is a good effort. Indeed, the world, too, has its education ; and the law of its progress in knowledge seems to require, that truths should sink down into the mass of its common thought gradually and very slowly. In this way every generation goes forward. Truths at first painfully won by laborious effort, and afterwards acknowledged or used but by a few in succeeding generations, and perhaps veiled again, for a long period, by the clouds of a dark age, yet gain, surely and constantly, and extend their influence, and entwine themselves with more and more of the interests of human life, until they are at last a common property ; truisms which none assert, because none deny or doubt them, and principles which influence the conduct of all, while they seldom come distinctly into the consciousness of any. It would not be difficult to show, even by a cursory analysis, how much, how very much, of every day of every man, is governed and animated by truths which have thus worked their slow way into the very heart of human belief, feeling, and life.

One effect which would result from the more just appreciation of the value and importance of education, because it would necessarily follow the elevation of education in the public sentiment, is the corresponding elevation in the social position of those engaged in it. Great improvement has taken place in this particular ; but there is room for a vast

deal more. It is only of late, that the business of instruction could be regarded as a profession; and now it holds no equal rank in the public respect, in influence, or in emolument, with those of medicine or law. In and near our great cities, there are successful teachers who earn much money, and others attached by their office to some time-honored institution; and the position of these men may seem high enough to satisfy any reasonable ambition. It is so; but, if we compare them with the most eminent physicians and lawyers in their immediate vicinity, we shall find, that the public repays the labors of instruction with a far inferior recompense, whether we measure it by money, by extent of reputation and influence, or by the social regard which determines the place which a man holds in society in a way that is very distinctly felt, though it can hardly be described. And if we go down the scale, the difference is still greater. In our country villages, for instance, the doctors' and the lawyers' houses are usually among the best, testifying, with "green blinds and brass knocker," and all other things in conformity, that their owners are sufficiently "well to do"; while, in this same village, the education of the whole generation of children may be intrusted to a boy, who spends there a college vacation, lengthened by a few weeks' "leave of absence," whose pay is that of a good farm laborer, and whose food is such as he may get from those who find it convenient to pay their modicum of the school tax by letting "the master board it out."

This picture, it is true, represents the state of things a few years since, rather than now. But the change, though great, is not entire, for in many places things remain much as they were; and the change is nowhere great enough. Happily, there is no precedent among us of any thing quite so bad as the condition described in the well-known anecdote of Stouber, the predecessor of Oberlin. Upon his arrival at Walbach, he asked to see the school-house. He was conducted to a poor cottage, where he saw a crowd of children, doing nothing. He inquired for the master, and found him a feeble old man, lying on a bed in a corner. "What do you teach," said he. "Nothing," was the answer. "How happens that?" "I know nothing." "What are you here for, then?" "Because I had grown too old and too weak to tend the pigs of the village any longer, and they put a younger and abler man

in my place, and sent me here to take care of the children!" Mr. Goodrich, in the work before us, alludes to this story, and remarks, that it evinces a degree of stupidity not to be met with in this country; but, he adds, with great justice, that, "even here, there is a popular and prevalent notion, that anybody can be a schoolmaster."

We would have the labors of education more highly estimated and better recompensed, not for the sake of those who are engaged in them, but for the sake of the public, and for the good of the whole community. There are no interests, and, while civilization remains, there can be no interests in human life, with which education is not directly involved. Indeed, it is capable of demonstration, if it be not rather too obvious to be stated, that there are none of these interests which do not greatly depend for their prosperity, for their sound and healthy prosperity, upon the manner in which the offices of education are filled and its duties performed. And it is plain, that if the profession of education, — the very phrase sounds awkwardly, although we speak of the profession of law, and the profession of medicine, without misgiving, — but if this profession were more honored, and more adequately rewarded, men of higher minds would be drawn into it, and all who were engaged in it would be roused, if only by competition, to greater activity, and more watchful, more constant, and more successful endeavour.

It is a profession; it is one which yields in importance, in its universality of interest, in its demand for the wisest efforts of the best understandings, to none. But it is exercised, and it is regarded, as a trade, and as a mechanic art. Until of late, no great department of human care employed so small a share of the attention or exertion of genius. The work went on according to certain rules, which were not originally well devised, and were usually applied with little or no inquiry into their meaning and fitness; and thus the labor of education became almost mechanical. Schools were provided, in which children might pass so many hours; during these hours, such and such books were to be committed to memory; and to ascertain whether this was done, at appointed times the scholars recited *memoriter*. We need hardly use the past tense, for just this is the case now in the majority of our common schools; and if the calculating machine of Dr. Babbage could be altered, so as to register a recitation and

note the blunders, it would be just such a master as most of these schools require.

Familiarity with the fact deadens our sense of its strangeness ; but truly strange it is, that there should be so little discrimination as to the manner of teaching. History, — or what passes under that name, — science, language, are all taught in the same way as the multiplication table ; taught as if there were no human faculty but memory. Poetry is read, sometimes with much regard to emphasis, and sufficient care that the right and left hands do their respective duties in the way of gesture ; but the poetic sense, the imagination, vivid and sensitive in children, and demanding early and wise culture, is forgotten or unknown. Books, too, are constructed on the principle, that every thing is done when words are learned, and much ground nominally passed over. One may find a Philosophy "abridged, for the use of schools," pretty much as an egg would be abridged by sucking out its contents ; and "science made easy" simply by being made good for nothing.

These books are bad enough ; but the evil cannot be wholly remedied by making better ones, because it arises in a great measure from the way in which school-books are used. There is hardly any one so bad, that a good teacher might not make it useful ; and none so good, as not to become worthless when ill used. The remedy is to be found in establishing new relations between the master and the pupils ; in awaking the faculties, the higher faculties, of both ; in producing an actual conviction in both, that the master needs and uses something more than his ears and his hands, and the child something more than his memory and his lips. Books are, in the present system, the principal instruments of education ; they are the only actual educators ; and the office of the master requires of him only to see that the books are used. We regard this as just about the reverse of what should be. By the help of discipline, the "master" may indeed deserve that name ; but the idea that he should be also the "teacher" of the school, scarcely occurs in theory, and in practice it is sadly lost sight of. But successful education requires, as its first and indispensable condition, that the mind of the teacher, his whole mind, be wakeful, active, and earnest, and that the pupil be roused into sympathetic and responsive activity. Then, it may be doubted, whether books would need to be used so largely as at present ; and it may

be doubted also, whether school-books would not be made for the use of the master rather than of the scholars. They would be *text-books* in the proper sense of that term; books intended to guide and aid the teacher in his instruction, but not to do the whole work in his stead. The Prussian school system (open as it is to many objections) is remarkable in this particular. The youngest classes use, literally, no books; the elder ones use them sparingly; and throughout the course of education, the principle seems to be acted upon, that the books are for the master, and that they should promote and facilitate, but by no means supersede his labors.

It may seem as if too much would be demanded of the master upon this system; more than he could do unless his school was very small; more than could be done for the whole community, unless schoolmasters were very numerous; and, if they were very numerous, this fact would prevent their receiving such compensation as could alone secure for this great interest the best endeavours of the best understandings. But discipline, and a wise system of action, would go far towards diminishing the necessity of personal labor in the care of a school; and we should rely confidently upon the assistance to be derived from a fact in the nature of children, little known and less used. We mean the fact of their sympathy with each other; of the immense influence which a child exerts upon a child; of the power by which one will excite, instruct, and expand the mind of another, without effort and without consciousness. The systems of Bell and Lancaster, founded empirically on this principle, astounded the world by their success; and, in despite of the large admixture in them of quackery and folly, they have retained, in a great degree, their hold upon public opinion, because, wherever they are tried, the results they produce, whatever may be thought of their value, are indisputable and surprising. The improvement of education will reach this matter also; and a system of mutual instruction will be in time devised, by which the ill effects of the first experiments will be avoided, while all the good, and much more than all which they effected or promised, will be realized.

It is from no wish to discourage efforts to improve education, nor is it from any want of hope in the practicability of this improvement, or any feebleness in our conviction that the improvement is needed, that we venture to suggest, that there

should be great caution in the changes which this improvement implies, greater than will always be used; and therefore we must expect some errors, — not the less errors, because they are the opposites of other errors, — which will require, in the friends of education, patience, skill, and perseverance.

Some of the faults in education are so great and so obvious, that, the moment general attention is drawn to them, the zealous will rush into the opposite extreme. For instance, a short time ago it was not even suspected, that a child could be made to acquire book-knowledge too soon, or in excess. A bright boy was urged to learn, and then to show off; and it occurred to few, if to any, that either his heart or his head could be hurt by this process. This was an error, a most gross error; to be paralleled by nothing but the custom, which certain travellers tell of, in the kingdom of Borneo, where beauty and obesity being considered identical, young ladies who give promise of peculiar attractiveness are crammed into perfection with boiled rice and suet. But the cramming system, whether of mind or body, can flourish only where there is still a considerable measure of barbarism. When any one, who is capable of thinking, attends at all to this subject, it is seen at once that the forcing culture of the understanding is bad in every respect. It is bad for the bright boy; for it cultivates his mind without preserving due proportion among its faculties; it strains and overtasks him, disease of mind or of body are produced, his health withers away, and his acquirements are converted into food for his vanity. With the dull boy, it is as bad. Faculties, which by a wise culture might be developed and gradually strengthened into vigor and activity, are crushed into hopeless debility, and he hates learning through life, as one hates an instrument of torture. This was easily seen; and the more easily, because a corresponding change of opinion in regard to the value of learning was taking place in the world at large. Some centuries ago, learning was rare and difficult; it required great devotion to its pursuit to overcome the obstacles which lay in the way; and, when they were overcome, the scholar became one of a small class. He had powers and implements which others had not; and he was regarded with an admiration, which was none the less sincere, and sometimes none the less acceptable, because it was for the

most part blind and ignorant. But the press, combined with other causes, has made learning cheap and accessible. It gives no longer so great an actual, nor so great an imaginary superiority. The character of the age demands action and result as the proof of power. And he who possesses "erudition," without the power of turning it to account in the way of actual utility, has much the same sort of respect paid to him which we feel for Dominie Samson.

But has not this change gone too far; or rather, is it not beginning to go too far, both in school and out of school? We hear so much, now-a-days, about the "whole man," and the like, that the very phraseology begins to excite disgust; it affects one like slang words. Learning alone, we admit, may be of no great value; but the worth of learning, as a means and instrument, is infinite, and its necessity for the best efforts of the best faculties of the human understanding is absolute and unconditional. Most true it is, that education has greatly erred in placing amount of acquisition before the culture of the faculties; most true it is, that a change in this respect was needed; but it is also true, that we cannot duly exercise and strengthen the faculties but by means of learning, and that a healthy, vigorous, well-proportioned, and well-disciplined mind, wholly without learning, (if such a thing could be supposed,) would be oppressed and paralyzed by its penury.

It is time, however, that we speak of Mr. Goodrich's book; for it is quite too good to be made merely an occasion for remarks on education. Without pretending to great originality, or a profound and searching inquiry after concealed truths, it gives, in clear and often forcible language, the results of much consideration and experience. The author is wise enough to know, that the faults in domestic education are not to be attributed to the want of known truths and principles; but to the fact, that these truths and principles are not enough considered, and often enough remembered. And in this volume he brings together views, suggestions, and advice, which embody a great amount of practical wisdom on this important subject, with a very small proportion of error. It was evidently the design of the writer to make a useful book; and he has succeeded.

Of the importance of domestic education he speaks thus;

"Let us go forward to the period of youth. The mother holds the reins of the soul; the father sways the dominion of

the intellect. I do not affirm, that there is an exact or complete division of empire between the parents. Both exert a powerful influence over the mind and heart. I mean only to state generally, that the natural power of the mother is exercised rather over the affections, and that of the father over the mind. It is a blended sway, and if exerted in unison it has the force of destiny. There may be cases in which children may seem to set parental authority at defiance ; but these instances, if they actually occur, are rare, and may be regarded as exceptions, which are said to prove the rule. Remember the impressible character of youth, and consider its relation to the parent. Is not the one like the fused metal, and has not the other the power to impress upon it an image ineffaceable as the die upon steel ? Nay, is it not matter of fact, attested by familiar observation, that children come forth from the hands of their parents stamped with a character that seldom deserts them in after life ? Are they not impressed with manners, tastes, habits, and opinions, which circumstances may modify, but never efface ? If the countenance of the child often bears the semblance of the father or mother, do we not still more frequently discover in the offspring the moral impress of the parent ?

" Is it not true, then, that parents are the lawgivers of their children ? Does not a mother's counsel, does not a father's example, cling to the memory, and haunt us through life ? Do we not often find ourselves subject to habitual trains of thought, and if we seek to discover the origin of these, are we not insensibly led back, by some beaten and familiar track, to the paternal threshold ? " — pp. 68 – 70.

" The fireside, then, is a seminary of infinite importance. It is important, because it is universal, and because the education it bestows, being woven in with the woof of childhood, gives form and color to the whole texture of life. There are few who can receive the honors of a college, but all are graduates of the hearth. The learning of the university may fade from the recollection ; its classic lore may moulder in the halls of memory. But the simple lessons of home, enamelled upon the heart of childhood, defy the rust of years, and outlive the more mature but less vivid pictures of after days. So deep, so lasting, indeed, are the impressions of early life, that you often see a man in the imbecility of age holding fresh in his recollection the events of childhood, while all the wide space between that and the present hour is a blasted and forgotten waste." — pp. 71, 72.

In the following passage, Mr. Goodrich speaks of follies that are unhappily far too prevalent.

"I will venture to make another suggestion to parents, which is the more important from the fact, that selfishness sometimes puts on the guise of virtue, and deceives even those who are concerned in the trick. There are parents, who, from the ambition to have their children shine, stimulate them by base excitements to exertion, thus sacrificing the purity of the heart, and often the health of the body. There are parents, who, from a frivolous vanity, dress their children in an extravagant manner; thus tarnishing the youthful spirit with the same paltry vice which sways themselves. There are some people, who are flattered if their children appear precocious, and these usually attempt to make them prodigies.

"I once knew a mother who was possessed with this insane ambition in respect to an only child. This was a little boy, of bright intellect, but feeble constitution. There was, by nature, a tendency to a premature developement of the mental faculties, and this dangerous predisposition was seconded by all the art and influence of the mother. The consequence was, that while the boy's head grew rapidly, and at last became enormous, his limbs became shrunken and almost useless. His mind too advanced, and at the age of eight years he was indeed a prodigy. At ten he died, and his mother, who was a literary lady, performed the task of writing and publishing his biography. In all this, she seemed to imagine, that she was actuated by benevolent motives, and never appeared to suspect the truth, plain and obvious to others, that this child was as truly sacrificed by a mother's selfishness to the demon of vanity, as the Hindoo infant, given by its mother to the god of the Ganges, is immolated on the altar of superstition. Let parents beware, then, how they permit their own selfishness, their own vanity or ambition, to lead them into the sacrifice of their children's happiness. Let it be remembered that premature fruit never ripens well, and that precocious children are usually inferior men or women. Parents, therefore, should be afraid of prodigies. Nothing is in worse taste than for parents to show off their children as remarkably witty, or as remarkable, indeed, for any thing. Good breeding teaches every one to avoid display, and well-bred parents will never offend by making puppets of their children in gratification of their own vanity.

"There are other mistakes into which parents are led by selfishness, which assumes the semblance of disinterestedness. Thus, in the choice of a profession, and in marking out the plan of life for a child, a parent frequently consults rather his own ambition than the real interest of his offspring. In educating him, he takes care to cultivate those powers which en-

able him to command wealth, rather than those which insure peace of mind. He excites him to effort by emulation, rather than by a sense of duty ; he infuses into him a love of high places, rather than a love of his fellow-men. And what is all this, but the immolation of a child on the altar of ambition by a parent's hands ? a sacrifice rendered still more odious by the hypocrisy of the pretence, that it is for the benefit of the victim." — pp. 80–83.

The truth and propriety of the following passage will be admitted by all who have observed the faults to which children are most liable.

"There is another still more disagreeable exhibition of selfishness among boys in their treatment of girls. They are often exceedingly tyrannical, rude, contemptuous, and even cruel, towards the gentler sex of their own age. This demands the assiduous correction of the parent. The claims of the weaker upon the stronger sex for scrupulous justice and chivalrous protection ought to be inculcated and enforced, especially by mothers, from the earliest periods of boyhood. If this is not done, there is danger that the selfishness of the boy, which displays itself in a rude exercise of his power, may increase with the advance of years, and at manhood lead him to treat woman, though it may be in a more gallant guise, according to the dictates of caprice, rather than those of justice." — p. 100.

On the other hand, in the following paragraph Mr. Goodrich expresses a common opinion on the subject of punishment, which we believe to be a common error.

"But, after all that may be done, it is impossible to lay down rules on this subject that will answer for every case. We may remark of punishment in general, as of physic ; Use it as seldom as possible, but when necessary, take a sure dose." — p. 126.

By "sure dose," of course he means a *large* dose. Now many a man has suffered sadly from the doctrine, "Take medicine as seldom as possible ; but when you do, be sure to take *enough*." And nothing would be easier, than to affect a child injuriously and permanently by excessive punishment, following at once upon long and patient forbearance. We believe punishments of some kind and measure to be very frequently necessary ; tokens, often slight, that obedience must be rendered. But we also hold, that severe punishment is very seldom necessary, and very seldom indeed, unless through the fault of the master. Punishment need not

be corporal punishment. Yet it is a sad mistake to suppose that other modes of punishment are necessarily milder and safer. It is easy to hurt a child, body and soul, more than could be done by any supposable flagellation. We never heard of a boy's dying under his master's hand; but we have known an instance, and have heard of more, where children were frightened, by solitary and dark imprisonment, into convulsions and idiocy.

In a chapter on Religion, Mr. Goodrich speaks of it as an indispensable element of all education. The strength and universality of the testimony, which is now borne to this principle, are most remarkable. Professor Stowe, in his very interesting Report, stated that his inquiries on this subject extended to "all classes of teachers, and men of every grade of religious faith, instructers in common schools, high schools, and schools of art, of professors in colleges, universities, and professional seminaries, in cities and in the country, in places where there was a uniformity, and in places where there was a diversity of creeds, of believers and unbelievers, of rationalists and enthusiasts, of Catholics and Protestants, and I never found," he adds, "but one reply; and that was, — that the Bible is in itself the best book that can be put into the hands of children, to interest, to exercise, and to unfold their intellectual and moral powers."

Victor Cousin's Report on Education in Prussia, fully confirms this. It contains a particular account of the principal schools of various kinds in that kingdom, and of the studies pursued and the books used; and in none of them is the Bible omitted. And we could offer, from works upon education in England and Scotland, and in this country, evidence, that the same principle, and the same practice, are coming into general acceptation there, and are beginning to be recognised here.

The work on "Home Education," by the well-known author of "The History of Enthusiasm," "Physical Theory of another Life," and other similar works, will perhaps sustain his reputation for vigor of thought and of expression; but his faults are as conspicuous in this as in his former writings. He is frequently vivid and forcible, both in language and in meaning; but his occasional extravagance indicates a warm temperament, a fully sufficient confidence in his own

opinions, and a habit of deriving them from theory and speculation, rather than from practice and observation. He is also, and quite too often, liable to the charge of indefiniteness and obscurity, and suggests the suspicion, that he did not himself see clearly what he wished to say, and purposely wrapped up his thoughts in glittering clouds. These defects are peculiarly objectionable in a work intended to be practical, and of which the subject is education. Still, this work will not be without its interest and value to those who are disposed to study it; although, for practical purposes and general use, it is inferior to that of Mr. Goodrich. In one respect, the contrast between them is instructive. It is, however, a contrast, not so much between these particular works, as between English writers on education, generally, and American writers on the same subject. We allude to the manner in which the subject of *discipline* is treated, — the word being taken in the sense of *coercion.*

We should do injustice to Mr. Goodrich, if we did not admit, that he states very clearly the necessity of coercion. It is, indeed, seldom the fault of our American works on education, that they neglect to urge this with much emphasis. But while English educational books assume, at once, that this necessity always exists and is always acknowledged, American writers argue the question out, as if the prevailing habits of the country threw the burden of proof upon all who take this ground. English writers rarely make any direct mention of the need of enforcing obedience by compulsory means until it becomes habitual; but it is always plain, that this principle enters into all their systems of education, and is but little dwelt upon because it is always understood; while Americans write as if their readers would supply no omission on the subject of discipline, or its basis, obedience, and the whole matter must, therefore, be set forth in its length and breadth. They discuss the subject much as if they could do nothing in relation to it, until they had overcome an habitual fear or distrust of every thing which savours of compulsion; while their transatlantic fellow-laborers rest on the supposition, that all civilized men know the value of obedience, and the necessity of enforcing it by compulsory means, and that the common feeling on this subject sustains any doctrine respecting it, if it be, in itself, practicable and wise.

This contrast is instructive upon an interesting point in

the character of our countrymen. As our democratic institutions differ entirely from all those where the possession of power ascends by an acknowledged gradation of ranks, from the lowest, who have none, to the highest, who are regarded as the fountain of all, they cannot but exert an influence upon individual character, not yet developed, and not yet appreciated ; perhaps not yet suspected.

The manifestation of this influence meets us in its effect upon the relation between the young and the old, the child and the parent, the scholar and the master. These relations have not, with us, the definiteness or the power, which they exhibit and exert in monarchical countries. There, all men feel and live as under authority ; here, as the source of authority ; there, as subjects ; here, as sovereigns. Hence the principle of obedience, in all its forms and influences, is weaker here. And it is an irresistible inference from the whole constitution of human nature, that our institutions, which lay upon the citizen a lighter hand than ever before rested on the subjects of human government, must needs relax the rigor of discipline, of constrained order, of obedience, everywhere and in every way.

This circumstance imposes a peculiar duty upon all who are engaged in the work of education. If "order is heaven's first law," or any law of heaven, and of every thing on earth which is not the opposite of heaven, obedience is the indispensable prerequisite of order ; and it is the only foundation upon which order can rest securely. If, then, the master, or teacher, or parent, would give to those whose future welfare is intrusted to him, a hold upon any thing good, he will teach them obedience ; he will teach them the wisdom and the good of obedience ; and he will fasten it upon them by practice and habit, until its living roots go deep into the central affections and principles of life.

But at least equal care needs to be taken, in respect to the quality of this obedience. If it be slavish and dead ; if it be mechanical only ; if it be nothing more than the evidence and effect of a pressure which has overcome all elasticity of spirit ; if it belong wholly to the outside, and have no origin and no support but fear ; — then is there no good in it, and no good will come from it. Having no conformity with the institutions of the country, or with our prevailing habits, it will make the man unfit for them. He will be a

fearful and enfeebled being, shaken by every adverse breath; or he will cast his fears aside, and thenceforth have no other thought of obedience, than as of one of the pains and terrors of childhood. Hence, the problem, which is to be solved, demands the reconcilement of all that is good in obedience, with all that is good in freedom. We live under institutions which promise an expansion, a growth and free developement of the elements of humanity, moral and intellectual, that the past has never seen, and the present knows not yet wisely to hope for. Great mistakes will doubtless be made, and the progress must be one of ebb and flow. It is certain, however, that the prevailing system of education should conform to the exigencies of the country; should acknowledge the duty of supplying its demands; and should, therefore, with the perpetual improvement that comes from watchful experience, endeavour to lay the foundations of universal order, deep in the universal habit of willing obedience.

This subject demands the attention of all who are intrusted, in any form or measure, with education, for a reason which is not generally regarded. And this is, the influence of obedience as a means of intellectual culture. Its necessity for moral discipline, few deny; but its utility in respect to the understanding, is equally certain. Whatever instruction is given, whatever truth is taught, relates either to the mind alone and is of a scientific nature, or it relates to motive, conduct, and life, and therefore connects itself, more or less directly, with the affections; that is to say, all instruction concerns the thought only, or it concerns the thought and the will together. Now, when we are speaking of obedience, we include in our meaning, not only compliance with command, but self-control, and conformity with the just requirement of circumstances, and a yielding of one's will to the right, however that be ascertained and expressed; for all this can be secured and made an integral part of the character, only by early and regular habits of obedience. The utility of all this, in the study of merely scientific truth, is as certain and as obvious, as the utility of peaceful, undisturbed, sustained attention. But the other half of intellectual instruction, — that which touches upon morals and duty, and the relations of social life, and the principles of self-government, or which, in other words, regards the education of the affections through the understanding, and thus the formation of

the character, — demands no less all the assistance which it can derive from the salutary influence of obedience. We believe that this subject, in its widest extent, would well repay investigation. The text, "If any one will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine," expresses one of the vital truths of human nature; the truth, namely, that our ability to *know* aright any matter, which touches upon conduct and motive and duty, depends greatly upon our moral condition in relation to it; and this principle bears directly upon education.

There was once an attempt, by some philosophers, to persuade men, that understanding and belief were wholly independent of affection and motive, and the state of the will; and, although this folly has disappeared, the opposite truth is hardly appreciated. The strong tendency of these days to found all obedience to law or command upon a previous satisfaction with its propriety, is one expression of this falsity. It is often just the wrong way; and especially is it wrong when applied to the education of the young. A rule, a law, or command, is necessary for the very reason that something is to be done which is not desired. If, in this state of the case, we begin to reason about it, all views or arguments which can be offered in favor of the law, encounter not only an adverse inclination, but the belief, that, if a conviction of the reasonableness of the law be successfully resisted, — as of course it always may be by dulness or inattention, — the law will lose its power, the command will not be enforced, and the inclination may be indulged. Let this course be pursued, and there never lived the child who *could* estimate aright the truths thus offered for his consideration. He cannot but look at them through a disturbing medium; and the oftener this happens, the worse will be the habit of his mind. It is the demand, therefore, not of kindness only, but of justice, to draw this veil aside, and release him from its obstruction. Let him obey, — let him begin with obedience, — and he stands at once in a new position. Then, his reasoning powers are not called upon to act at a disadvantage; they have at least fair play; and they have also the aid of experience, which will often, perhaps generally, speak audibly in favor of the right. It is neither wise nor safe to say, in theory or in practice, that we will not resort to constrained obedience, because we trust to truth, to reason, and to conscience; for then is truth not aided, but disturbed and shackled,

and reason is confounded and obscured, and conscience exposed to certain injury, and to the danger of decay and death. We have dwelt the more on this subject, because we would willingly induce others, who have the means for further and fuller investigation, to give their attention to what we deem the important principle, — that obedience is among the most essential requisites for the highest and most valuable culture of the understanding.

Nor is this subject without its importance to American education, considered under its political aspect. The child's obedience to rule, or to command, becomes the man's obedience to law; and still retains its quality and all its characteristics. It was once said, — with more justice, we fear, than would belong to the saying now, — that this country was distinguished from all others, by the fact, that law, as such, and for its own sake, and its own power, is here held in reverence. When this can be no longer said with any truth, corruption will have done all its work, and resistance to corruption will have ceased; and one symptom, that this melancholy consummation is more than a remote possibility, may be found in the prevailing disposition to subject all public laws to the tribunal of individual opinion. It is not enough, that they should be the expression of the public opinion, uttered by its appointed organs. It is not enough, that each man holds in common with all others the right of bringing his opinion and his feeling to bear upon the original structure and enactment of the law through our republican institutions. It is not enough, that every man not only possesses this right, but is bound to exercise this right, to the very end that the law may thus reflect the general sentiment and enforce the general wish; but a growing and almost prevailing disposition now permits the individual thereafter to submit the law to his private judgment or personal inclination, and ask of that, as of the court of ultimate sovereignty, whether the law is, for him, a law. Let this habit go on, and acquire the sanction of general usage, and nothing will remain for the country, and the whole fabric of its government, but to be swept away as a cumberer of the earth. We believe, that in this disposition lies one of the greatest dangers to which we are exposed; and we believe also, that this disposition is to be checked first, and most successfully, in childhood. Then, if education recognises the duty, the necessity, of obedience; if it

places this upon its true ground, and enforces it, not with fretful anger, nor with the tyrannous violence of mere love of power, but with the mildness and the firmness of unfailing affection, and associates it indissolubly in the minds of children with all progress, all safety, all happiness, then, and then only, will the children of this republic be fitted to become its citizens, and hold in their hands its destiny. Nor is this a work to be done in the schools only; on the contrary, it is precisely that in which our schools and our homes should unite.

The subject of Domestic Education, as distinct from School Education, is of great magnitude and moment; but we do not propose to enter upon it at this time. Indeed, whatever can be said of it, is perhaps comprised or implied in the principle, that the school is better in proportion as it is a home, and the home is better in proportion as it becomes a school. They are two; not two places only, but two in organization and in character, and the difference between them is not to be lost sight of. Nevertheless, they are one in the end which lies before them; for this is the education, the *leading forth* of all the physical, intellectual, and moral powers, into fulness of stature, and strength, and health, and into the utmost capacity of enjoying the happiness of usefulness.

In these things they are one; and, while the patient kindness, the warmth and tenderness, of an affection like that of parents should fill the school with sunshine, and make its laws only the expression of its love, the home cannot fail in discipline and order, without mournful consequences, which no school can avert or remedy. One of the pictures of Shakspeare represents the schoolboy as creeping unwillingly to school. Like all his pictures this is true to nature, to the nature he drew from; but it is, in this instance at least, a false and injured nature, for not one jot of reason is there in the thing itself, why the child should go unwillingly to school, more than there is why he should go unwillingly from his school to his home, or to his play. What is a school? It is a place for moral discipline and for intellectual instruction. Now, most true it is, that no child ever lived who did not, as he grew up, manifest tendencies and feelings which required rebuke, opposition, and constraint; and the school is the place for this; but it is not the only nor the chief place for

it. If all constraint is at once relaxed when the child leaves the school; if he breaks from its thraldom into full license the moment he goes to his play; if, amid his fellows, or under the paternal roof, he is unwatched, unrestrained, unrebuked for evil deeds, little can his school do for him, and weighty and fearful is the responsibility of his parents. In point of moral discipline, therefore, the school should be no bugbear. And as to intellectual instruction, who has lived within the sight and hearing of a child, and does not know that he hungers and thirsts for knowledge? The babe of a week old seeks not its mother's breast with sharper appetite, than will urge him, when infancy expands into childhood, to question, and question closely, father and mother and brother and sister, and everybody near him, about every thing in his sight or in his thought. This is the first and natural manifestation of the desire *to know;* and it is wise, though not very common, to follow this desire somewhat as a guide. It is often easy to silence it by a little impatience or contempt; but the desire is still there, always there, deeply implanted in our nature. Education is founded upon this desire; acts through it; and most grossly errs when it afflicts or disappoints it, and by so doing makes the school distasteful to the child, and compels him to regard it as a place of imprisonment and punishment. And hereafter, when, in the progress of mankind, schools become more what schools should be, the child will seek the school as the home of his mind; and there will his mind expand and grow, as flowers and fruits open and ripen in the sunshine, without pain and almost without effort. At present there are few such homes, and few such schools; and the hope, that such things may become realities, must abide the common fate of all aspirations which look far forward. But the sneer which may rebuke cannot extinguish this hope; for thitherward tends all improvement in education, and the progress of this improvement will measure the advancement of man.

ART. IV. — 1. *Rhymed Plea for Tolerance. In Two Dialogues. With a Prefatory Dialogue.* London. 1833. 16mo.

2. *Poems; for the most part Occasional.* By JOHN KENYON, formerly of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. London. 1838. 8vo.

IT is a familiar remark of Hume, that, "when the arts and sciences come to perfection in a state, they necessarily decline; and seldom or never revive there." If "perfection" means here a high degree of excellence, which is the only fair interpretation, since there can be nothing really perfect in this world, the remark appears to us, like many others of its acute author, rather specious than sound. At all events, it does not apply to literature, which Hume evidently means to comprehend under the word "arts"; at least, not in those nations endowed with poetic imagination and sensibility, whose literature, the breathing of nature, as it were, will be found to reflect most faithfully the many-colored hues of the times through which it passes. It may be true, however, of a people like the ancient Romans, or like the French among the moderns; for both these nations have been remarkably deficient in the poetic temperament. It is singular, that the French, the most prosaic of modern nations, should, in their primitive period, in the infancy of civilization, have furnished the seeds, which, under more refined culture, have produced the most beautiful and exuberant flowers of fancy on a foreign soil; while their own land, so far from ripening them, has been cursed, in later times, with comparative poetic sterility. Thus the *fabliaux* and Norman tales of chivalry were the coarse web, from which the romantic Muse of Italy wove her cloth of gold and rich embroidery.

The defect of such nations as the Roman and the French seems to be, that, wanting genuine poetic feeling, their literature does not easily respond to the peculiarities of their own condition. It does not reflect the age. They do not derive their ideas of beauty from the objects around them, but from an antique, or at all events a foreign model. Their worship of the Muse is without enthusiasm. They have never been filled with the god. They feel no

> "Divinity within them, breeding wings
> Wherewith to spurn the earth."

What did freedom, "the spur that the clear spirit doth raise," do for Rome, in the earlier ages of her history, in the higher arts of civilization? Where were the poets, like Chaucer, struggling for expression amidst the barbarous discordances of a rude and unformed dialect? Or like Petrarch, building up the elegant fabric of his native language, by the sounds of music? Or like Dante, calling up spirits of power and beauty from the darkness of chaos? Neither Rome nor France had those master-spirits who could throw the light of their own genius in advance, to direct the march of civilization. Literature was not, with them, the spontaneous, irrepressible growth of an untamed soil. It was not the hardy mountain plant, sending forth its branches and its mild native fragrance to heaven; but a hot-house flower, beautiful to the eye, but delicate and feeble, such as could expand only in the sheltered, sunny atmosphere of a court. How could such a delicate exotic resist the shock of tempests, or even the fitful changes of the seasons?

The Roman literature, — to abandon our metaphor, which will be likely to halt if we ride it too long, — did not survive the political troubles of the country; and Hume's remark may find a pertinent illustration in its subsequent decline. The truth is, the principle of vitality was wanting. It was grafted on a foreign stock. Its best productions were closely modelled on the Greek. Its forms, its rules, were all accommodated to this model, not to the existing relations of the nation itself. The same, to some extent, may be said of the French, who professed to form their higher poetry, at least, on the same models of the antique, and under even greater disadvantages; for there was obviously much less violence done to nature by a nation moulding itself on a contemporary, than by a modern nation forming itself on an ancient. The effects on the Roman and the French have been somewhat analogous. Abandoning natural impulse, they have conformed to rules. Instead of nature they have fashioned themselves on a model, and therefore, instead of originals, have produced copies. In such a system, the merit of the work consisted not so much in free, natural movement, as in artificial refinement of taste; not so much in spontaneous and vigorous impulses, as in outward and superficial beauty of form; in exemption from faults, in fact, rather than positive beauty. One beauty it could not well have, — that of vari-

ety ; for all was nicely modelled after the strictest code of courtly criticism. All this, though compatible with the minor and superficial elegances, was fatal to bold originality, and to that versatile spirit of accommodation to the passing lights and shadows of the times, which can only exist in a free and unfettered literature. With such a people there is one golden Augustan age, — the period of meridian splendor, — to which all after times are to be referred, as the exclusive standard of excellence ; up to which there was a painful, gradual ascent ; since which there has been as gradual a decline. Such was the age of Augustus in Rome, and of Louis the Fourteenth in France.

Where shall we find such an age of *authority* in nations of deep poetic feeling, the English, or Italians, for example ? Not in Queen Anne's day, when, indeed, the leading writers, partly from the direct influence of France, and partly from the circumstance of their own local situation, in the precincts of a court, formed themselves on a similar artificial model. But who would defer to that day exclusively, as the day of great things, in comparison with the age of Shakspeare and Spenser ? Who would set up Pope above Milton, or cast down the statues of Scott and of Byron, though now raw from the sculptor's hand, to make room for those of Swift, or even Addison ? Fortunately, the votary of letters is not called on to overturn the altars raised to genius in any age of British literature, but may offer his homage at any shrine. For all are great in their way, and their ways are as various as the range of human genius. Strange, if Nature, so infinitely diversified in all her other operations, should be limited to one narrow standard of excellence in the creations of mind !

Nor shall we find this exclusive model, among the Italians, in the vaunted age of Leo the Tenth ; a term, by the by, which, if intended to convey the idea of a literature indebted for its growth to the discriminating patronage of that pontiff, is as great a misnomer as any in history. The great poets of that day, Ariosto, Tasso, Sannazaro, and the like, — if the like were to be found, — composed their immortal works far from Rome. Even such writers as were warmed by his encouragement, Berni, Bembo, and others, did not produce their greatest works under his eye, but after his death, or at a distance from his court. He had, indeed, a munificent spirit ;

but it showed itself quite as much in the fostering of the elegant arts which could minister more directly to the senses, as of literature. At all events, his own native literature (for he affected to relish the ancient) stands but slightly indebted to the merry pontiff, who could suffer the glory of his reign, Machiavelli, to languish in poverty, while he feasted and flattered the profligate buffoon, Aretino. His age, however, was distinguished above all others for purity and refinement of composition, and those polished beauties, which are the growth of a mature civilization. Yet, notwithstanding its classic pretensions, the Italians, at least those of our day, would not turn to this age as presenting the only, or even the best, models on which to form themselves. They would go back to the fourteenth century, rather, — the glorious period of the *trecentisti*.

It is one of the characteristics of a highly poetic temperament in a people, that its first masters, though rude, should yet be of the race of the giants ; that their works, penetrated with the spirit of a period when the full influences of the modern, as distinguished from the antique, are first felt, should surpass in originality and strength those of later ages, when the mind has grown familiar with these influences ; as the first wild products of a virgin soil tower above the later ones of more refined and elaborate culture. Thus, the writings of Dante and Petrarch, filled to their very depths with the magnificence and beauty of the new religion, which had broken on the benighted world, exhibited for the first time the superiority of Christianity over Paganism, as a source of inspiration ; showing that, however beautiful the outward forms of poetry, the spirit, which gives it life and immortality, had not till then been fully manifested. In the subsequent ages, we find Italian literature displaying other forms of beauty, accommodated to the changing character of the times.

In the fifteenth century, the Italian withered under the cold touch of a dead language ; but revived, in the following age, in all the healthful bloom of grace and beauty. This was the period of competition among the polished courts of Italy ; and the literature was embellished with all those Epicurean charms, which could render it attractive to a fastidious taste. But as moral and political corruption advanced, in the succeeding age, letters became infected by them, and the age of the *seicentisti* is still a term of obloquy, indicating the

greatest perversion of talent, and deplorable affectation. At the close of the last, and the commencement of the present century, another epoch has arisen, distinguished by a masculine taste, and bolder range of thought and diction. The Muse has been again inspired with the generous spirit of freedom, which warmed her earlier days. Some of the best writers of our own time, as Alfieri, Parini, Foscolo, glowing with a kindred enthusiasm, have formed their thoughts, if we may so say, on those of the great fathers of Italian song; while others, as Monti, for example, have no less sedulously copied their vigorous diction. Thus, the aspirations after freedom in the present age have given a tone to literature, not dissimilar to that which the actual possession of freedom imparted in an earlier age. And thus Italian literature, instead of fading away, after its glorious dawn had been overcast, has reappeared at intervals, with fresh splendor, surviving the decay of morals, of public credit, of liberty itself, — and, when these were lost, still renewing and rekindling the fire of genius by the vivid recollections of the past. Such are the triumphs of a people gifted with poetic imagination and genuine sensibility.

In like manner, we might trace the mutations of English literature, had we room, from the brilliant, picturesque pageant, and bustling movements of the Elizabethan age, so well illustrated in the contemporary dramatic and epic compositions, down to our own times, when Scott has carried us back again to the age of feudal daring and of Border minstrelsy, thus reproducing in English literature the same primitive taste, which has led the modern Italian states back to the hardy pioneers of their native poetry.

Byron, however, has been the representative of this epoch, more truly than Scott. The fierce, tumultuous passion, the desolating misanthropy, seeking refuge from the shocks of fortune in solitary communion with nature, the haughty spirit of independence, and the selfishness of egotism, are all characteristic of an age of revolution, when ancient dynasties have crumbled at a touch, and empires have passed away like a dream; when the destinies of the world have been committed to the men of yesterday; when one man has had to build up his own fortunes on the ruins of another; and society has been shaken to its foundations. The influence of Byron, of course, has been widely and perniciously felt, as evinced by

the passionate rant, affected sentimentality, and dare-devil desperation of a school of imitators, who have shown how much easier it is to catch the vices than the virtues of a model. Indeed, their great original was not exempt from many of these vices, — the vices of affectation. For who can make himself habitually the theme of his own story, under whatever fictitious covering it may be veiled, and be always true to nature? The very consciousness that he has fastened all eyes on himself, gives an unnatural movement to his gait, encourages a perpetual straining after effect, seduces him into affectations of which in solitude he would have been ashamed, and makes him, in short, play a thousand such

> "fantastic tricks before high heaven,
> As make the angels weep."

So was it with Byron, and with Rousseau, and with many another ill-fated, ill-regulated man of genius.

But all these contortions and the fashion thereof have passed, or are rapidly passing, away. What may next succeed, — whether the Delphic priestess, exhausted by these overstrained and superhuman efforts, may sink into a lethargy, and refuse to give out the oracles of the god any further, or whether the season of passion may give way to one of sober meditation, — it would be difficult to predict. We have great evidences of the latter, in various ways; especially in the growing favor which seems to be accorded to the calm, contemplative Muse of Wordsworth, whose still voice was almost drowned in the tempest of passion raised by the genius of Byron.

We discern similar evidences in the poems mentioned at the head of this Article; in their mild philosophy, and serious, didactic import. The first of these, by which the author, Mr. Kenyon, made himself favorably known to the English public, bearing the not very attractive title of a "Rhymed Plea for Tolerance," is equally honorable to his understanding and his heart; and is replete with truly liberal and sagacious reflections, recommended by the charms of a polished versification. We will quote a brief extract from the Preface, were it only to convince those who may be inclined to doubt it, that a devoted attachment to the established church, of which Mr. Kenyon is a member, is not incompatible with charity towards other forms of Christianity.

"In proportion to his ability, the Author has been anxious

to inculcate principles, and more especially that one of a full religious tolerance. And by this word he would not imply any mere toleration, either legal or practical; the one, too often cold, spiritless, a dead letter; the other, given or withheld at every private will. But that inward charity, which, when any toleration is to exist, ought to be its chief motive force; not, in short, an effect, but a cause; not an expediency, but a duty.

* * * * *

"To effect this, the Church should no longer hesitate to erase from her Articles of Faith, and from her Liturgy, all clauses damnatory of other creeds, or shades of creed. By honest dissenters such clauses are received with anger or with scorn, and by merciful churchmen with a sigh. * * * *

"But if the fact be, in truth, as the author has ventured to suppose it; if the damnatory clauses of our Liturgy and of our Church Articles be indeed not of general credence; then it requires small argument to show, that they should no longer be suffered to remain. For whatsoever effect, good or bad, they may produce on the intellects, or on the moral being, of those who do in true faith accept them; they must, at the least, wound the feelings, if they do not corrupt the consciences of others, clergy or laity, who, in their inner hearts rejecting, must, notwithstanding, seem to receive."—pp. v–viii.

The following stanzas, in a similar liberal spirit, may serve as a fair specimen of the poem.

"Some think a Sabbath feast no grievous sin;
Some on their Sabbath let no stranger in.
This creed with cheerful dance accords right well,
This, deems a pirouette a step for hell.
If sour Geneva bear a Sunday play,
Give we, as mildly, every faith its way,
For many a pilgrim prayer, to us unknown,
By its own pathway travels to the throne.
"Where mighty congregations throng amain,
And pulpit-thunders shake the astonished fane,
And through far roofs long-volumed organs peal,
There are, who then alone consent to feel.
Others, shy souls, whom silken crowds perplex,
Polemics tire, and actor-preachers vex,
Love more, like hermit, near his cross of stone,
To pace, at eve, the silent turf alone,
And softly breathe, or inly muse, a prayer,
And find, not less, the general Father there.

> "And whencesoe'er the glow, — from outward sense,
> Or fully fed by inner heart intense;
> What wins to love his God and neighbour best,
> Be this, for each, the object and the test." — p. 112.

Such sentiments are well worthy to be pondered, not merely in the country for which they were designed, but in every other, not excepting our own fortunate land, where the rights of political toleration do not always secure the feeling of Christian charity. In the author's country, we fear the good seed, which he has scattered, has fallen on somewhat stony ground; judging from some indifferent specimens of toleration, recently exhibited there. It is not many weeks since we met with a furious denunciation, in one of the leading Conservative papers, the "John Bull," of the Queen's advisers, who had allowed her Majesty to admit the dedication of a new Harmony of the Gospels, by a highly respectable dissenter, although on the express understanding that there was (as in fact is the case) nothing sectarian in the design of the work. This may be thought, however, only the voice of an individual. But what shall we say to the fact, stated in the same paper, that the clergy of several dioceses had signed a requisition to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his Grace, in conjunction with the Archbishop of York, to institute an episcopal commission to inquire into the conduct of the Bishops of Durham and Norwich, for becoming subscribers to a volume of discourses by a Unitarian preacher! In what age are we? It requires but little stretch of fancy, on reading this, to conceive ourselves in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The fagots of Smithfield are, indeed, no longer blazing; but

> "E'en in their ashes live the wonted fires."

Mr. Kenyon's second publication has recently appeared from the English press. It is a collection of poems, of very unequal length, on a variety of topics, executed, moreover, with considerable inequality of manner. Some of them bear the marks of a juvenile hand, through the retouches of a riper age. But the greater part, especially some of the longer pieces, evince much quiet dignity of thought, with tender feeling, and poetic gracefulness of expression. The longest, and the best, in our judgment, are the verses on "Moonlight"; a theme which has caught the eye of poets and poet-philosophers, from the time of "Crotona's sage" to our

own. But, though the theme be commonplace, it is treated in no common manner. Indeed, our author's Muse seems to have dipped her pencil in the soft, silvery radiance of the planet she invokes, disclosing a succession of beautiful pictures, more beautiful by the moral associations which they suggest, as she leads us along

> "far from the haunts of folly,
> With freedom at her side, and soft-eyed melancholy."

What serene dignity of thought and expression in the following apostrophe!

> "That peace, how deep! this night of thousand stars,
> That hide themselves abashed from the bold sun,
> But hang, all fondly, on thy gentler brow, —
> How calm! Yet not o'er calmer skies alone,
> Mild Moon! is thy dominion: Thou dost sway
> The very storm to obey thy peacefulness.
> When winds are piping, and the charged clouds,
> As if out-summoned by that warlike music,
> First in black squadrons rush; then sternly muster
> In sullen mass, on either side the heaven,
> Like armies face to face, with space between;
> 'T is then Thou glidest forth; like some pale nun,
> Unhooded, whom a high and rare occasion
> Wrests from her sanctuary, to interpose
> In mortal quarrel, so thou glidest forth,
> And lookest thy mild bidding; and the winds
> Are silent; and those close-compacted clouds,
> Disbanding, fleet in tender flakes away,
> And leave the world to thy tranquillity.
> "On such a night it was, so wildly fitful,
> That Thou, Conductress of my way, didst lead me
> To where the mighty mystery of Stonehenge
> Broods o'er the silent plain, and with mute power
> Rules the vast circuit of its sea-like space
> As Thou dost rule the sky." — p. 11.

We have not space for our author's musings on the "mighty mystery," which are conceived in a poetic spirit, in harmony with the solemn grandeur of the scene; but shall pass on to the conclusion of the poem; and, as the book has not appeared from the American press, shall make no apology to our readers for quoting it at some length.

> "And ne'er did Dawn behold Thee lovelier yet,
> Than when we saw Thee, one remembered day,

Thee and that brightest of all morning-stars,
Hang o'er the Adrian ; not in thy full lustre,
But graceful with slim crescent ; such as, erst,
Some Arab chief beheld in his own sky
Of purest, deepest azure ; and so loved it,
So loved it, that he chose it for his symbol ;
A peaceful symbol on a warlike banner !
And oft, I ween, in many a distant camp,
'Mid the sharp neigh of steeds, and clash of cymbals,
And jingle of the nodding Moorish bells,
When he hath caught that image o'er the tents,
Hath he bethought him of the placid hours
When Thou wast whitening his night-feeding flocks
On Yemen's happy hills ; and then, perchance,
Hath sighed to think of war !
"We too beheld Thee
With untired eye fixed upward ; scarce regarding
(So deep the charm which Thou hadst wrapped around us)
Where reddening lines along the Eastward Sea
Spoke of the Sun's uprising. Up He rose,
From o'er the regions of the near Illyria,
Glorious, how glorious ! — if less gladly hailed
As warning thy departure. Yet, some time,
Ye shone together ; and we then might feel
How they the ancient masters of that land,
The dwellers on the banks of Rubicon,
Who saw what we were seeing, uninstruct'
Of wiser faith, had, in no feigned devotion,
Bowed down to Thee, their Dian, and to Him,
Bright-haired Apollo ! We, too, bowed our hearts,
But in a purer worship, to the One,
Who made, Alone, the hills and seas and skies,
And Thee, fair Moon, the Hallower of them all !
"Well did that Sun fulfil his rising promise,
Showering redundant light, the livelong day,
O'er plain, and inland peak, and bluest sea ;
And brightening the far mole, which Old Ancona
Hath reared upon the waves. Meanwhile, thy form
(Faint and more faint, and, if might be, more fair ;
And still, as near to lose Thee, loved the more)
Thinned to unseen. But as some morning dream,
Too sweet to part with, and which yet must fade
At touch of light, will oft unconsciously
Mix with the day, serener thoughts inweaving
Than sunbeams bring ; or, as some melody,

Closed on the ear, nor e'en by it remembered,
Will still its silent agency prolong
Upon the spirit, with a hoarded sweetness
Tempering the after-mood ; e'en so did'st Thou
Waft the bland influence of thy dawning presence
Over the onward hours.
" Yet, thou sphered Vestal !
If mine it were to choose me when to bend
Before thy high-hung lamp ; and venerate
Thy mysteries ; and feel, not hear, the voice
Of thy mute admonition ; let it be
At holy vesper-tide, when nature all
Whispers of peace ; if solemn less than night's,
More soothing still. Such season of the soul
Obeys Thee best. For as the unwrinkled pool,
Stilled o'er by stirless eve, will dimple under
The tiniest brushing of an insect's wing ;
So, at that hour, do human hearts respond
To every touch of finer thought.
" Such eve,
Such blessed eve was ours, when last we stood
Beside the storied shore of Gaëta,
Breathing its citroned air. Silence more strict
Was never. The small wave, or ripple rather,
Scarce lisping up the sand, crept to the ear
Sole sound ; nor did we break the calm with movement,
Or sacrilege of word ; but stayed in peace,
Of Thee expectant. And what need had been
Of voiced language, when the silent eye,
And silent pressure of each linked arm,
Spoke more than utterance ? Nay, whose tongue might tell
What hues were garlanding the western sky
To welcome thy approaching ! Purple hues
With orange wove, and many a floating lake
Crimson or rose, with that last tender green
Which best relieves thy beauty. Who may paint
How glowed those hills, with depth of ruddy light
Translucified, and half ethereal made,
For thy white feet to tread on ? and, ere long, —
E'er yet those hues had left or sky or hill,
One peak with pearling top confess'd thy coming.
There didst thou pause awhile, as inly musing
O'er realm so fair ! And, first, thy rays fell partial
On many a scattered object, here and there :
Edging or tipping, with fantastic gleam,

The sword-like aloe, or the tent-roofed pine,
Or adding a yet paler pensiveness
To the pale olive-tree ; or, yet more near us,
Were flickering back from wall reticulate'
Of ruin old. But when that orb of Thine
Had clomb to the mid-concave, then broad light
Was flung around o'er all those girding cliffs,
And groves, and villages, and fortress towers,
And the far circle of that lake-like sea,
Till the whole grew to one expanded sense
Of peacefulness, one atmosphere of love,
Where the Soul breathed as native, and mere Body
Sublimed to Spirit.
" She, too, stood beside us,
Our human type of Thee ; the Pure, the Peaceful,
The Gentle, — potent in her gentleness !
And, as she raised her eyes to thy meek glory,
In the fond aspiration of a heart,
Which prized all beauty and all sanctity ;
We saw, and loved to see, thy sainting ray
Fall, as in fondness, on her upturned brow,
Serene, — like it. Alas ! in how brief space
Coldly to glitter on her marble tomb !
" She lies in her own land ; far from the scene
Of that fair eve ; but Thou, its fairer part,
Thou Moon ! art here ; and now we gaze on Thee
To think on Her ; if still in sorrow, yet
Not without hope ; and, for the time to come,
Though dear to us thy light hath ever been,
Shall love Thee yet the more for her sweet sake."
pp. 19 – 25.

There is an unusual charm in Mr. Kenyon's versification, that occasionally suggests recollections of some one of our favorite English bards, as Milton, and Cowper more particularly, not in the way of imitation, which is always disagreeable, but by some resemblance of poetic nature, — a transient suggestion, — in the same manner as a passing melody, or the sweet fragrance of some wayside flower, may call to mind the scenes of earlier, and perhaps happier days. He has read Nature with his own eyes, but through the beautiful medium of a highly cultivated mind.

The next poem is on "Pretence," a satire ; if satire that can be called, which has no sting, or rather no venom. Indeed, those who insist on seeing a reputation die at every

sally, will be disappointed in Mr. Kenyon's satire, which is aimed, in the true feeling of a noble nature, at vices, not at individuals. We have no room, however, for specimens of the polished raillery which the ephemeral topics of the poem call forth ; but must close our extracts with one of the fugitive pieces, that form the latter half of the volume.

"THE BROKEN APPOINTMENT.

"I sought at morn the beechen bower,
Thy verdant grot ;
It came, — it went, — the promised hour, —
I found thee not.
Light zephyrs from the quivering boughs
Soon brushed the transient dew ;
Then first I feared, that Love's own vows
Were transient too !

"At eve I sought the well-known stream
Where, wont to rove,
We breathed so oft, by twilight gleam,
Our vows of love ;
I stopped upon the pleasant brink,
And saw the wave glide past ;
Ah me ! I could not help but think
Love glides as fast.

"Then, all along the moonlight glen
So soft, — so fair, —
I sought thy truant steps agen, —
Thou wert not there.
The clouds held on their busy way
Athwart the waning Moon ;
And such, I said, Love's fitful ray,
And wanes as soon.

"Oh ! I had culled for thee a wreath
Of blossoms rare ;
But now each flowret droops beneath
The chill night-air.
'T is past, — long past, — our latest hour,
And yet thou art not nigh ;
Oh ! Love, thou art indeed a flower
Born but to die !" — p. 41.

Mr. Kenyon, in his Preface, expresses the natural longing after immortality, intimated by the "*Non omnis moriar*" of Horace; a natural desire, indeed, but one that we do not see often uttered in our day, or even in modern times. Milton, it is true, consoled himself under disappointment and disgrace, with the generous confidence, that he had given birth to something, that "after-times would not willingly let die." But how few, like the blind poet of "Paradise Lost," would be content, — had they his genius, — to spurn delights, and live laborious days, for the guerdon of immortality! How few, who do not rather thrust the sickly blossoms of their fancy into the world, crude and half-opened, without vitality to outlast a summer!

What is the reason, that this generous solicitude for an undying name should have been felt, or, at least, expressed, so much more earnestly by the ancients than the moderns? Is it, that the former, in their philosophical skepticism as to another world, sought some compensation from prolonged existence in this? Or that something of the same generous spirit which led the individual of that day to merge his existence, as it were, in that of the public, also suggested to him the desire to blend his being, as far as possible, with the intelligences of after ages? Or, finally, that the narrow sphere, which circumscribed a reputation, previously to the rapid and boundless multiplication of copies by the art of printing, induced the poet of antiquity, in his ambition of a wider theatre, to fix his gaze more steadily on the dark, distant, interminable future? In our own day, the immense audience thrown open to the popular poet, the rapid and almost simultaneous vibrations which, now that the press affords the means, attest his power, in the most distant parts of the community, and last, not least, his solid golden gains, all combine to satisfy his desires, shutting out the delusive thoughts of the dim and uncertain future. The English author, from his little speck of an island, scarcely visible on the map, sends forth his voice on the wings of the wind, and it is heard by his countrymen, almost simultaneously, in every region of the globe, — in islands and continents unknown to antiquity; empires, which the arms and the arts of his nation have subdued; and countries which, if independent of her rule, still speak her language, and resort to the well of English undefiled, as the perennial spring of their own literature.

And is not this a theatre vast enough for ambition? Yet, the "*Non omnis moriar*" feeling, the dread of annihilation, will recur, — the fond hope, that the thought now fluttering into being, shall find its way down, and mingle with the souls of the good and the wise of future generations. It is impossible to predict what may be the fate of a writer with this same Posterity. Or rather, it is very possible to predict, with the comfortable assurance, that such prediction cannot be discredited in our own day. We cannot but think, that Jupiter will listen to one half of our author's prayer, should he give the other to the winds; and that there are poems in this collection, of too much excellence for "after-times" (to quote again the words of the blind old bard) to "willingly let die."

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Art. V. — 1. *Traité complet sur le Sucre Européen de Betteraves, Traduction abrégée de* M. Achard; par M. D. Angar. *Précédé d'une Introduction et accompagné de Notes et Observations;* par Ch. Derosne. Paris, 1812.

2. *Mémoires sur le Sucre de Betteraves;* par M. le Comte Chaptal. 3e édit. Paris, 1822.

3. *Traité complet de la Fabrication du Sucre de Betteraves,* par Dubrunfaut. Paris, 1825.

4. *Faits et Observations sur la Fabrication du Sucre de Betteraves, et sur la Distillation des Mélasses;* par C. J. A. Mathieu de Dombasle.

5. *Traité de la Fabrication et du Raffinage des Sucres de Cannes et de Betteraves;* par M. Payen. Paris, 1832.

6. *Notice sur la Fabrication du Noir Animal;* par J. S. Clémondat. Paris, 1832.

7. *Bulletin du Procédé de Macération pour la Fabrication du Sucre de Betteraves;* par C. J. A. Mathieu de Dombasle. Paris, 1832.

8. *Manuel du Fabricant et du Raffineur de Sucre de Cannes et de Betteraves;* par MM. Blanchette et Zoega. 2e édit., augmentée et enrichie de Planches; par M. Julia de Fontenelle. Paris, 1833.

9. *Rapport fait au Nom de la Commission, chargée d'ex-*

*aminer le Projet de Loi sur les Sucres*; par M. Dumon, Député de Lot-et-Garonne. Séance du 8 Mai, 1837.

10. *Manual of the Art of Making and Refining Sugar from Beets, Translated from Portions of the Treatise of* MM. Blanchette and Zoega. Boston, 1836.
11. *Notice of the Beet Sugar, translated from the Works of* Dubrunfaut, De Dombasle, and Others. Northampton, 1837.
12. *Cane Sugar and Beet Sugar;* Edinburgh Review, April, 1837, Art. V.
13. *Mulberry and Beet Sugar;* Report of the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives of the United States; April 20th, 1838.
14. *Report and Bill to Encourage the Manufacture of Indigenous Sugar.* By a Committee of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, May 20th, 1837.

Within the present century has commenced a revolution, which may prove to be of very different importance from what has yet generally been supposed, in respect to a leading article in the commerce and domestic economy of civilized men. It has now arrived at a stage, at which it furnishes some *data* for answering the questions, how far it is likely to proceed, and what are to be its permanent effects upon the employment, subsistence, comfort, and wealth of nations.

The commercial and economical importance of sugar is of modern date. It was known to the Greeks and Romans, as a medicinal substance, but not as food or a condiment. Herodotus informs us, that the Zygantes, a people of Africa, had, "besides honey of bees, a much greater quantity made by men." This was probably sugar, but not brought to a state of crystallization. Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander, "discovered concerning canes, that they make honey without bees." Megasthenes, quoted by Strabo, speaks, 300 B. C., of "India stone, sweeter than figs and honey." Theophrastus, in a fragment preserved by Photius, describes sugar as "a honey contained in reeds." Eratosthenes, also cited by Strabo, and after him, Terentius Varro, are supposed to have meant sugar-canes by "roots of large reeds growing in

India, sweet to the taste, both when raw and when boiled, and affording, by pressure, a juice incomparably sweeter than honey."

Near the commencement of the Christian era, sugar was first mentioned under an appropriate name and form. "In India and Arabia Felix," writes Dioscorides, "a kind of concrete honey is called *saccharon*. It is found in reeds, and resembles salt in solidity, and in friableness betwixt the teeth." After this, so learned a man as Seneca fell back into fable on this subject. His account is this; "It is said that in India honey is found on the leaves of reeds, either deposited there by the dews of heaven, or generated in the sweet juice and fatness of the reed itself." Pliny, whose special study led him to look more carefully into the matter, gives all that the ancients knew about it, and a little more. "Arabia," he observes, "produces *saccharum*, but not so good as India. It is a honey, collected on reeds, like the gums. It is white, crumbles in the teeth, and when largest is of the size of a hazel-nut. It is used in medicine only." Afterwards Archigenes mentioned it, as "India salt, resembling common salt in color and consistency, but, in taste and flavor, honey." Galen calls it *sacchar*, and says it was "a production of India and Arabia the Blest." The author of the "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea" includes it, under the name of *sacchari*, in a list of articles, constituting the commerce between hither India, and the ports of that sea.

If the assertion, that sugar was used in antiquity as a medicament only, needed confirmation, we might find it in the fact, that the subject is not mentioned except by physicians and men of universal learning, nor with tolerable precision except by the former. None of them allude to any artificial process in the preparation of it. Ælian, about the middle of the second century, is the first who mentions the use of mechanical art in the extraction of the juice of the cane, and he is likewise the first who attempts to fix the seat of its culture. He tells us, that sugar is "honey pressed from reeds, which are cultivated by the Prasii, a people dwelling near the mouth of the Ganges."

The Jewish histories make no mention of sugar. The only sweet condiment, used by the Hebrews, was honey. But it may have been in part "honey made by men"; for

the Rabbins understand thereby not only the honey of bees, but also sirups, made from the fruit of the palm-tree.

During several centuries succeeding the Augustan age, no extension of the knowledge or use of sugar appears to have taken place. It is occasionally spoken of, but to the same effect as by the Greek physicians of that age. So late as the seventh century, Paul of Ægina calls it "India salt," and borrows the description of Archigenes.

At this time a new power appeared on the theatre of nations. The Saracens conquered and occupied western Asia, northern Africa, and southern Europe. Their empire was scarcely inferior to that of Rome, in the period of her greatest prosperity and rapacity. They pushed their conquests to the Garonne and the Rhone, to Amalfi, and the islands of the Levant and the Ægean sea.

To these ingenious barbarians the world is indebted for the modern manufacture and commerce of sugar. It is not known at what time they themselves became acquainted with it. Some authors have asserted, that it was not until the thirteenth century, and that the sugar-cane and the art of extracting and elaborating the juice were conferred upon the Europeans by the crusaders, or by the merchant adventurers, who penetrated the Indies after the return of Marco Polo. Each of these assertions has been vaguely received; but a little attention will satisfy every inquirer, that neither of them is true.

We have seen, that several of the ancients, best acquainted with the subject, couple Arabia Felix with India as a source of *saccharum*. Arabian writers of the ninth and tenth centuries speak of sugar as common in their times. In the year 906, the sugar-cane was cultivated, and sugar manufactured, at Ormuz in Caramania, a province of the eastern Caliphate. An Arabian author of the western Caliphate, who composed a treatise on agriculture about the year 1140, and who quotes another writer of his nation of the year 1073, gives full and precise directions for raising canes and manufacturing sugar. From all which Loudon concludes, that sugar has been cultivated in Spain upwards of seven hundred years, and probably as much as one thousand years. Salmasius declares, in 1660, that the Arabs had made our modern sugar more than eight hundred years.

One of the Christian historians of the Crusades, in the year

1100, states, that the soldiers of the Cross found in Syria certain reeds, called *canaméles*, of which it was reported, that a kind of wild honey was made." Another, in 1108, says; "The crusaders found honey-reeds, in great quantity, in the meadows of Tripoli, in Syria, which reeds were called *sucra*. These they sucked, and were much pleased with the taste thereof, and could scarcely be satisfied with it. This plant is cultivated with great labor of the husbandman every year. At the time of the harvest they bruise it, when ripe, in mortars, and set by the strained juice in vessels until it is concreted in the form of snow or salt." The same historian relates, that eleven camels laden with sugar were captured by the Christians. A similar adventure happened to Richard Cœur-de-Lion, in the second crusade. A third writer, in 1124, tells us, that "in Syria reeds grow that are full of honey; by which is meant a sweet juice, which, by pressure of a screw engine, and concreted by fire, becomes sugar." These are the earliest notices of the method of making sugar; and they refer to an apparatus and to processes used in the Saracen empire, and not known at that time, so far as European records show, to be used anywhere else. At the same time sugar was made at Tyre in Syria, then subject to the Saracens; and, in 1169, that city is mentioned as "famous for excellent sugar."

The island of Sicily was the first spot upon which the sugar-cane is known to have been planted in Europe, though it is altogether likely, that it was planted by the Moors full as early, if not earlier, in Spain and Portugal. That island was conquered by the Saracens in the early part of the ninth century, and was retaken by the Normans at the close of the eleventh. Immediately after that event we find, that large quantities of sugar were made there. According to records still extant, William, the second king of Sicily, in 1166, made a donation to the convent of St. Benedict of "a sugar-mill, with all the workmen, privileges, and appurtenances thereto belonging."

If it was the crusaders who brought the sugar culture to Europe, how happened it, seeing that they were collected from all Europe, that no other part of that continent except Spain in the hands of the Arabs, and no other island of the Mediterranean except Crete, captured in the year 823, by an expedition from Spain, were favored with that invaluable

donation ? It was not until three hundred years later, that it found its way into Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Morea ; and this extension was not owing to rural tastes, or the spirit of improvement among the feudal barbarians, but to the commercial enterprise of the Venetians, who had for a long time carried on a lucrative trade in the article with India, Syria, Egypt, and Sicily, and were now, by conquest or purchase, the possessors of Crete, and the later seats of the sugar culture above mentioned.

It may be further remarked, that the most important and profitable of the manufacturing arts have never been propagated except by conquest or emigration. The woollen business was established in England by the weavers, fullers, and dyers, whom the frantic tyranny of the counts of Flanders and their French allies drove, and the wise policy of the Henrys and Edwards welcomed, to England. The cotton manufacture, derived to the Arabians from Hindostan, was by them diffused over Africa, and fixed in Europe ; and thence brought by an enterprising operative to the United States. It seems scarcely credible, that those half-naked, hard-riding demons, who are so often employed in stripping unfortunate Christians to the skin, are the identical people to whom Christendom is indebted for the comfort of a shirt. Such, however, is the fact. The Arabs conferred upon us that grateful, and now ornamental garment.

It was not until the time of Justinian, five hundred years after silk was known and purchased at enormous prices at Rome, that the silk culture was brought into the Eastern Empire by two Persian monks, who had pursued it in China. It was established in Italy by a colony of Greek captives, and carried from Milan to Lyons by a company of Italian workmen, engaged by Francis the First. Finally, the Huguenots fled from treachery and intolerance to impart their skill to Spitalfields. The silk manufacture is more simple and cheap than that of sugar has hitherto been, and yet it required twelve hundred years to travel from Constantinople to London ; and it has but just reached our shores after two hundred years more.

It may help us to form some adequate notion of the difficulty with which manufacturing arts are propagated, if we reflect how hard it was to naturalize the cotton and woollen manufactures in the United States, and how far they still are

from that fineness and finish, to which they attain in the workshops of Europe. Yet we speak a common language, are descended from common ancestors, and have always had close commercial and social relations with our teachers. How much greater must have been the difficulty and delay, if we had been strangers in origin and language, and enemies in religion.

The use of alkalies, in the clarification of the juice of the cane, was an invention of the Arabs. The original raw sugar of the East was debased by a mixture of mucilaginous matter, which opposed itself to the crystallization of the sugar, and determined it to a speedy decomposition after it was crystallized. To this day the Eastern sugar, except where the manufacture is directed by Europeans, or where the product has been converted by the Chinese into what we commonly call "rock candy," is much inferior to that of the West in purity, and in strength of grain. The only clarification, which the liquor appears to have undergone in the hands of the Eastern manipulators, was by skimming during the processes of evaporation and boiling. And, if we may judge from the imperfect and loose descriptions of modern travellers, this is the extent of their knowledge at the present day. They seem to know no other method of clarification in making sugar, and no art of refining except that of making candy.

How the Arabs came to adopt a different method, it is perhaps impossible at this day to determine. Discoveries of this nature do not readily obtain publicity in any country. They are usually involved in as much mystery, and kept under a monopoly as long, as possible. Another characteristic of the Arabian method was the use of earthen moulds, of a conical form, for crystallizing and curing the sugar. In the East, broad, earthen dishes were used for those purposes. These two characteristics of the Arabian method have come to us through the Spanish and Portuguese ; and whence should they have derived them, except from the Arabs, Moors, or Saracens ? — different names given to the same people from the relations to places and to people, which they successively sustained. *Arabs* (according to a probable etymology of the word) means *westerns*, because this people inhabited the *west* of Asia. When they had spread over the north of Africa, and occupied the remotest Hesperia of the ancient world, the body of their nation was,

in respect to the emigrants, *eastern*, and that is the signification of *Saracen*. *Moors* was a name given to them by the Spaniards and other Europeans, from the circumstance of their having conquered and converted the inhabitants of Mauritania or Morocco, incorporated them with their army, and issued immediately from their territory to take possession of Spain, Portugal, part of France and of Italy, Sicily, and the islands of the Ægæan Sea.

We have seen, that the Arabs had the art of cultivating the cane, and converting it into sugar. We know that sugar-canes, called "the chief ornament of Moorish husbandry," are still cultivated in Spain, and the manufacture of sugar carried on. It is likewise made in large quantities on the river Suz, in Morocco; and, at Teycut or Tattah, constitutes a leading article of traffic with caravans, which traverse the great desert, and vend it in Timbuctoo and other markets of Central Africa. Sugar is still a production of considerable importance in Egypt, particularly in the district of Fayoum, and, until lately, the Seraglio at Constantinople was furnished thence with the nicest refined sugar. In 1560, sugar was imported at Antwerp from Portugal and Barbary. At the same period it was an article of extensive manufacture and traffic at Thebes, Darotta, and Dongola in Nubia and Upper Egypt. All these are undoubtedly the remains of the Arabian plantations.

The Spanish and Portuguese word for sugar, is *azucar*, *açucar*, or *assucar*, and the Arabic *assokar* or *shuker*. This was derived from the Sanscrit, *sharkara* or *sarkara* meaning, in the primitives, *sweet salt*, and giving rise in antiquity to the terms *saccharon*, *sacchar*, *sacchari*, *saccharum*, and "India salt." The Arabic *shuker* is, with slight modifications, a universal term, except in China and the Malayan archipelago; proof enough that we received this commodity, and the art of preparing it, from neither of them, and that we and all the western nations are indebted for it to the Arabs, and through them to the Hindoos. The difference between the Spanish and Portuguese word, and other European names, is owing to the circumstance, that the two nations in close contact with the Arabs, incorporated the article *a* or *al* with the substantive, before which they heard it, as they did in a great many other instances, *algodon*, for example, which is properly *godon*, *goton*, or *koton*. The etymology of *melasses* will further illustrate our position, that we derived the

art of sugar-making from the Spaniards and Portuguese, and through them from the Arabians. *Melasses*, more frequently, but incorrectly spelt, *molasses*, is an abbreviation of *mel de assucar*, signifying, in Spanish and Portuguese, *the honey of sugar*.

The Portuguese, under the auspices of Dom Henry, transplanted the sugar-cane from Sicily, as it is commonly supposed, though it might be from Portugal itself, to the islands of Madeira and St. Thomas. Herrera has raised great doubt of the historical correctness of the idea, that Sicily was resorted to at that time for sugar-canes. He declares positively, that they were carried to the Africo-Atlantic islands "from Granada, where they had been planted by the Moors."

It has been a subject of much dispute, whether the sugar-cane was introduced into America from Europe, Asia, or Africa, or whether it is indigenous here. The former is the opinion of all the historians of the old world, the latter of all the explorers of the new. Edwards reconciles them by supposing that both are true, which seems to be the most reasonable conclusion. It would be as absurd to suppose, that the early European settlers of America would fail to carry that plant, with whose great value and agreeable uses they had just become well acquainted, to their new abode, especially when they were growing and were worked up in great quantities in the Canaries, whence all the adventurers were accustomed to take their departure, as it would to question the authority of the writers, who positively affirm this fact. On the other hand, it would be an extravagant stretch of incredulity to doubt the clear testimony of the many eye-witnesses, who declare, that they found native sugar-canes in Guadaloupe, St. Vincent, Brazil, on the La Plata, and on the Mississippi; or the demonstration of Cook and Bourgainville, who brought a native and valuable variety from the Friendly Islands to the British and French West Indies.

It is asserted by some, that the plant was carried from Brazil to St. Domingo, having been previously brought to the former from the Portuguese kingdom of Angola, where it is still cultivated, or from the Portuguese possessions in Asia, where Vasco de Gama and his successors, the conquerors of a great part of India, found sugar in abundance. Whencesoever the sugar-cane came to St. Domingo, or

whether it came at all, it is certain, that a company of sugar-makers were carried from Palm Island, one of the Canaries, to establish the manufacture in that oldest, except Brazil, of the American settlements.

It is an interesting fact, that the art of sugar-making, propagated, we must conclude, both *east* and *west* from Asia, now completed, in opposite directions, the circumnavigation of the globe; for, a few years after this establishment in St. Domingo, Cortez found, that both sirup and sugar were made from the stalks of maize, by the natives of Mexico, and sold in their markets. The aborigines of Virginia, and probably of all North America, had the knowledge of making sugar from the juice of the maple. From them the Anglo-American settlers undoubtedly derived it.

In 1643, the English began the sugar-business in Barbadoes, and, in 1648, the French, in Guadaloupe. The Dutch, expelled from Brazil, where they manufactured sugar in the sixteenth century, took refuge in Curaçoa, St. Eustatia, and other islands, and finally, upon the exchange of New Amsterdam for English Guiana, in Surinam. To all these they transferred a branch of industry, which they had learned to practise, and knew how to appreciate.

It is not known at what time the use of sugar began in England. It was probably as late as the fourteenth century. At that time it begins to take, in trope and verse, the place which honey had occupied, without a rival, since Moses and Homer. Chaucer uses the epithet "sugreed over." The chamberlain of Scotland, in 1329, speaks of loaves of sugar sold in that country at one ounce of silver, equal to four dollars of our money, per pound. In 1333, white sugar appears among the household expenses of Humbert, a nobleman of Vienne, and it is mentioned by Eustace Deschamps as among the heaviest expenses of housekeeping. George Peale tells us, that sugar with wine was a common drink in the sixteenth century. It did not become an article of ordinary consumption until the beginning of the seventeenth century. At that period, the Venetians imported it from Sicily and Egypt, and probably produced it in Cyprus, Crete, and the Morea. One of their countrymen, about two centuries before, had invented the art of refining, for which he received the sum of one hundred thousand ducats, equal to three or four hundred thousand dollars at the present time. Previously to this they

had pursued the Chinese method, and made candy only. This inventor adopted the cones from the Arabians, and probably obtained from their manner of clarification the idea, upon which he so far improved as to effect at last the complete purification of his product. It was from the Venetian refineries, that France and England procured their small and high-priced supplies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

By the creation of sugar plantations in the Portuguese and Spanish islands of Madeira, St. Thomas, and the Canaries, the stock was considerably increased. We begin then, for the first time, to have accounts of the number of sugar-mills, and the quantities manufactured. Thus we are told, that in the island of St. Thomas there were, in 1524, seventy mills, making on an average 66,428 lbs. each, and upwards of two thousand tons in all. It was from those islands, that Europe was for half a century mainly supplied. But the rapid exhaustion of the soil seems inseparable from the cultivation of the cane with the labor of slaves and serfs. It is reasonable to suppose, that this was the great cause of the successive migrations of this business westward, and its early decline in Sicily, Spain, and the Africo-Atlantic islands.

In St. Domingo there were, in 1518, twenty-eight sugar presses. In about half a century, this island succeeded to the inheritance of the markets of Europe, which it monopolized and enlarged during a century and a half, exporting sixty-five thousand tons in one year, being about 100,000,000 lbs. surplus, after supplying the demand of the mother country. In any possible situation of that island, it could not have maintained until this time that monopoly, and that rate of production. At the beginning of the present century, the entire exportation from the West Indies and American settlements of every description, was 440,800,000 lbs. ; now it is 400,000,000 lbs. from the British West Indies alone, and 700,000,000 lbs. more from Brazil and the Spanish, French, Dutch, and Danish colonies. In 1750, only 80,000,000 lbs. were exported from the British West Indies, one fifth of the present export.

Of course the consumption of sugar has greatly increased during the last half century ; and it seems destined to an indefinite extension. It is so nutritive, wholesome, and agreeable, that there can never be a limit to its use except in a

prohibition or an inability to buy it. Men and nations differ widely in their tastes and habits in respect to most kinds of food, sauce, and drinks. Neither wheat, rice, flesh, nor potatoes can command unanimous favor. No article of housekeeping, save sugar, can be named, which is universally acceptable, to the infant and the aged, the civilized and the savage.

The population of the British West Indies is equal to that of Cuba; but their consumption of sugar was, in 1827, only 13,000,000 lbs., eighteen pounds to an inhabitant, while that of Cuba was, in the same year, 44,000,000 lbs., or sixty-three lbs. to an inhabitant. This difference is presumed to be owing to the predominance of the free over the slave population, in the latter island. The ratio of the free population of Cuba to the slave, is three to one; but in the British West Indies, one to three. This proportion would give the difference of the quantities of sugar consumed, with almost entire accuracy.

The population of all the sugar-growing countries in the world is about 468,000,000. It is not to be presumed, that each individual of this number consumes as much as the luxurious West Indian; but it will not be extravagant to suppose, that they all consume as largely as the Mexicans. Mexico, by the lowness of wages, and the ignorance and poverty of the mass, may be considered as a fair representative of the nations, inhabiting that belt of the earth, which produces sugar-canes. She consumes, according to M. Humboldt, ten pounds to an inhabitant, all of domestic production. We thus determine proximately, that the consumption of the other Hispano-American nations, and of the swarms which people the East, is 5,000,000,000 lbs. per annum, nearly four times as much as is used in Europe and the United States. Great Britain consumes 400,000,000 lbs., about twenty-four pounds to each inhabitant; the United States 200,000,000 lbs., sixteen pounds to an inhabitant; our domestic production being estimated at 50,000 hhds., or 50,000,000 lbs. In Ireland, the consumption is 40,000,000 lbs., five pounds to an individual. In Russia, it is much less, being but a little more than one pound to a person, and 60,000,000 in the whole, unless the article be introduced inland from China, by way of Kiachta, as to some extent it probably is. Of the quantity

consumed in Russia, we suppose 8,000,000 lbs. to be beet sugar. Belgium consumes 30,000,000 lbs., seven pounds to an inhabitant, of which 5,000,000 lbs. are beet; and Prussia, Austria, and the rest of Germany, 200,000,000 lbs., of which 20,000,000 lbs. may be beet. This is four pounds and a half to an inhabitant. Holland consumes 50,000,000 lbs., sixteen pounds to an inhabitant; Spain, the same, which is but four pounds to an inhabitant; France, 230,304,549 lbs., seven pounds to each inhabitant. Of this, 107,905,785 lbs. were, in 1836, made from beet-roots. With the exception of a few manufactories in Italy, the above figures show the extent of the beet-sugar culture. Thus we have, for the total consumption of sugar in Europe, 1,267,000,000 lbs., of which 140,000,000, or 62,500 tons, are beet sugar; and, for the total consumption throughout the world, 6,267,000,000 lbs., worth, at six cents a pound, $376,020,000.

The cost of the production of cane sugar varies. It depends mainly on the price of labor. In the East, where labor is from 6 to 10 cents a day, sugar costs to the manufacturer from 1 to 2 cents a pound. In the Americas, where, with the exception of the Hispano-American republics, no wages until very recently have been paid to the laborer, the cost is 3 cents a pound. The price for exportation will average $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents in the East Indies, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ in the West Indies and other sugar-growing portions of America. These prices include the profits of the native or resident merchant. The average cost to the importer, exclusive of duty, is from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents for muscovado and brown sugar, and 7 to 8 cents for white. These prices include freight, insurance, and commissions. Add thereto the respective custom-house duties, and we shall have the wholesale prices of every country. Thus the duty in the United States is $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents on brown sugar; add this to 5 and $5\frac{1}{2}$, and we have $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 8, the average wholesale prices of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. The duty on clayed sugar is $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents; add this to the above price, and we have 10 to 12 cents, the ordinary price of white clayed sugars. In France, the duty on brown sugar is $4\frac{1}{4}$ cents; in England, it is $4\frac{3}{4}$; consequently, in the markets of those countries, they cannot be at less than from 9 to 10, and 10 to 11 cents respectively. The grocers put on 2 cents more, so that the article costs to the consumer,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the United States . . | from 9 to 10 | cents. |
| France . . . . . | 11 to 12 | " |
| England . . . . . | 12 to 13 | " |
| Hamburg (*a free port*) | 7 to 8 | " |

Thus, sugar costs the consumer, in the United States, double the price of importation; and, in France and England, two and a half times that price. In Prussia, the duty is the same as in Great Britain; but in Russia, according to the price the article bears there, it cannot be less than 7½ cents per pound.

The consumption of molasses is trifling, except in the United States and Great Britain. There is some vent for it on the continent, to be used in curing tobacco; and in England it is used for making a bastard sugar, and for cheap preserves. In the United States alone is it used for the table. The quantity of refined sugar consumed in the United States is small compared with the brown. It probably does not exceed one tenth; while, on the contrary, in France it constitutes four fifths of the entire consumption. The proportion is less than this in Great Britain; but it is much greater there, and in Europe generally, than in the United States. Brown sugar contains, on an average, three to five per cent. of dirt; of course, molasses cannot be *more* pure. The consumption of this last in the United States, is about 150,000,000 lbs. annually; but probably more than half of it has heretofore been distilled into rum, producing more than 10,000,000 gallons per annum.

The sugar-cane appears to have been, in all ages, a source of beverage in some form. Lucan describes the Eastern recruits of Pompey's army thus,

—"quique bibunt tenerâ ab arundine succos."

The Jews had an inebriating liquor which they called *sacar*, from which some etymologists in fact derive *saccharum*, but we think erroneously; because it is certain, that the ancient sugar, with its name *saccharon*, came from India, and equally certain, that the Jews knew not sugar. It is not improbable, however, that some relationship exists between the Hebrew *sacar*, and the Hindoo *sharkara*, or *sarkara*, inasmuch as the drink, expressed by the former, was the juice of a reed, and, before fermentation, sweet. Bruce found the cane used in Egypt and Nubia for making a drink, by concocting it in water. The inhabitants of Angola have made a similar use

of it from time immemorial; so too did the ancient Ethiopians. The people of all countries are fond of chewing and sucking sugar-canes. The laborers everywhere grow fat towards the maturity, and during the cropping, of the canes. The Arabian horses were observed to grow fat in Spain by feeding on the pulp, after the juice was expressed. Sugar, eaten in considerable quantities, has the same effect. The king of Cochin-China causes his body-guard, consisting of a hundred men, to feed mostly on sugar and sugar-canes, in order that they may appear more stout and handsome than other troops. Many aged persons have found great benefit from the free use of sugar. It tends to render the skin and cartilages soft and supple. It might be excellent nourishment for patients submitting to experiments upon distorted limbs or spine. It is slightly laxative, and was valued on that account by the ancient practitioners. Dissolved in water, it is an antidote against arsenic, corrosive sublimate, verdigris, blue vitriol, and other mineral poisons, and also those of fish, as lobster, dolphin, conger-eel, &c. "Sugar," says the author of "Diet and Digestion," "seems to be the first support of vegetable life, and it is well known to be the principal food of young animals. It perhaps yields more chyle than any other constituent of plants." Sugar, like common salt, is useful after excess in eating. It precipitates digestion, particularly with or after fruits; it excites the secretions of the digestive organs, and is good for old and inactive stomachs. There are many successful examples of aged persons taking it as their principal food during many years. Dr. Rush entertained a high opinion of its dietetical qualities.

But, in proportion as sugar is wholesome, alcohol, which is made from the same principle in plants, is deleterious. The solid and nutritious part of milk is sugar; but, when fermented and distilled, it becomes one of the most inflaming of ardent spirits, i. e. *burning* spirits.

The origin of the excessive importation of molasses into this country, and of the excessive use of distilled spirits, resulting from that importation, are among the most instructive matters in our history.

It is but little more than a century since that importation began. In the French West Indies the sugar manufacturers used to throw away their molasses, as indeed they did at first in Jamaica, and as they do to this day in the islands of Bour-

bon and Java. The New-Englanders, particularly in and about Boston, taking note of this circumstance, induced the French, for a trifling consideration, to preserve this residuum, and deliver it on board the colonial traders. Arrived at Boston and other ports, the adventurers entered the article free of duty, and it was then converted into New England rum. In a few years, the business so enlarged itself, that the trade was extended to the Dutch and Danish colonies. In exchange, our people gave to the Frenchmen and others, horses and mules for their sugar-mills, lumber for their houses, and fish and other provisions for their plantations. In 1715, a few years after the commencement of this traffic, the British island colonies complained of it to the government, as diminishing the demand for their products, and disappointing them of their wonted supplies. Hereupon a fierce and protracted contest arose betwixt the island and continental colonies, which was not terminated until 1733, when the islands prevailed, and a duty of 6*d*. a gallon was laid on molasses, and 5*s*. per cwt. on sugars, imported into the continental colonies from any foreign port or place. The penalty for violating the act was to be the forfeiture of vessel and cargo. But the New-Englanders, who had disputed every inch of the passage of the act, seem never to have thought of submitting to it after it was passed; and they continued the old traffic, eluding the duties and defying the law. A British fleet was sent to enforce it, and a state of irritation arose, in which the parties all but came to blows. In fact, this did never cease, from that time down to the Revolution; and the famous act for raising a revenue in America was called, in the language of the day, "the sugar and molasses act."

The principal reasons alleged for the trade were, that a large supply of rum was indispensable to the continental colonists for carrying on the Indian trade and the fisheries. These reasons have ceased. Rum has nearly finished its mission to the poor Indians; and the fishermen, we believe, generally go upon the temperance plan. The real root of the matter was, and is, that no other people, since the world began, were ever furnished with so great a quantity of exciting liquor for so small a price. The custom-house duties, in other countries, either kept out molasses and rum, or admitted them with so heavy conditions, that they could not

be afforded in such abundance as they have been here. Ardent spirits were unknown, except as a medicine in the druggist's shop, until the cane sugar and molasses makers of the West Indies brought rum into the world. The taste once formed, demand arose for brandy, perry, gin, and whiskey. Anderson, in his "Origin of Commerce," remarks; "The consumption of rum in New England is so great, that an author on this subject asserts, that there has been 20,000 hhds. of French *molossus* manufactured into rum at Boston in one year, so vast is the demand for that liquor." Sir William Douglass, in a work printed at Boston, in 1755, tells us, that "spirits, (spiritus ardentes,) not above a century ago, were used only as officinal cordials, but now are become an endemical plague, being a pernicious ingredient in most of our beverages."

The duty of 2 cents on brown sugar, in the United States, was originally laid for revenue, though it must be considered high for that purpose; being nearly fifty per cent. on the cost. At the time of the purchase of Louisiana, it was advanced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents, probably for protection. During the last war with Great Britain, it was doubled, being then 5 cents. At the peace it was fixed at 3 cents, avowedly for protection. In 1832, it was brought back to the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents; and this is maintained for the encouragement of the sugar-planters of Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. The article is afforded in the New Orleans market, and on the Louisiana plantations, at 5 to 6 cents a pound. The planters have repeatedly declared, that, at less prices, the business cannot be sustained. The cost of production, when this industry was most flourishing, was $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents, exclusive of the interest on the investment.

We have now surveyed the field of competition in which the beet-sugar business must take root, if that be its destiny in this country. It is certain, that the high hopes conceived of it have suffered considerable abatement from experiments made, and views put forth, in Great Britain. These it is our duty to weigh, and to determine how far they ought to influence the resolutions of North American cultivators and capitalists. But it is necessary that we should first examine, with some minuteness, the history and present condition of beet-sugar industry.

It is now nearly a hundred years since Margraff, a Prussian chemist, residing at Berlin, made the discovery, that the beet contained a good crystallizable sugar. His attention was first drawn to this subject by the saccharine taste of the beet, and the crystalline appearance of its flesh, when examined with a microscope. Having cut the beet into thin slices, he dried perfectly, and then pulverized them. To eight ounces of the powder he added twelve of highly rectified spirits of wine, and exposed the mixture to a gentle heat in a sand-bath. As soon as the liquid reached the boiling point, he removed it from the fire, and filtered it into a flask, which he corked up, and left to itself. In a few weeks, he perceived that crystals were formed, which exhibited all the physical and chemical properties of the sugar-cane's. The alcohol still contained sugar in solution, and a resinous matter, which he disengaged by evaporation. Having submitted several other vegetable substances (as parsnips, skerret, and dried grapes) to the same treatment, he obtained sugar from each. In 1747, he addressed to the Academy of Berlin a memoir, entitled, "Chemical Experiments, made with a view to extract genuine Sugar from several Plants which grow in these Countries."

Margraff solved the important problem, that genuine sugar was not confined to the cane. After this, he enlarged and varied his experiments, but did not invent means of making sugar from the new material on a scale sufficiently large to render it an object of interest to capitalists. Yet he seems to have had a prescience, that his discovery would one day assume importance. He commended it to the attention of the Prussian cultivators, and particularly the small farmers, as offering a new and beneficial branch of agriculture.

Margraff died in 1782. He was a member of the Academy of Berlin, Director of the Class of Natural Philosophy, and Fellow of the Academy of Sciences at Paris. His works were collected and published in two volumes, octavo, in French, 1767. A German translation was published at Leipsic, the following year.

It was Achard, also a chemist of Berlin, who discovered the method of extracting the sugar from the beet on a large scale, and at a moderate expense. He first announced this result in 1797. In 1799, a letter from him was inserted in the *Annales de Chimie*, in which he detailed his

method. He there states the cost at $4\frac{3}{4}$ cents, the pound of Silesia, — or about 6 cents the pound avoirdupois, — without counting the benefit to be derived from the residuums. He also expressed the opinion, that, with these included, and with some improvements in the processes, this sugar might be produced at half that price. This announcement caused a great sensation in France. It engrossed the attention of the Parisian world ; eliciting, alternately, ridicule and admiration. The high price to which sugar had risen in France, in consequence of the capture of nearly all her colonial possessions, gave something more than a speculative and passing interest to the ideas of Achard. The National Institute appointed a commission to examine the subject. The result of their investigation was, that the cost of raw sugar of the beet would be 16 cents a pound. The price of sugar was such, that even at that rate a very large profit might have been cleared ; but this consideration was not sufficient to induce many persons to take the risk of a peace with England, supposed at that time to be approaching. Only two establishments were formed ; one at St. Ouen, and the other at Chelles, in the environs of Paris. Both of them were failures ; partly from the bad quality of their beets, and partly from the ignorance and inexperience of the conductors and workmen. With them went down the high hopes, which had arisen, of this new branch of industry in France.

It is difficult to say, whether these hopes would ever have been resuscitated, if political events of an overruling nature had not supervened. By the Berlin and Milan decrees, all colonial articles were prohibited, and that famous "continental system," so wide and wild in its design, but so important and permanent in its effects, was established. From that time, 1806, chemists and economists applied themselves with renewed zeal to the search after an indigenous source for the supply of sugar. It was thought, at one time, that the desideratum had been attained in the production of grape sugar, or sirup ; of which, in the course of two years, many million pounds were made. This sugar, although very abundant in some varieties of the grape, raised in a southern latitude, possesses only two fifths of the sweetening power of the cane and beet sugar. Nevertheless, sugar being at about one dollar a pound, a great number of manufactories were erected,

and science and industry were tasked to the utmost, to improve the processes, and to bring it to perfect sugar.

In this state of things, it was announced, that beet-sugar manufactories had been all along carried on successfully in Prussia. It was declared, that from 4 to 6 per cent. of sugar was obtained from the beet, besides several other valuable matters. Other German chemists had instituted experiments, and published results substantially the same as Achard's. At length, in 1809–10, experiments were recommenced in France, particularly by M. Deyeux of the Institute, who had reported upon the subject in 1800. The experiments resulted in the production of a considerable quantity of sugar, both clayed and refined, which, as specimens, served to revive and increase the confidence of France in this source of supply. No more than 1 to 2 per cent. was obtained; the beets being of a bad sort, and raised in the neighbourhood of Paris, where a vast deal of ammoniacal manure, hostile to the production of saccharine, is used.

In 1811, M. Drappier, of Lille, worked about fifteen tons of beets, from which he obtained $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of sugar. In the winter of the same year, an experimenter at Paris succeeded in obtaining $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from white beets, raised at a considerable distance from Paris, and without any manure. This was the first essay in France, which approximated to the results of Achard. It was made by M. Charles Durosne, and was detailed in the *Moniteur*. It demonstrated how faulty had been their selection of sorts, and the mode of culture. At this time, Achard had published in German an extensive work, in which he had treated with minuteness every department of the business, from the raising of the seed to the refining of the sugar. This treatise contained not only Achard's experience of thirteen years, but also accounts of the manufacture of beet sugar, on a grand scale, by other persons in Prussia. The result of these enterprises, as reported by a commission appointed by the Prussian government to investigate the subject, was, that in the case presented to their consideration, 60,800 lbs. of sugar were manufactured from 1,000,000 lbs. of beets, which is 6 pounds $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz. per cent., costing for cultivation and manufacture, 6,6 cents a pound, and selling at 16,17 cents. The profit was stated at 136 per cent., without reckoning

27,883 gallons of vinegar, worth $1,987.25 ; 155,400 lbs. of feed for beasts, worth $97.16 ; and after deducting $1,382.25, for the greater supposed expense of refining beet sugar. This, however, has since been recognised as an error ; beet sugar being in fact the most profitable to the refiner, by reason of the superior strength of the grain, and of the deterioration which the cane sugar undergoes by fermentation and decomposition during long voyages and storages, before it reaches the pans of the refiners. This loss is estimated, in France, at 14 per cent. on East India sugar, and at 7 on West India. The British custom-house allows 1 per cent. a month for the waste on bonded sugar.

Such was the result of the operations in the manufactory of the Baron de Koppy at Krayn, near Strehlen in Silesia.

Another course of experiments was instituted by Dr. Neubeck, the royal commissioner, who obtained the following results, working upon a material of one million of kilogrammes.

| | $. c. |
|---|---|
| Sugar, 101,472 kilg.'s at 16.72 cents a pound, | 16,985·05 |
| Spirits of Wine and Vinegar, made from the molasses and pulp, . . . . . | 8,083·38 |
| Mash used for feeding and fattening animals, | 189·53 |
| Total, | 25,257·96 |
| Expense, | 7,892·28 |
| Net profit, | 17,365·68 |

Mr. Achard's sugar, according to the report of Dr. Neubeck, cost 7.7 cents a pound, and yielded at 16.72 cents, the price of sale, a profit of 8.92 cents a pound. Their beets yielded 4.6 per cent. of sugar.

The experiment at Lille (M. Drappier's) was less successful. He obtained only 1.3 per cent. of refined sugar ; and, although this merchandise was then at 35 cents a pound, this price hardly covered the expenses of production, without, however, counting the residuums.

In January, 1812, Napoleon issued a decree establishing five chemical schools for teaching the processes of beet sugar making, detailing one hundred students from the schools of medicine, pharmacy, and chemistry, to be instructed in those

establishments, and creating four imperial manufactories, capable of making 4,408,000 lbs. of raw sugar annually. Munificent premiums were also decreed to several individuals, who had already distinguished themselves by a successful application to this new branch of industry. A considerable number of manufactories were immediately added to those already existing in France; and, in the season of 1813, a large quantity of sugar, both raw and refined, was produced. A notable improvement was introduced by M. Mathieu de Dombasle, a learned and experienced cultivator and chemist. It consisted in applying to the beet juice the colonial process of depuration, appropriately called in France *défécation*. This was in fact very analogous to the improvement, which the Arabs effected in the Oriental method. Achard used sulphuric acid in this operation, and for the crystallization broad dishes, not unlike those said to be used in China at this day. The colonial process of *défécation* by lime is now nearly universal in France, as is likewise the substitution of the mould, or conical pot, for the crystallizers of Achard.

Such was the prosperous condition of this manufacture, when the disasters of Moscow brought upon it an uncertain political future, that bane of all great industrial enterprises. Confidence and energy gradually yielded to fear and discouragement. A faint and fitful struggle was maintained during another year, until the Cossacks, quartered in the sugar-mills, and the allied artillery, seizing upon the beasts that moved them, gave the manufacturers the *coup de grace*. The officers billetted at their houses became from curiosity their principal customers, being struck with the brilliancy and purity of this unexpected product. After the final overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo, the price of refined sugar settled down at 12 cents a pound, and raw at 7. Still, to the surprise of all, two beet-sugar manufactories did survive the shock of this tremendous reverse, more useful to this industry, and to mankind, than all its preceding prosperity; because it demonstrated, what never could have been done under the unnatural stimulus of the "continental system," that there was an intrinsic value in the new industry, rendering it capable of independent existence, and raising it out of the reach of accident, political enmity, or caprice. The establishments which survived were at Arras, in the De-

partment of the Pas de Calais, and at Pont à Mousson, near Nancy, in the Department of the Meurthe.

After the retirement of the allied troops, in 1818, the government began to turn its attention to the encouragement of an industry, which had struggled meritoriously and successfully to preserve a boon to the French nation. Many eminent and public-spirited citizens raised up establishments, more perhaps to give the benefit of experiments to their countrymen, than with a view to profitable investment. Men of genius and profound research occupied themselves with elaborate experiments, and published their results. Among the most important were the Count Chaptal, who detailed, in Memoirs on the subject, and in his "Agricultural Chemistry," the experience of many years as a cultivator of beets and manufacturer of sugar; and M. Dombasle, who did the same, with admirable clearness and precision, in his work entitled "Facts and Observations relating to the Manufacture of Beet Sugar." The latter, with a prospect of many more years of usefulness, is still at the farm-school at Roville, near Lunéville, in Lorraine, devoted to agricultural and chemical studies, and imparting the results of his long experience, fertile genius, and assiduous application, through his publications which go to all parts of the world, and to pupils who come from every nation. As an intelligent and industrious operative, M. Crespel Delisse, of Arras, is worthy of honorable mention. This gentleman was originally a laborer. He became the foreman of the first beet-sugar manufactory at Arras. The proprietor, who had invested an immense capital, sank in the general wreck of 1814 – 15. M. Crespel succeeded him, with the great advantage of having his fixtures at about one fourth of their real value. This was one of the two establishments which survived, and it continues to this day to be one of the most extensive and successful in France. M. Crespel is interested as part or sole proprietor in seven or eight other farms and factories. He has received the gold medal of the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, at Paris, and the honors of knighthood from the French and other European sovereigns.

The method in general use in France is to crush, or grind, the beet with an instrument called a *rasp*, though its functions would be better described by the word *grater*. It is cylindrical, and revolves four hundred or more times in a

minute. This reduces the beets to a very fine pulp. They are then pressed in hydraulic presses of great power, and the juice defecated, evaporated, boiled, and filtered, in very much the same manner as the cane-juice in the colonies. The great difference is, that the beet-sugar machinery has been rapidly improved, and the cane-planters have begun to avail themselves of the improvements. There is, however, another method of extracting the saccharine, which dispenses altogether with grating and pressing. This is called *maceration*. It was first proposed by Dombasle, and has been tried in various forms, with more or less success. M. Martin de Roclincourt, originally a captain of engineers, is the inventor of an ingenious and valuable machine for performing this operation. The beet is first cut into ribands, about one line in thickness. They are then plunged into boiling water, which is admitted into the machine at regular intervals, in regular doses. The ribands remain passing through the circuit of the machine during one hour, and steam is occasionally admitted to keep up the heat. In this time, the sugar contained in the ribands is dissolved, and remains in solution in the water, while the ribands, now called pulp, are discharged on the side of the machine opposite to that where they entered it; the liquor containing the saccharine, flows off in another direction to the defecating pans.

This method is employed to a considerable extent in France, but by no means so generally as the rasp and press. Its advantages are, that it gives rather more and a rather better product, and requires a great deal less labor. Its disadvantages are, that it takes a great deal more fuel, and does not leave the pulp in so good a state for feeding; there being too much water in it, and less saccharine, than in that which comes from the press. It might be subjected to pressure, by which a little additional liquor would be obtained for the pans, and the pulp made vastly better for feeding. This, however, would require so much power of the press, and so much pains, that the French generally feed with the pulp just as it falls from the machine. We have little hesitation in giving the preference to this method in a country where fuel is cheap and labor dear. The immense establishment commenced in London two years ago, but abandoned in consequence of the excise of $4\frac{3}{4}$ cents a pound, which the government hastened to impose in order to guard the West India in-

terest, was upon this system. On the other hand, the only other beet-sugar manufactory, upon a scale of any importance, in Great Britain and Ireland, which is situated near Dublin, has adopted the rasp and press. The former establishment delivered for consumption a considerable quantity of beautiful refined sugar, which was so completely undistinguishable from refined cane sugar, that the government issued an extraordinary notice, that any fraud in the exportation of it with the benefit of drawback would, if detected, be punished with the utmost severity. Whether the establishment in Ireland still exists, we are not informed. It is, however, the opinion of persons skilled in the manufacture and refining of sugar, and who have had small experimental beet-sugar factories near London, that the business cannot be sustained under a duty of 4½ cents. Others are confident, that, in consequence of the application of the fibre to paper-making, by which the value of the pulp is enhanced fourfold, the business will yet get a permanent footing in Great Britain. We do not think a fair experiment has yet been made in that country. The original prejudice against the pretensions of the new manufacture, forced forward by the odious machinery of the "continental system" and the power of the empire, to become a rival of their colonial industry, was of course virulent and obstinate. That it still abides in the mass of the British nation, and in minds which ought to be above it, is apparent from some limited and rather dogmatical views contained in No. CXXXI. of the "Edinburgh Review."

The protection of the beet-sugar culture in France, and in other nations on the continent, is very high, as we have seen; much higher than protection of any article of general and necessary use ought ever to be. It is at least a hundred per cent. on the cost. But we have also seen, that this business did not succumb to the shock and disappointment occasioned by the fall from a protection of three hundred per cent. to no protection at all. After the general peace, sugar fell as low in France as it is in the free ports of Europe at this time. An immense stock had accumulated in the sugar colonies, which had been successively captured, and were in the hands of the British, insomuch that they actually fed horses and other animals upon sugar. Yet, at that very moment, the working classes of Great Britain, under the onerous duty of

6 cents a pound, were drinking their coffee without sugar, as indeed they continue to do, to a great extent, to this day. This is to give a monopoly of the market to the West India planters. Here is folly and extravagance of taxation and protection, which quite eclipse the French beet-sugar policy. The Edinburgh reviewer states, that "the great *impetus* given to it was in 1806." Now, in truth, the beet-sugar manufacture *did not exist in France* at that time, nor until four years after, and not then to an extent worth naming. No "impetus" was given to it until the experiments of 1811, and the decrees of the Emperor, awarding premiums, and establishing schools and model factories, in 1812. Again he asserts, that "in two or three years more, France will be fleeced of £2,600,000 per annum for the benefit of the landowners of *Alsace*." Such allusions, however slight in themselves, tend to gain the confidence of the reader in the minuteness and accuracy of a writer's knowledge. But Alsace is not a seat of this manufacture; comprising two departments, the Upper and Lower Rhine, it has but five sugar manufactories, while the Département du Nord has two hundred and twenty-six, and the Pas-de-Calais, one hundred and thirty-eight. These errors show, that the writer had not examined the history and present state of the beet-sugar business in France, and was not therefore fully competent to pronounce an opinion upon it. His essential error lies in not taking into view the fact, with which he was probably unacquainted, that it has already encountered and survived that test of its utility, which he himself proposes, and before which he says it "would quickly disappear," viz. a free competition with colonial and foreign sugar, and an extreme depression of price.

The condemnation of beet-sugar, in the eye of the Scottish economist, is, that it has received protection. Tried by the same rule, what must be the fate of West India sugar, or of any great branch of British industry? Or of the Louisiana cane-planters, or of the American cotton and woollen manufacturers, coal-miners, salt-makers, hat-makers, tailors, and shoemakers? The article is, in fact, a dash at *tariffs*. That battle we at present decline, referring the assailant to an abler antagonist in the same journal, about eight years back.

It does not appear, that our contemporary had examined any of the French works upon his subject, except a couple of

pamphlets by a merchant of Havre, who was probably interested in the colonial sugar trade, which, when beet sugar arose, was enjoying an absolute monopoly of the kingdom. The beet sugar has reduced the price of sugar in France 25 per cent., and has of course much increased the consumption of the article. The first of these facts is not noticed, and the second is denied. We have often heard the French manufacturers regret, that competition has reduced the price of sugar, since their establishments commenced, from 15 to 10 *sous* the pound ; and it appears by the Report in the Chamber of Deputies, prefixed to this article, that the sales at Paris alone, from October 1st, 1835, to September 30th, 1836, increased 17,000,000 lbs. But the French Chambers, in 1837, laid a duty on indigenous sugar, which will amount, expenses of collection included, to 1.7 cents a pound. Of course, this leaves the protection in France at 2.55 cents ; no more than that which the cane-sugar planters of the United States enjoy, and not so much by 6 cents a pound as the British discriminating duty in favor of her sugar colonies !

Will the beet-sugar manufacturers of France be able to sustain themselves under this change of policy ? This is a question which experience must decide. Undoubtedly, the legislature firmly believed that they would, or they would not have imposed the duty ; for the French no more think of sacrificing this interest at home to the colonies, or to any other object, than they think of removing Paris to the island of Martinique. Many of the manufacturers will succumb, because it is a law of political economy, that if a business is better than ordinary, it will cause a proportional rush of competitors to it, a part of whom will adventure without adequate skill and capital, trusting to the goodness of the business to make up for these deficiencies.

The culture and manufacture of beet sugar in France, according to the result of ten cases, which we have examined, has yielded of late years an average profit of 49½ per cent. on capital. In some of these cases, the profit was as low as 9, and in others as high as 90, per cent. Now, as the duty of 1.7 cents amounts to a reduction of 22 per cent. on the former rate of profit, it follows, of course, that all those establishments, which, on the scale of profit are below 22 per cent., must go down, unless sustained at an annual loss. Even many

of those which would range on that scale above 20 per cent., but which have proceeded principally or wholly (which is not often the case in France) on borrowed capital, trusting to larger profits for the means of extinguishing the original debt, will doubtless fail. The probable number of failures in consequence of the law, was estimated at two hundred, out of a total of five hundred and fifty establishments. Others will probably remove from France, and set up in Belgium, Germany, Russia, or Austria, where protection is greater, and, what is more material, stabler; for those countries have no colonial interest to consult. Our opinion is, however, that the law will undergo some modification before it shall have produced this last consequence. These failures or removals, if they shall take place, will not show what protection, or whether any protection, is really needed. They will be the natural result of subtracting from a business a protection, which it had been accustomed to have, and on which it relied.

But let us consider for a moment what are the conditions, under which a manufactory is to go on in France, if the tax shall stand. According to the results of the working of twenty-nine French factories, situated in every variety of locality, the average cost of the production of beet-sugar in France is 6.6 cents per pound. The lowest rate, which we find, is 4.9 cents; the highest 8.6 cents per pound. But, in these results, the pulp and molasses are the only accessory products taken into the account; and these, only at low venal values, which are not more than from one third to one half of what they are really worth, when used with judgment and economy on the spot, without the cost and uncertainty of procuring them from a distance. But there are other accessory benefits, very important in rural economy, which are left out of sight in these accounts. These accessory benefits are;

1. The leaves, which constitute an excellent green feed, which may be used as such from August to November, two or three months; or they may be dried and laid in for winter. They are worth five dollars an acre.

2. The manure, which is found to be increased from *three* to *four* fold on farms where sugar is manufactured. This manure, coming from the stables, or from the scums and deposites of the defecating pans, or from the bone-black, which is much used, is of the very best quality, and a portion

of it acts upon vegetation with a promptness and energy truly extraordinary.

3. The trimmings of the beets, preparatory to their being submitted to the washing-machine. These consist of the decayed parts of the beets, and the forked and fibrous roots, which are cut from them in the process of relieving them from adhesive earths, with which, in most kinds of soil, they will be more or less loaded. Chaptal considers the daily trimmings of 12,000 lbs. of beets sufficient to feed from twenty-five to thirty swine, during the manufacturing season. The quantity of beets worked up in the French factories, is rarely less than 20,000 lbs. per day; it is in some more than 100,000 lbs. Many manufacturers merely transport the trimmings to the fields, there to decay, and serve, to some extent, as manure.

4. The ashes coming from the furnaces. These are valuable, whether sold to the soap-boiler, scattered upon the fields, or cast into the farm-yard.

It will be readily perceived, that these items are important, and some of them all-important, to farmers.

M. Dombasle estimates the molasses and pulp, if the first be used by the proprietor, for feeding and fatting cattle, and the second for distillation, as worth 35 per cent. of the whole expenses of a sugar establishment; but he leaves out the four items which we have enumerated above. We doubt not that those are worth to the *cultivator* as much more; making 70 per cent. of the costs of producing the sugar defrayed by the accessory and agricultural benefits. Let us listen for a moment to M. Crespel Delisse, who thus testifies, February, 1827, before a Committee of the Chamber of Deputies;

"The culture of the beet has increased remarkably the value of real estate. He lately purchased, at the rate of $152 an acre, some lands which were let at $3·80 an acre. Since they have been cultivated with the beet in the rotation of crops, the number of sheep thereon has been doubled, and the horned cattle trebled. In a few years the value of the farm will have increased 50 per cent.

"The rents of leasehold property have been doubled where the land was of a medium quality; and, in case of lands specially adapted to the beet, the rents have been quadrupled."

M. Spineux, another cultivator and manufacturer, belonging to the Department of the Somme, tells the same Com-

mittee, that, "when he took possession of his farm of 350 acres, he believed that it gave a profit of $855. On annexing a sugar establishment, he obtained a net profit of $1,425."

M. Chinchain, of the Department of the Sarthe, testified as follows;

"He cultivated about 1100 acres, 550 in beets. He procured one hundred bullocks from Poitou, which he fed with pulp and a little straw. His neighbours, struck with the advantages of his cultivation, came and offered to weed his beets for the weeds; and to dig, clean, and cart them, for the tops. This practice has had the effect of diffusing so much plenty around him, that during the beet harvest butter falls in price at Angiers, four miles from his factory."

It is the general testimony in the neighbourhood of Dunkerque, Valenciennes, and Arras, that real estate has risen 50 per cent. in consequence of the introduction of the beet-sugar culture, and wages in nearly the same proportion.

Let not this statement be passed heedlessly by. An advance of 50 per cent. on the value of farms will soon change the face of a country. Land worth $20, becomes worth $30; and land worth $50, becomes worth $75. It is the same as if money should spontaneously increase in quantity, so as to give the lender, at the end of a few years, a principal of $150 for $100, after having regularly yielded him his annual interest.

It has been said, that the opening of the Erie Canal had the same effect upon the real estate in the central and western counties of New York. The beet-sugar culture is better, because it is at the option of every cultivator of enterprise and industry, whether he will have it or not. It is what the canal would be, if every farmer could by his individual exertions bring it by his own door.

Another important view of the beet-sugar culture is, the benefit which it confers upon the soil, by clearing, dividing, and fertilizing it. It fallows without exhausting, and is one of the best preparations for wheat and other grain crops. In a country like France, where seventeen millions of acres, one fourth of the arable land, lie fallow all the time, the use of this culture, as a substitute for fallows, is a matter of no slight importance.

To consider, then, the beet-sugar business merely in its manufacturing aspect, leaving out all these rich results, or to

bring as an argument against it some derangement of commerce and revenue, which will of course result from any considerable change, be it beneficial or otherwise, is to entertain a contracted and deceptive view of the subject. We readily concede that, considered as a manufacturing business, without giving any additional agricultural profits, or connecting itself with any agricultural improvements, it is not yet proved, that it would be profitable; but that it is highly so, when the manufacture is made subsidiary to agriculture, and fills up the inactive season of the northern winter, we confidently believe, and do not expect any intelligent man to deny. Suppose, however, it should be found, that the pulp is worth, for paper-making, five times its value as food for animals; or that the processes and machinery of the manufacture should be so perfected, that the *ten* or *ten and a half* per cent. of saccharine matter, known to exist in the beet, should be extracted and crystallized? In either of these cases, beet-sugar making would be very profitable, as a purely manufacturing concern. Now we feel authorized to say, that neither of these improvements is any longer hypothetical. In England, Mr. Kyan, the inventor of the method of preserving timber from the ravages of dry rot, has obtained a patent for making paper of beet-roots, after the juice is expressed. We have seen several specimens of a firm and durable wrapping paper, made of this new material. We are informed, that good printing paper has been made principally of the same substance; and it is confidently expected, that fine writing paper will be produced. The extensive and increasing demand for paper, and the immense commerce now carried on in rags, are sufficient proof of the importance of this application of the beet-root pulp.

It is well known to those who have attended to the progress of this business in France, that the profits of the principal manufacturers have been much absorbed by a desire, probably too earnest, to keep up with the improvements of machinery. Much has likewise been lost in unproductive experiments. It would be ungrateful and ungracious to find fault with our French friends on this account; since they have carried the business through the natural and necessary period of infancy, at their exclusive cost, for the common benefit of mankind. They have all along been conscious, that they were obtaining from the beet but little more than

half its saccharine matter. This conviction has naturally and very properly caused a restlessness, and a striving after something more perfect. It is certain, that those who have resisted all innovation, and adhered to the original methods and machinery, have been the most successful; but, if all had been equally cautious, little improvement would have been made, and the nation and mankind would have been at a remoter period, and in a less degree, benefited. Nevertheless, we fully believe, that the cotton manufactory has never been established in any country with so few failures, and so little loss and fluctuation, as the beet-sugar business in France, and other countries of the Continent.

But we may now safely assert, that the great desideratum which the French manufacturers of beet sugar have always felt, and have been striving to supply, is at length attained; that a method has been discovered by which the beet is deprived of all its saccharine, be the same more or less, and that this matter is obtained and operated upon in such a manner as to be nearly all in a crystallizable state. Hitherto, about 50 per cent. of the saccharine has resulted in molasses. This residuum is of comparatively small value; and every thing which arrests the formation of it, adds by so much to the deposite of sugar, and to the profits of the proprietor.

Mr. Schuzenbach, a chemist of Carlsruhe, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, is the author of this important improvement. Having obtained his result in the laboratory, he communicated it to distinguished capitalists in Baden, who thereupon formed a company; not with a view, in the first instance, of erecting a manufactory upon the new system, but merely of proving its pretensions. To this end, they advanced a considerable sum for setting up experimental works so large, that the thing could be tried on a manufacturing scale. Having done this at Ettingen, near Carlsruhe, they appointed a scientific and practical Commission to follow closely the experiments which Mr. Schuzenbach should make. Commissioners from the governments of Wurtemberg and Bavaria likewise attended. The experiments were carried on during five or six weeks, in which time several thousand pounds of sugar, of superior grain and purity, were produced.

The Baden company were so well satisfied with the Report of the Commission, that they immediately determined

to erect an immense establishment, at an expense of more than $200,000 for fixtures only. A like sum was devoted to the current expenses of the works. Factories were simultaneously erected at or near Munich, Stuttgard, and Berlin. The arrangements were made with remarkable intelligence and caution ; and we cannot doubt, that the new method will prove of immense importance to the prosperity, comfort, and improvement of the northern nations and colonies of the Old World and the New.

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ART. VI. — *La Chute d'un Ange ; Episode.* Par ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE. Bruxelles. 1838.

THIS work, like "Jocelyn," is an episode in a poem on a large scale, the composition of which has occupied many years of Lamartine's life, and which, in design, he justly calls "immense." It was the favorite scheme of his youth, and continues to be the labor of his advanced age. In his view, the period of epic poetry has gone by. It was the form in which the poetic spirit clothed itself in the infancy of nations, before the birth of criticism, when history was blended with fable, and the bards were the chroniclers of great events. In modern times the individualities, that constituted the interest and charm of the epopee, are merged in truths of wider range. The illusion of imagination is broken. The poet sways the mind of his reader by a power of another kind. The sphere of human vision is enlarged by the influence of philosophy and religion. Man perceives "that he constitutes only an imperceptible part of a vast and various whole ; that the work of perfecting his nature is a comprehensive and eternal work." Men now interest themselves in whatever pertains to the race. In a word, the epopee is no longer national or heroic, but cosmopolitan, or, as Lamartine expresses it, *humanitaire.*

Our author's great poem is constructed on this plan. His epic, he tells us, is adapted not only to present time and place, but to the world, and to the future. It is accordingly founded upon a subject which, embodying human thought in all its stages, permits the poet to be at the same time local and

universal, marvellous and true. That subject is the moral destiny of man; the successive steps of progress, through which the human soul reaches the goal appointed by its Creator.

Independently of the task of judging how M. de Lamartine accomplishes the vast work thus laid out, there is something formidable in the idea of simply perusing a poem of such proportions, that two volumes duodecimo contain only an episode. But more serious objections than its length will probably prevent the favorable reception the writer would anticipate from the public for his *Poème Humanitaire.*

The lyrics of M. de Lamartine commanded attention and admiration both in his own and other countries. The vigor and purity of thought and feeling, the richness and graphic beauty of imagery, and the mastery of versification, they displayed, secured at once for the author the first place among the living poets of France. He embodied the highest, the most serious, feelings of his age, and every cultivated mind acknowledged the truth of his sentiments. Unfortunate enough, however, to have few worthy rivals, the adulation lavished upon him, if it did not wholly blind him to his faults, incapacitated him for that high perception of excellence in his art, so indispensable to improvement. Nor was this all. He was essentially deficient in the loftiest attributes of genius. He possessed a pure heart, an active fancy, a ready apprehension of the beautiful, and an almost unbounded command of language. But not to him belonged the original faculty, that "bodies forth the forms of things unknown"; that penetrates the hidden recesses of nature, and brings us thence new objects of delight, new themes for meditation. Nor had he the overwhelming passion, that leads the soul captive, and is inferior only to the inventive power. His genius was imitative. It received its impulse, perhaps unconsciously, from the writers of other countries, though the novelty of his sentiments and his style gave him an ascendency over those of his own.

His latest productions exhibit, in a higher degree, the defects, both of conception and manner, growing out of his poetical self-complacency. "Jocelyn," the first of his *scenes*, given to the world "to interrogate its judgment respecting a species of poetry never yet submitted by the author to criticism," possessed an unusual degree of local interest. It is a fragment of the history of the heart, "*le type chrétien*

*à notre époque.*" Its hero is a character familiar to us all; the village *curé*, the gospel priest. The details of the story are touching and true. But it creates no favorable opinion of the genius or taste of the author, to see how this simple and affecting tale has been transformed by his idealizing process into something that has no trace of probability; how the traits of humanity have faded into vague and mystic images; how sentiment is elaborated till it loses all its effect; how our sympathies are strewed about and evaporated, like the poetic dews he describes as flung to spirit breezes;

> "Even as the pearly tears that morning weeps,
> Coloring the fields at dawn, which gathered all
> Would flow a river, but which noiseless sink
> Upon the traveller's path."

The story of "Jocelyn" is beautiful, and we feel that we ought to be affected by it. That we are not, is the writer's fault. The scenery is magnificent, but the descriptions leave only a vague and confused impression of loveliness and grandeur. The thoughts are noble, but clad in phrase so gorgeous and amplified, that they astonish instead of elevating. It is as if we stood before a picture, where was exhibited every variety of color and figure to charm the sense, but where there was no shading or relief; the mental eye aches with the accumulation of objects and their confused brilliancy. The language is one glowing mass of illustration; it loses effect from its want of adaptation to the subjects presented. In feeling our author is not less elaborate and exaggerated than in description. His love is not like the love of ordinary mortals; even his religion is etherealized beyond the limits of reason and nature.

"The Fall of an Angel," he tells us, has less of the "*nature contemporaine*" which distinguished "Jocelyn," and which is to mark other episodes not yet published. The scene being laid in the antediluvian age of the world, the fantastic enters into this poem as a necessary element. The romance is in the form of a "Vision," related by an aged man dwelling on the summit of Libanus. The ascent toward the abode of this mysterious prophet is described, from the first glimpse caught from beneath, of the group of Lebanon, "veiled by tempests, their giant arms kindled with the fires of the empyrean, stretching like vast skeletons in the sunlight," where the eye sank under the shadow of the steeps

that sustained the granite ramparts, where, from time to time, in the clefts of rocks, the dark walls of some monastery stood forth, scarcely distinguishable from the crag itself, even by the pilot's eye ; to the sacred spot, a cave enclosed by inaccessible rocks, on the highest visible peak ; a spot to which led no path trod by mortal foot, which the mountaineer would seek for days in vain, and which only a miracle could reveal. On this perilous enterprise two pilgrims ventured ;

" From mountain crest to where the torrents swept,
Three days our winding, toilsome course we kept ;
Saw at our feet the tribes of savage birth,
The desert's children, refuse of the earth ;
The warlike, dark-eyed tribes of haughty mien,
Who bow before the calf that crops the green ;
And Arab swains, who lead their wandering flocks
From far-off plains to drink beneath these rocks ;
The followers of the Sun, whose dwellings light
Amid the foliage gleamed in clusters white ;
'Mong all to sleep secure, or sust'nance claim,
For sacred in the East the stranger's name !
Till by the distant sound of convent bell
We knew where they, the holy brethren, dwell ;
And o'er those dizzy peaks, swept by the wind,
Clambering, we left their sombre walls behind.
The mountain was a crater at our feet,
By hundred caverns ploughed its massive round,
Where the eye, plunging o'er the verge profound,
Night, dizzy horror, death, alone could meet !
The snows, that melt in pale and yellow foam,
Smoke like the fires, that light the shepherd's home ;
In thousand torrents toward the abyss they haste,
And fill with thunderous sound the startled waste.
Trembling we climb, where scarce the eagles dare
To perch, and round the peaks that pierce the air,
We greet with wonder, 'twixt us and the sun,
The shadow of the trees of Lebanon.
Cedars by God's hand planted, — solemn crown,
Wherewith the king of thunders wreathes his brow, —
Beneath their shade in sacred gloom we bow,
As in a fane where the Most High comes down."

Then follows the narration, heard from the lips of the ancient prophet. The opening scene, as described by him, is striking and beautiful. The time is that when earth and

her products, all, save man, were in youthful vigor and perfection. It is evening. The moon, pale sister of the earth, is rising broad and round among the sacred cedars, touching their summits with gold, and streaming in serpentine wavings amid their foliage. Flocks are descending a distant slope, driven homeward by a wandering shepherd tribe. The human figures are described as transcending in shape and proportion the modern race of men. They vanish in the distance, and the wood is left to solitude and silence.

In those days, the seer continues, from the highest to the lowest orders of creation, every production of the Almighty hand was instinct with soul and sense. The angels, elder brethren of man, loved to linger in earthly solitudes, and to haunt the sacred mountain, whence at eve went up myriad accents of harmony, while they listened in the soft twilight. Then follows the hymn of the cedars of Lebanon, that appeal to Nature to assert their possession of a living sense.

"Thou know'st it — Heaven of night, to which we speak!
Rocks, which our feet sound even to the abyss,
The sap that nourishes our veins to seek;
Sun, whose fierce rays our quivering foliage kiss!
Thou know'st it, night, of whom our wealth of leaves
Its sparkling gems and pendent pearls receives!
Oh say if sense is ours!
Sense, with which nature every creature dowers!" &c.

At the close of the hymn the angels ascend to heaven, "bearing from sphere to sphere the melodious echo of the chant of earth." One of their number remains; his gaze is fixed on the ground, forgetful of heaven; for on a couch of flowers, under the shadow of the cedars, slumbers a lovely maiden, who has been left by her companions, unconscious of their departure, and of the approach of night. The enamoured spirit hovers entranced over the sleeping child, whose beauty is most elaborately described, breaks into a plaintive soliloquy, and mourns the destiny that divides him from one so lovely. He has already often in her dreams presented to her imagination a form of surpassing glory and grace, but cannot hold more direct communication with her, without assuming a nature like her own. While the celestial lover contemplates his charge, drinking in at every glance "her beauty, that illumes the night," a hoarse murmur of voices is

heard in the depths of the forest, and torches fling a lurid glare upon the foliage. A human figure approaches with cautious step, and in the attitude of one listening attentively. He holds the lighted trunk of a young pine, the blaze of which shows distinctly his savage features, his dress of skins, and the rude arms he wears. These proclaim his occupation to be other than that of the peaceful herdsmen, who have just left the spot. At the sight of Daidha, as the sleeping maiden is called, he starts with surprise and pleasure ; and his exclamations quicken the approach of his six comrades, who surround their prey with shouts of admiration and delight. The lawless hunters dispute for the prize ; Daidha wakes at the tumult ; her agony of terror and efforts to escape are answered only with laughter by her savage captors. But while, exhausted and fainting, she sinks to the ground, unexpected succour is at hand. The invisible spirit that watched over her, forgetful of all but her danger, assumes the nature of man, to rescue her. He fights and vanquishes the robbers, one by one ; then restores the damsel to her companions, who at that moment return to seek her. In return for her deliverance, he is led away captive to their rustic dwellings, where the voice of the patriarch on the morrow decides his fate. His life is spared, spite of the clamors of the crowd eager to slay the dreaded stranger, but he is condemned to perpetual slavery.

It does not appear from the poem, that the fallen angel retains any of the faculties of his former nature, or even the recollection of his state in heaven. He is man, but wholly ignorant of men, or of the speech by which they communicate with each other. The form which he has assumed is that so long familiar to her imagination, when his celestial love visited her in dreams. The sight of Daidha cheers his captivity. She seeks him when alone and desponding, and teaches him the language of men, by which he in turn reveals the affection which reconciles him to his servile condition. The poet beautifully depicts the happiness of the lovers at the first flow of mutual confidence.

"Like two clear streams, that wander o'er the glade
By narrow banks divided, and reflecting
Each in its face the green and bending shore,
The firmament, the clouds ; — if it so chance

The shepherd's mattock breaks the flowery wall,
How joyously the imprisoned waves escape ;
Flood calls to flood, mingling in deep embrace,
The line o'ersweeping, that divided them ;
Their course henceforth the same ; the blended tide
Has but one bed, one shore, but one reflection ! "

All things in heaven and earth are taught by Daidha to her youthful friend. Cedar, listening to her, becomes man in heart and sense, as he is man in form. But their bliss is of brief duration. The maiden is sought in marriage by the youth of her tribe. She well knows, that she cannot espouse a slave. The antediluvian fashions of courtship are happily imagined in the story of Daidha's suitors.

Segor, the son of Abniel, chooses from his flock the fairest of the young camels, places it secretly at night among those under the damsel's charge, then hides himself to await her coming forth at dawn. If sympathy for his love dwells in the virgin's breast, she will lead the stray young one to the parent camels. But Daidha rejects the offering, and leaves it to wander all day among the brambles, moaning for thirst ; and Segor, with a saddened heart, departs in silence.

Abna, the son of Kalem, places two bird's eggs in a nest of reeds at her door. If the maiden carefully receive and cherish the gift sheltered under the wood-dove's wing, then would the young lover know she lent a heedful ear to his suit. He lingers uncertain nigh the virgin's threshold. The daughter of Phayr comes forth, sees the nest upon the turf, but spurns it with her foot; the eggs are broken upon the stones, and the son of Kalem dares approach her no more.

Zebdani, the son of Ormid, comes at night to the door of the dwelling of Phayr, a spot consecrated to the worship of the Deity, and swept by Selma's hand, to impress in the sand the print of his foot. If the maiden coming forth in the morning place her own foot-print by its side, the youth, watching the signal from afar, would read her favor without words. But Daidha, appearing at the threshold, effaces the impression quickly, and with scornful gesture flings the dust to the winds ; and Zebdani blushes and departs, weeping over his unrequited love.

The dames of the tribe can conjecture but one cause for this coldness; the heart of the maiden is bestowed on another. By a cruel yet feminine stratagem, they discover the secret.

Daidha is imprisoned ; and her lover, condemned to death, is once more reprieved by the patriarch, and sold to another master.

But love will accomplish miracles. Daidha escapes nightly from her cell to meet her beloved. Their interviews are long concealed from her cruel relatives. Her twin offspring are consigned to his care. He maintains them in secret, till accident discovers them one day to Segor. The children of the stranger slave are dreaded by the superstitious shepherds. They are thrown into the river. But at that moment a wild shriek is heard; a woman rushes from the crowd, plunges into the stream, and brings them both to shore. A fearful sentence is pronounced on the hapless pair. Cedar is condemned to perish in the waters before the eyes of Daidha, who is then led to the tower of famine, and left to her fate. Day after day sees her immured in her living tomb, till the gnawings of hunger have rendered her incapable of ministering to the sustenance of her offspring. But she is rescued. Cedar, who has saved himself from the waters, scales the wall of the tower at night, and after a fierce battle with his enemies below, succeeds in carrying off Daidha with her children. Then commence their solitary wanderings in the world, which is all before them. They bend their course towards the east. "We will dwell," they say to each other, "in some spot where the wandering bird rests his wing, in some cave sheltered from the tempest; we will tame the young gazelles to sport on the turf with our little ones; we will be good to all, and will love all ; having league with the lion of the desert, with the insect, with the bird of heaven. But man, evil man, will we shun," &c.

One night, while they are sleeping in their solitude, Cedar is aroused by a rustling in the foliage near them, and the sound of footsteps. His projected alliance with the beasts of the forest does not prevent the fear of them, and he receives the supposed foe with a cry of defiance. A low murmur responds ; the next instant the unknown enemy lies dead at his feet. The dawn discovers to them the faithful dog, that had guarded their flocks, following them thus far through the deserts to meet death from his master's hand. The exiles bury their last friend with many tears, and pursue their way.

A sorer trial awaits them. One day, descending to ex-

plore a ravine, they leave their infants beneath a palm-tree, unwilling to tempt danger with them. They return; the children are missing. With cries of agony the parents seek them everywhere in vain, till looking upward at a sudden cry, they perceive an eagle sailing calmly over the abyss, bearing one of their children to his eyrie. The shriek of terror that springs to Daidha's lips is stifled by fear that it may cost her babe's life.

"They saw him float, self-balanced, towards the mouth
Of a vast cavern in the mountain's side;
They saw him enter with expanded wing,
With his dear burden in the darkness swallowed.
At the same instant one wild cry arose
From both their hearts; as 'mid devouring flames
Some youthful mother, whom the husband's arm
Has snatched from death, clasping her little ones,
And numbering the dear group with trembling finger,
If one is missing, swifter than swift thought
She rushes back into the burning dwelling,
Grasps the red metal with unconscious hand,
Or climbs the ladder crumbling 'neath her feet,
'Mid terrors man would fly, to save her child
Or perish too; so, ere a word escaped,
Despairing Daidha rushed with Cedar on.
In vain the cliff opposed its steep ascent;
Their footsteps baffled e'en the chamois' speed;
The soul did bear them upward, and from crag
To crag they passed as in a dream; their lips
Paused not to inhale the air; scarce felt they even
The frail hold that sustained them; on the summit
Alone their eyes were fixed, nor saw below
The rocky fragments, or the dread abyss;
By slender shrubs suspended oft, and seeking
A foothold on the crag, swayed to and fro
Like reeds in the wild gust, the sport of winds
That landward rushing, swept the sterile rock.
"Above the crags, which they at length o'ermastered,
A sloping lawn stretched out; the verdant space
Shut in by granite walls on either side,
Watered by slender rills, that serpent-like
Glided along the turf; and o'er the steep
Whence gushed the rills, a cavern's arch was seen.
Panting and anxious hither fled the parents,
Entering the rocky mouth; a giant eagle

Flew off at their approach, smiting the air
With his unfolded wing so forcibly,
They fell to earth, weak and in sore affright.
But Daidha's heart, for her loved offspring trembling,
Would there have striven with the thunder's self.
They gained the cavern's depths; a cry escaped them;
Another gave response; the mother, bending
Beneath the weight of joy, beheld her children,
Yet from their sight recoiled! * * What influence
Spell-bound and held them motionless and silent?"

An old man of majestic mien sits at the bottom of the cave, holding on his knees, like a tender mother, their rescued infants. The old man wears not the rude aspect of the primitive tribes. Intellect and benevolence sit on his serene brow, and a holy beauty, which bends the hearts of his untutored visitants to worship him as a god. His purple mantle, of rich texture, half conceals the babes. He is first to perceive the astonished pair, and with gentle courtesy bids them draw nigh. Daidha rushes to clasp her infants to her bosom, and Cedar falls on his knees, as in presence of a superior being.

The lovers take up their abode with the aged prophet, and the indulgent poet taxes his imagination to furnish them, on the grandest scale, with all that can contribute to their pleasure, of the fruits of earth, — with all that is magnificent in scenery; in short, theirs is a rival abode to that of Jocelyn and Lawrence on the Alpine heights. The old man instructs them in the art of tilling the earth, of gathering the ripened grain, and of breadmaking; processes, it seems, unknown to the imperfect civilization of their native tribe. He reasons also of truth and righteousness; directs their worship to the only true God, whose servant he is, and relates his past history. A dweller in the midst of an impious race, the earth-born giants of ancient tradition, who arrogated to themselves the worship of an oppressed people, assuming the name and attributes of deities, he had exposed their impiety, and found refuge from their vengeance in this solitary cave, where "the music of the winds is heard as from an organ, and the new-born day lights up its recesses with its golden light." He reads to them from a book enclasped in gold and gems, the word of the living God. He describes the luxury of the impious race whose worship he has abandoned.

"My children! what those mystic walls conceal
No words can paint. There endless may you roam

Through forests of pure marble, where the shade
And murmur have the freshness of green trees.
There leaves of finest gold, carved by the chisel,
Tremble at every breeze, and cheat the wild bird.
There rivers, from their course enticed by art,
Back to earth's surface flow, and gush in springs,
Watering the flowers that bloom in hanging gardens
With foamy rain, or spread in glassy streams,
Or, hurled toward heaven in liquid columns, meet
In arcades of pure crystal, — limpid domes
Of rare and curious fashion, where through crystal
The blue heaven shines, and the warm dazzling sunlight
Crowns all with wavy silver, or, with rays
Broken into a thousand diamond fragments,
Blends sparkling beauty with its genial coolness.
At night, when torch and cresset light the palace,
These fair pavilions blaze with brilliancy;
In every fount the lustre multiplied,
They seem to shoot and roll in waves of fire."

The eighth "vision" is filled with fragments from the primitive book, in which the prophet has recorded the truth for the instruction of his fellow-creatures. The happiness of the lovers in this retreat is perfect; but already the "judging Nemesis" is roused against them. One evening, going to the house of prayer, they find the old man seated alone, the holy volume on his knees, his brow pale with the inspiration that fills his soul, for a vision from above is upon him. It is the warning of his approaching end, and with meek resignation he pours out his devotion to the will of his Master. While the lovers regard him with awe, a barque of strange shape, sailing on the bosom of the air like a ship on the waters, alights on the summit of the rock, and three men of fierce aspect rush into the cave and seize the prophet. They are the messengers of the giant gods, seeking for purposes of vengeance the enemy of their faith. The martyr's doom is sealed; to wring a recantation from his lips, his tormentors suspend him by a cord over the abyss, promising him life and pardon if he will abjure his religion. His last words attest his devotion to the true God, and the next instant his body is dashed to pieces on the rocks below. The murderers survey their lovely captives with admiration, and resolve to carry them as gifts to their king. The aërial ship is launched on its homeward voyage, and much brilliant poetry

is expended in describing their course amid clouds and tempests, and wheeling stars, above scenery ever varying, till they descend at the city of the giants.

The strange and beautiful beings found in the retreat of Adonaï are offered as an acceptable present to the sovereign. Daidha is sent to the women's apartment to await the monarch's pleasure, and Cedar is cast into prison, to tame the spirit that could awe even his cruel captors. The author has lavished all the wealth of language to depict the splendor and luxury of this abode of evil, the hateful magnificence of these powerful beings elevated by popular superstition, and the intrigues of their impious court. The tyrant reigns by fear, but leans upon, and dreads at the same time, the mightiest of his inferiors, Asrafiel, who has in secret vowed his destruction. His favorite, Lackmi, a young female educated under his direction in the midst of vice, is beautifully painted by the poet. In the midst of her depravity acknowledging and doing homage to virtue, self-abhorrence and remorse are first created in her bosom by the contemplation of excellence. She visits Cedar in his dungeon, enamoured of his personal and mental graces, so superior to all she has hitherto seen; obtains his friendship and confidence, though her love is repelled with horror; and promises to procure his liberty, and restore him his lost Daidha. At a regal banquet she is deputed by her master to poison Asrafiel; she murders the monarch instead; and, in the confusion that ensues, Lackmi, assuming the sovereignty, liberates Cedar and flies with him disguised as his lost bride. At dawn the lover discovers his mistake; he spurns from him the perfidious Lackmi, and rushing back to the city of the gods, succeeds, by naming the beloved name of Adonaï, in exciting the people to insurrection. He enters the palace at the head of an army, just in time to rescue his children, and save Daidha from the arms of the impious oppressor.

Once more free, they take their course towards another land, guided by Stagyr, one of the race whom Cedar has deposed, but whose life he saved from the infuriated people. They escape only to die. The treacherous guide conducts them into the desert, where he leaves them at night with their only camel; and, after having triumphed over so many dangers, Cedar sees his wife and infants perish of thirst, just when relief is at hand. He perceives at a distance a group

of palms that overshadow a spring. The fainting mother is too much exhausted to reach the spot; but Cedar speeds thither alone. He returns with water, but too late. Daidha lies cold on her last bed. Cursing life, Cedar raises a funeral pile over the beloved corpses, and immolates himself upon them. The voice of his doom sounds in his dying ear.

"Va! descends, cria-t-il, toi qui voulus descendre!
Mesure, esprit tombé, ta chute à ton remord!
Dis le goût de la vie et celui de la mort!
Tu ne remonteras au ciel qui te vit naître
Que par les cent degrés de l'échelle de l'être,
Et chacun en montant te brûlera le pié;
Et ton crime d'amour ne peut être expié
Qu' après que cette cendre aux quatre vents semée,
Par le temps réunie et par Dieu ranimée,
Pour faire à ton esprit de nouveaux vêtements
Aura repris ton corps à tous les elements,
Et prêtant à ton âme une enveloppe neuve,
Renouvelé neuf fois ta vie et ton épreuve;
A moins que le pardon, justice de l'amour,
Ne descende vivant dans ce mortel séjour!"

We fail to discern the moral of this sentence. The punishment of Cedar cannot be just, for he has no haunting consciousness of guilt. As man, he is sinless; and no recollection of his fault in forfeiting heaven seems to attend him in his life on earth. He is, like his bride, an innocent and injured being. He receives instruction meekly, like her, from the prophet's lips, and abhors the impieties he is compelled to witness. Besides, his crime at first is not represented as a deliberate yielding to temptation, but as obedience to a sudden and generous impulse; the being he loves is in danger; he can rescue her in no other way. This is a fault. There are claims that must be satisfied, even in the most fantastic fiction, or its moral pretensions must be relinquished; and it falls to the rank of a mere tale devised for amusement.

Such is the story, which has the advantage of all the embellishments of gorgeous imagery, and the rich flow of verse for which M. de Lamartine is distinguished. The interest is charmingly sustained. We know of no modern romance that can more pleasingly beguile a few hours; and this, notwithstanding grievous errors in taste, that sometimes interrupt the enchantment of the fiction. The episode of Isnel and Ichme, for

example, is merely horrible, as are many of the pictures of the impious orgies of the giant gods. The conception of Cedar and Daidha reminds us of the "Oberon" of Wieland. Like the hero and heroine of the German poet, the claims of the pair upon our sympathy arise from the inextinguishable love they bear each other, the love sublime in its strength, victorious over persecution and temptation, — triumphant over death.

Our author's passion for illustrating things in the moral, by things in the natural world, is indulged throughout these volumes. Sometimes his similes are extremely happy; but that he often repeats himself, he would be in this particular the most ingenious of poets. Thus after describing the iniquity of the worshippers of the Titan king, the developement of human nature in its deepest depravity, he proceeds;

"So when the plain of Ocean is disturbed,
In the deep bed of the retreating wave
The affrighted eye discerns mysterious horrors
Laid open to the light; foul pits of mire,
Whose stagnant breath corrupts the moving floods,
Where huge sea-monsters, stranded in the marsh,
Expire; where reptile over reptile crawls;
Where, wallowing in the slime himself shook off,
The hippopotamus exults alone!"

Another of his striking comparisons is found where Cedar appeals to the injured people, calling them to revenge by his fiery eloquence;

"So, when the wind upon the ocean main
Lifteth the waters, first, insensible
They glide before the breeze, with scarce a murmur
Laving the silent shore. But to the voice
Of the roused blast, sweeping their breast again,
A thousand thousand angry waves reply;
Beneath the wheeling firmament appears
Billow o'er billow mounting, till the flood
Swells to colossal height, and mocks the sky:
With thunderous moan it smites the shattered steep,
And in its arms of foam drags down the rocks
Into the deep, that, erewhile, laved their feet."

Graphic and glowing as are his descriptions, we have often, as has been already hinted, an impression of feebleness, occasioned by his assiduous accumulation of minute objects,

and his habits of idealizing every thing, and of magnifying the smallest into the same proportions with the grandest. His torch-light is ever in danger of extinguishing his starlight. He seems wholly ignorant of the art of producing *effect* in a picture by a few vigorous touches. His landscapes are overladen with coloring and laborious ornament. Nature is not good enough for him. His earth is not the same earth we inhabit. His suns shine with a purer and more golden light. So his men are moral monsters, colossal in good or evil. He has not the despairing, philosophical misanthropy of Lord Byron; his views do not shut out the better things of humanity; his heart apprehends them; but his fancy colors them with strange hues. He will not paint nature as she is, in the mind of man, any more than in the external world. In short, he lacks simplicity, which he sacrifices in his morbid desire to elevate the ideal. This is the reason why his creations fail to command universal interest, to touch the soul. They are not beings of our own brotherhood; they are creatures elaborated and refined in the furnace of M. de Lamartine's imagination, and then dressed for exhibition in his stiff vesture of embellishment.

The next *épisode*, M. de Lamartine informs us, will be entitled *Les Pécheurs*. It will have more of local interest than the present one. It is more like that of "Jocelyn," for which the public has shown such flattering partiality. May we hope, that in it our author will endeavour to preserve that simplicity in form and coloring, which is ever the life of poetry, nor mar the real excellence to which we do homage, by an excess of adventitious ornament.

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Art. VII. — Georgii Wilhelmi Freytagii *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum, præsertim ex Djeuharii Firuzabadiique et aliorum Arabum operibus, adhibitis Golii quoque et aliorum libris, confectum.* Halis Saxonum, 1830–37. 4 vol. 4to.

The first announcement of Professor Freytag's plan, some few years since, led the learned to expect no more

than a reimpression of Golius. For this they waited long; and when it was told, that the work was to be entirely original, they cheerfully waited longer still. This interest in the work, caused by a growing desire to cultivate the language and literature of that Arab race, whose history, and whose position among the nations of the earth, are almost as peculiar and mysterious as those of the outcasts of Israel, whose dwelling is everywhere, and whose home is nowhere, was highly favorable to its reception. It gave to the author the power of realizing the most brilliant dream of a German mind, in making an epoch of his age. How he has used his opportunity, how he has met the wants and expectations of his compeers and his followers in Oriental learning, can now be decided; for the work has been long enough before the public to admit of its being not only examined, but used. But, since the obligation of the author to give to the world a work of substantial merit, depends much on the actual importance of Arabic literature, and its present state of culture, a short digression on these matters may be pardoned.

The advancement of Arabic learning among European scholars has been slow, but solid. Its relation to Hebrew literature gives it a permanent importance for students of the Old Testament Scriptures. Who can estimate the biblical labors of Schultens, and his successors, down to Gesenius in our day, and not render homage to the Arabic language, in whose rich mines they have so successfully wrought? Its commercial value, too, is beginning to be great. It would become of the first consideration, if the commerce of the East should again flow through the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, as it did in the days of the Ptolemies and the Fatimite caliphs; an event now by no means improbable, since the British government, after Colonel Chesney's careful survey of the Euphrates, has fixed on the Red Sea route for the great Oriental mail line. There is, further, in our age, an interest in it among learned men, belonging to that search which they are prosecuting after the literary treasures of every language, time, and country; an interest in which Christian men participate, from their determination to send both the documents and the teachers of their religion to all nations.

The literature of these cavaliers of the desert is not more useful than it is delightful. Its very existence is a romance, as wild, as bewitching, and to the first view seeming almost

as unreal, as the wildest of its enchanting tales. In studying the works which compose it, the Orientalist finds that fresh and racy feeling often renewed, which he had in his boyhood, when reading, by the wasting light of his bed-lamp, the "Arabian Nights," which he had smuggled to his chamber. Amid the dulness of a study so dry and spiritless as numismatics, where every coin is almost like every other, this feeling is revived, with peculiar force, by the specimens of the medals of Arabian countries. A Cufic coin of gold is in the antiquary's hand. Cufic ! there is poetry in the name ; there is mystery and gracefulness together in the curves of those noble old letters. The gold is virgin gold, purer than the western sovereigns could afford. Nor is it any vulgar ore, washed from the red clay of Carolina, mined from the earth by the half-savage Brazilian, or picked from the sand by naked Guinea negroes. No ; it is the gold of Ophir, coined from the hoarded ingots of Solomon, Darius, and Alexander. And its inscription, how strange !

"In the name of the most merciful God, Abdallah Imam Abu'l Abbas Ismael Al Mansur Billah, Prince of the faithful.

"Son of Imam Abi Abdallah Mohammed, the son of Imam Kaiem Beamrallah Al Sherif Hosein.

"O servant of God ! God is the Lord, he will take away thy calamities.

"Coined in the castle of Segelmassa, may God defend it. 340 Hegira."

What a fulness of words is here ; and what a simple and fervent religious feeling in the third legend, making the coin a sort of circulating homily. What an antidote to hard times it must have been.

The Fictions of Arabic literature are inimitable. The collection named "Alf Lail u Lail," or *Thousand Nights and a Night*, of which our "Arabian Nights" are a small part, has received the irreversible verdict of Asia, Africa, Europe, and America. It is the model of most of the Arabic fictitious writing, and of some of the many traditionary stories of Mohammed and his companions. In these tales, while the scene is in a fairy land, and fairy beings are its denizens, the character of the persons is sternly true to nature, and that of the Peris (fairies) as true to tradition.

Arabic History, too, is enchanting. Such works as Bohadini's Life of Saladin, or Arabshah's Life of Timour

(Tamerlane), or Elmacin's Saracenic History, cannot be read without that high excitement, which no history creates that does not preserve the rich, pictorial style of an eyewitness, that does not bear on every sentence a seal, whose motto is "*Quorum pars fui.*"

Arabic Poetry is interesting for its very strangeness. It is measured indeed, but more in that free way, in which the people measure their country, by hours and days' journeys, than by any accurate scansion. Rhyme, too, is used, but often strangely applied, as in the *Lamiats* of Thograi, Shafari, and Abu Mansur, whose lines all end with the letter L, and in the *Bordah* and the *Nuniat* of Ibn Zadun, whose lines end respectively with M and N; while the *Dha Argiouzat* of Al Gazi contains all the words in the Arabic language, in which the letter Dh occurs, and the scheme of another work consists in using a word in each line, in three different senses. Even the Syrian Casiri, whose enthusiasm was strongly kindled, could not explicitly praise the Arabic poetry, and therefore devised that equivocal compliment, which is often repeated, that it is like the rich wines of the East, which cannot be removed to other lands without losing the delicacy of their flavor, and their fragrant *aroma.* But Arabic poetry loses not its interest because it has not a Homeric, or a Miltonic richness, strength, and grandeur. It is wild and melodious, and often fervent and tender. Its very formality is like that of a military parade, brilliant, beautiful, and imposing.

Arabic literature had a peculiar growth. Before the Hegira, it consisted, mainly, of a few historic legends, war-songs, and hymns, which had, perhaps, never been written. These, like the northern *Sagas*, were preserved by tradition, and constituted the oral library of the tribes. The professed story-teller, while entertained in the tents of the desert, repeated these fragments to the tribe, seated around him, *à la sultana*, till every child came to know them well. The Koreish, who dwelt at Mecca, the centre of the old idolatry, the *keblah* of the black-stone religion, may have had some written literature before Mohammed, since the confluence of the rovers of the desert to that mart of commerce and temple of religion conferred on them peculiar privileges of refinement, and gave them the means of collecting the dialects of the language, and the traditionary literature of all the tribes. When Mohammed arose, the art of writing among them was

so recent and so rare, that the composition of the *Koran* was deemed a miracle. Not, as we imagine, because its style or language is so wonderful, for it can maintain no pretensions of this kind, although the author of the *Bordah* was said to have been converted by the eloquence of one passage; nor because its matter is so sublime, for it is a mere compound of Judaism, corrupt Christianity, and nonsense, in about equal proportions; but merely, that an Arab should have written a book of any sort. This was the real miracle.

From this low state, Arabic literature sprung into existence, as if by the working of a charm. Under the genial influence of the caliphs, Al Mansur, Al Rashid, and Al Mamon, it flourished like the grass upon the sun-scorched desert, when the early rain comes sweetly down upon it. The Cufic character, whose unsuitableness for literary purposes would have been a hindrance, was consecrated to the solemn inscriptions of medals and monuments; and, at a very early period, its place was filled by the more cursive and graceful *neski*. The oldest document in this character has been recently discovered in a Memphis manuscript, by De Sacy, bearing a date much earlier than has been given to the *neski*, namely, Heg. 133.

The conquests of the Saracens made them acquainted with the literature of Europe, and, in their universal ambition, they also conquered it. The light of literature had gone out in the academies of Greece; it was dim in the forum of the papal city, and in the basilicas of the Christian church; and it was dying in the marble palaces of the queen of the Bosphorus, when the Arab caught the flickering torch, and bore it away to the plains of Babylon.

The basis of the learning of the Arabs lies in translations from Greek writers. Certainly as early as the ninth century, they had translated Euclid, Diophantus, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, Theophrastus, and Ptolemy. The poetry of the west they neglected; for their taste was too rude to enjoy poetry without rhyme. Its history they omitted; for they felt the proud consciousness, that their own swords were destined to carve out a new history of the world, which would bear but a slender relation to the annals of the past. Native authors soon appeared and were fostered; and literature extended with the march of the Moslem, and paused in its march only when they were weary of conquest, and

spread the canopy of their glory as a tent to dwell in. In Balkh and Samarcand, in Bagdad and Damascus, in Cairo and Granada, libraries, universities, and learned men rose like the mists of the morning, and literature was domiciled in all the high places from the rose-gardens of Cashmere beneath the rising sun, to the glorious and gloomy Al Hambra of the west. Among the interesting peculiarities of Arabic literature, the time, or rather age of its prevalence is not the least. It shone forth in its highest radiance in the darkest hours of the dark ages. Thus it preserved many of the lost works of antiquity by translating them ere they had become the prey of the moth and the mildew, or gave them a new range when the gates of oblivion were about to close upon them. Even where we find no actual translations of Grecian works, we find their ideas; so that much of the real learning of antiquity, especially in the arts and sciences, is preserved for us in the Arabic language.

Many of the "seeds of things" among ourselves can be traced to an Arabic source. The first university (if we omit the *Bottei Medrashoth* of the Jews, and the Christian schools of theology at Alexandria, Antioch, and Edessa, which we did not copy) was the University of Cordova, an Arabic establishment founded by Al Hakem, the Al Mamon of the west. Encyclopædias, if we do not call Pliny's "Natural History" such, Almanacs, and probably Lexicons (for Hesychius is a glossary only), are of Arabic invention. Our numerals and arithmetic come to us from the same source, though they doubtless have an Indian origin. Algebra, or, as the Arabs call it, "al gebr u al mocabelah," *the reduction of equations*, was entirely an Arabic invention. So was Chemistry, a science now so magnificent as to be too proud to remember its mother. And who can say, that the science of Geography among us is not more indebted for its parentage to Al Edrisi, the Nubian geographer, or to his magnificent patron, King Roger of Sicily, than to Ptolemy, or the Roman Itineraries?

Another peculiar feature is, that, while Arabic literature shows the traces of a high degree of culture, both in its language and rhetoric, it is eminently a popular literature. The richness of the Arabic language is not often duly estimated, and cannot easily be explained in consistence with the shortness of its career as a learned language. It does not like the English, with the recklessness of a bucanier, plunder

words from foreign languages ; nor does it, like the Greek and German, increase its stores by compound words ; nor does it finally, like the Chinese, multiply them by pronouncing the same word with varying tones and accents to signify various things. Its words all come from its own roots, and are formed almost as regularly as if a committee of philosophers had moulded them, attached their meanings, and then secured their adoption and use by sovereign authority. It is also more opulent in words than almost any other language. Indeed, one of the chief causes of difficulty in acquiring it, arises from its prodigality of terms. Words, expressive of a single quality or action, of a single thing or class of things, such as the words *laugh*, *trot*, *sorrel*, *marry*, and others in English, are very abundant in Arabic.

The rhetoric of the language is highly artificial, and shows much culture. Of this, the numberless treatises on particular points of grammar or rhetoric afford sufficient evidence. Still the literature is popular. It has no learned or sacred language, like the Sanscrit of India, or the Latin of Europe, in which scholars write for scholars. Its works are composed for the multitude, nearly all of whom can read, and accordingly it is eminently practical and useful.

Arabic literature is rich in just what we need to fill the vacancy caused by the dark ages ; namely, works of history and geography. Philosophy we can manufacture for ourselves. Astronomy, medicine, chemistry, and most of the arts are on the onward march, and must be learned in the observatory, laboratory, hospital, or workshop. For geography, and for the history of man and of nature, we must recur to the monuments of past ages. Invented history is already a weariness to the world. For the geography of the East in the middle ages, and till recent times, we have little light but from this source. Our only knowledge of India and China, from Arrian to Marco Polo, comes from two Arabian travellers, whose works are in an English version under the title "Ancient Accounts of India and China." Arabic geography is, however, quite rich in authors. Among its standards may be named Al Balkhi's "Takovim al Belad," *Tables of the Earth ;* Abulfeda's "Takovim al Boldan," *Tables of Countries ;* Al Beirouni's "Canon," Al Edrisi's "Al Memalek u al Messalek," *Countries and Travels*, and Ibn Essaker's "Eshraf al marafat al aalthraf."

Of important history, it would be impossible so much as to name the works that deserve attention. Indeed, we would name none of them, in this notice of the Lexicon, with which they are to be read, if it were not important that Arabic history should be more extensively known. Of the following list of historical works, most are now in European libraries, and none have been published except in fragments or translations.

Ahmed Makkari's "History of Spain."
A Life of the Vizier Lisan Eddin.
A History of the Curds.
Ibn Khaldun's "History of the Berbers."
Houssein's "History of Persia."
Hesham's "Genealogy of the Arabs."
Al Wakedi's "History of the Conquest of Syria, Egypt," &c.
(The last two are the earliest Arabic historians.)
Ibn Al Wardi's "Pearl of Marvels," (a work on Geography and Natural History.)
Makrizi's "History and Description of Egypt."
——— "Universal History."
——— "History of the Moslemic Kings of Abyssinia."
——— "——— of the Fatimite Caliphs."
——— "——— of Saladin and the Mamelucs."
——— "——— of the Wars of the Ommiades."
——— "——— of the Egyptian Arabs."
——— "——— of the Hadji Kings."
——— "——— of the Vale of Hadramaut,"
Ibn Kotaibah's "History of Arabians," (before Mohammed.)
Ibn Hesham's "Life of Mohammed."
——— "History of the Homerite Kings and Princes."
Assoiuti's "History and Natural History of Egypt."
——— "——— of the Caliphs."
——— "——— of Great and Learned Men."
——— "——— of Ethiopia."
——— "——— of Mecca."
——— "Dictionary of Surnames."
Abu Obeidah's "History of the Wars of the Arabs before Mohammed's Time."
——— "History of the Arabs."
——— "Life of Hejaz."
Ibn Alathir Aljazri's "Universal History."
——— "History of Atabek."
——— "Genealogies."

Al Hanesi's "Universal History."
Ali Baba's "History of Timbuctu."
Ibn Khalikan's "Lives of Illustrious Men," (a large biographical dictionary.)
Ibn Batuli's "Travels through Asia and Africa."

These and a host of similar works are to be explored. The study of them demands not *a* lexicon, but the very best lexicon; and whoever offers one, must expect it to be judged by its adaptation to our wants. Arabic literature ought now to be, as it soon must be, made accessible to English and American scholars. Perhaps a taste for it must first be fostered, as it was for that of the Greeks and Latins, by translations of interesting and important works. Of these, we now have some; but the older ones are rare, and those that are modern are usually published in such an expensive manner, as to exclude them from the possession of all but the wealthy, who will not use them, or of those who have access to large libraries, who do not need them.

The "Oriental Translation Fund," instituted in 1828, for the purpose of publishing oriental manuscripts either in the original or a translation, might have made the literature of the East extensively known. But the aristocratic spirit so strongly influenced the plan of publication, that many could not, and many would not, have any concern in its doings. If we could have a cheap reprint of these and similar works in America, which would make them known to scholars in youth and in poverty, conditions almost necessary to afford time and courage for so hard a study as Arabic, they would most surely foster a love for Oriental literature. The Travels of Ibn Batuli, the first of these publications, would be found as interesting as the "Arabian Nights," and yet highly instructive.

But the printed works, for which an Arabic lexicon is immediately demanded, are not so few as some suppose. Not to speak of *chrestomathies*, which, if it is wise to use, it is not wise to buy, we may mention among the accessible books, without, however, by any means pretending to make the list complete;—

The "Koran."
The "Moallacat," (that is, the seven poems deemed worthy of *suspension* in the temple at Mecca, and written by Amralkeis, Tarafa, Toheir, Lebid, Antara, Amru, and Hareth. These are now all published, with the Arabic notes of Zuzeni.)

The "Hamasa" (a large collection of ancient Arabic poetry).
The Idyls of Abu Becr.
The "Lamiat" of Thograi.
The "Bordah."
The "Song" of Al Nasaphi.
The "Mecamat" (or *Sessions*) of Hariri.
Abulfeda's "Moslemic Annals."
Elmacin's "Saracenic History."
The "Annals" of Tabari (from which the two preceding works have copied much).
Ahmed Arabshah's "Life and Acts of Timour" (Tamerlane).
The "Alf Lail u Lail," or *Arabian Nights.*

No lexicon deserves patronage, which would not suffice for the perusal of all these works; and none which does not embrace in its compass most of those Arabic manuscripts, which are now in public libraries, or in private collections, and likely from their value to be ere long published, deserves to be esteemed as having met the wants of the age.

We cannot well judge of the labors and merits of Freytag, without glancing at what has been accomplished by his predecessors in the same field. The first Arabic lexicon printed in Europe was, we believe, Rapheleng's "Lexicon Arabico-Latinum," printed in quarto, at Leyden, in 1613. It was a small work, and of small value. It, however, contented the European world about twenty years. In the mean time, the worth of the native Arabic lexicon, called the "Camus," began to be known, and its treasures to be earnestly desired. But copies of it were rare; and, from its being written in very difficult and technical Arabic, the work was almost unintelligible when procured. The pressure of this difficulty, and perhaps the publication of Martellotto's "Arabic Grammar," at Rome, in 1620, led Antony Giggæus to attempt a translation of the "Camus" of Firuzabadi, which he published, under the title of "Thesaurus Linguæ Arabicæ, Arabice et Latine," at Milan, in 1632. In the execution of this work, there was no collation of Arabic manuscripts, and the translation is obscure in many places, false in others, and expressed in Latin so barbarous as to need itself a glossary.

Passing over in tender silence the miserable "Fabrica" of Germ. de Silesia, published by the Propaganda at Rome,

we reach, in about twenty years more, the era of the father of Arabic literature, Jacob Golius. This learned Orientalist, after being attached to a legation from the Court of Holland to that of Morocco, travelled into Arabia and Syria, and finally became Professor of Arabic at Leyden. The "Arabic Grammar" of Erpenius, first published in 1636, and with Schultens' notes in 1648, had given a new impulse to the study of the Arabic, and prepared the philologists of Holland and Germany to demand a work like that of Golius. He, instead of republishing and enlarging Giggæus, wisely chose to translate the Arabic lexicon of Jouhari, partly, that the public might thus have both the great native Arabic lexicons in a European dress, and partly for the sake of the passages from various authors which are cited in that work. Jouhari, also, being by birth a Turk, gives his definitions and difficult forms in a way to suit the wants of a foreigner more completely than any native could have done. Golius published his lexicon under the title, "Lexicon Arabico-Latinum contextum ex probatioribus Orientis Lexicographis," in folio, at Leyden, in 1653.

We have called the lexicons of Giggæus and Golius translations. But it must be borne in mind, that while Firuzabadi and Jouhari gave the definitions of Arabic words in the Arabic language, which they could not often do by merely appending a synonym (since languages do not often have two words meaning precisely the same thing), the translators could generally give a corresponding Latin word without the circumlocution of a definition. While, therefore, they did not literally translate, they used, — at least this is true of Golius, — aid derived from other sources, both as to forms and meanings.

A few years after Golius, Edmund Castell published the Arabic Lexicon attached to the London Polyglott, which was compiled mainly from Giggæus and Golius. It of course combined the excellences of both, for Castell was one of the giants of those days ; and it would have superseded them, but for its connexion with the Polyglott, which induced the author to mingle the Shemitic languages together, and to place the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Samaritan, on the same page, and under the same root. This, with the device of placing all Arabic derivatives in a mass together, and referring to the meanings by numerical

signs, although it saved room, and consequently expense, rendered the work unpleasant to use ; and Golius still reigned.

In 1680, the great "Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium, Turcicæ, Arabicæ, Persicæ," of Meninski, was published in four volumes, folio, at Vienna. The Arabic portion of this was rich in original matter, and especially in phrases and idioms, which the author's extensive oriental learning had enabled him to gather up. But its cost, its connexion with the Persian and Turkish, and its unwieldy magnitude hindered its diffusion, though it was treasured in public libraries ; and Golius still held sway.

A hundred years later, Richardson published, on the plan of Meninski, his "Dictionary Persian, Arabic, and English," in two volumes folio, at Oxford, 1778–80. Richardson, however, evidently formed his work for the use of the younger servants of the East India Company, who knew little of grammar or philology, and who only desired a treasury of words for commercial, colloquial, and diplomatic purposes. Of course, his lexicon, while it embodied the words and phrases with which the labors of Meninski had enriched the lexicography of the Arabic, omitted much that the scholar needed, and mocked his thirst with the emptiness of the mirage of the desert. This, and its connexion with the Persian, a language so foreign to the Arabic, both in form and substance, that even the economical Castell gave it a separate place, and so little connected with it, that perhaps the chief bond of affinity was, that the East India Company had use for both, prevented the extensive use of Richardson, even among the scholars of England ; and Golius kept his dominion still.

An Arabic student at Leyden, while reading the poets Amralkeis, Ben Zoheir, Ibn Doreid, Tograi, Ibn Phered, Abi Thaleb, and Locman, with the aid of Golius, marked in the margin all the words which he found in his authors, and finally, as Golius had become rare and costly, he collected these forms, and their roots, and published them in a quarto volume, under the title, "Jacobi Scheidii Glossarium Arabico-Latinum Manuale," at Leyden, in the year 1779. This little manual, though useful to the tyro, did not of course disturb the rule of the patriarch Golius.

The costliness and rarity of Golius still increasing, led to the publication of Wilmet's "Lexicon Linguæ Arabicæ in

Coranum, Haririum, et Vitam Timuri," published at Rotterdam, in quarto, in 1789. This work, though drawn from Golius, has some valuable additions, and is superior to its sire in some articles. The Koranic words, particularly, are all referred to the *sura* in which they occur. This manual is of great worth; but, being a manual, it could not supersede Golius.

Freytag, then, since his Lexicon is not, as it was first announced to be, a recension of Golius, but an original work, must enter the lists of comparison with this time-honored patriarch. His advantages were greater than those of Golius, since his work is founded on both the native Arabic lexicons, which we have mentioned, namely, those of Jouhari and Firuzabadi.

Of these writers, we have not a very full account. The substance of what we have is as follows. Abu Nasr Ismael Ibn Hammad is called *Jouhari*, *the Jeweller*, from his profession in early life, and *Al Farabi* from his native place. He was by birth a Turk, and so successfully studied the Arabic language in Mesopotamia and Egypt, as to acquire the title, "Imam of the language." He died at Nishabor in Khorassan, according to Abulfeda, who is most to be trusted, about A. D. 1107. Hadji Khalfa says, he undertook to fly from a lofty place, with a pair of wings which he had made, and was killed in falling. His lexicon was entitled "Sehah al Loghat," *Purity of the Language*. It contains about forty thousand words, arranged according to the *final* letters of each, and explained in the Arabic language. It also cites passages, though mostly from authors now unknown, in proof of unusual significations. It rejects all corruptions and provincialisms; and it strangely confounds together words ending in *vau*, *he*, and *je*. There are three manuscript editions of Jouhari, if they may be so called; 1st, the work as he left it; 2dly, as abridged by Al Razi; and 3dly, as enlarged upon the first. This last is called the *Great* or *New Sehah*.

The other Arabic lexicographer is Magdedin Abu Thaher Muhammed Ibn Jacob, called *Firuzabadi* and *Al Shirazi*, from two towns of Persia, one the place of his birth, and the other of his residence. He was highly honored by Timur and Bajazet, under whose dominion he lived, and dedicated his work to Ibn Abbas, the prince of Jemen. It is entitled "Camus," *The Ocean*, and also "Bahr al Mohith," *The Outer Sea;* perhaps deriving these names from its copiousness,

for it contains sixty thousand words, one third more than the work of Jouhari.

Respecting Firuzabadi's work, D'Herbelot makes conflicting statements. He says, in his "Bibliothèque Orientale" (article *Firuzabadi*); "He is the author of a very extensive Arabic lexicon, *which he compiled in sixty volumes, and gave to it the title of Lamê; but being himself alarmed at the enormous size of his work, he retrenched all the proof passages, and reduced it into only two volumes under the name of 'Camus.'*" Under the article *Camus*, D'Herbelot has this statement; "In the preface of his work, he says, *that he compiled and abridged it from another Arabic dictionary, comprised in sixty-five volumes, which was called 'Lamê,'* and, by retrenching the authorities and passages which were there cited, he reduced the sixty-five volumes into two." The fuller statement of the number, the distinct reference to the preface of the "Camus," and the fact, that Jouhari's Lexicon is to be dated after the "Lamê," and before the "Camus" (for Firuzabadi, in the preface, mentions him), show that D'Herbelot's last statement is the correct one, although the assertion of Firuzabadi, that he had read more than two thousand authors to prepare his work, would imply that it was an original composition. We may yet find the "Lamê" in some unexplored cabinet of Arabic learning.

There is an Oriental tradition concerning the author of the "Camus," if our memory is faithful, of this sort; namely, that he travelled much to collect words for his lexicon, and that, on one occasion, when he had stopped to rest under the shade of a tree, where some boys were at school, he was thrown into an ecstasy, by hearing the boys use, in their play, two or three words whose meaning he had sought in vain.

The "Camus" is chiefly valuable for its abundance of words, since it generally omits proof passages. But the omission is not so important as it would seem, if we bear in mind, that the "Lamê" from which it flowed, *had* these passages, and of course Firuzabadi's significations are the result of investigation and proof. The "Camus" was published in the Turkish translation of Wan Kali, at Constantinople, in 1728, and in an English dress, at Calcutta, in 1817, both works being in two volumes folio. The latter, however, was printed either from a very faulty manuscript, or with surprising carelessness.

These are the two great pillars on which Freytag has reared the structure which is before us. With regard to the use of these works, the only merit, which he can claim over Golius and Giggæus, arises from a more accurate reading of the text, a truer translation, and a solution of some difficulties, by comparing them together. From these documents, the professor puts down multitudes of words which he evidently never saw in their connexion, and whose meanings are, of course, given in Latin terms, carefully indefinite. A translated lexicon must always be a very dim and misty light to a linguist; and in this respect, Freytag has made no important advance beyond his predecessors. His merit or demerit must therefore lie in little matters; and he, who, by composing a lexicon from original reading, is to make for us an epoch in Arabic literature, is yet to appear.

The first thing, that attracts attention on opening the volumes of Freytag, is the great waste of paper in the arrangement of the type. This is matter of complaint, because it increases, needlessly, the expense of the work. The students, who have occasion to purchase Freytag, have also to buy many other costly books; and, as Oriental literature is not a popular and merchantable commodity, they have little to buy them with. The plan of Castell, with a slight change in the mode of referring from forms to meanings, would have been worthy of adoption.

There is a painful irregularity in the work. A host of words of really doubtful import occur with only a doubtful Latin word or two to explain them; while, on the other hand, on some words the author gives us a dissertation painful in its length and minuteness, seemingly because he happened to find a learned note on it from some sound scholar, from Schultens, Reiske, or De Sacy. So, while he commonly neglects to insert any proof passages to show the *usus loquendi*, at another time he gives eight or ten lines of Arabic, or tells some long story in Latin, to illustrate the etymology or usage, when a line would have served the purpose. Cases of this sort appear in Vol. I., p. 120, and Vol. IV., pp. 129 and 209. In volume IV., page 101, to explain two words, "cohering" and "cohesion," forty lines of Arabic are quoted from the "Tarafat," a theological and philosophical dictionary. It were as well to give at once the Arabic text of Jouhari, as that of Georgiani, the author of the "Ta-

rafat." We want the usage of Arabic authors, and not the Arabic definitions of Arabic lexicons.

While Freytag is complete enough for Arabic literature in its infancy, and in its palmy state under the Caliphs, whose splendid patronage fostered it into a maturity as brilliant as it was short-lived, it omits many words and many significations of words, which actually occur in the Arabic documents we have occasion to read, merely because they are not classical. The literary world is not ready for a classical Arabic lexicon. Nor will it ever be, till, for Christian purposes, it needs authors to write in that language. Now, all are tyros. And no matter if a word has been coined or corrupted by Copt or Turk, Persian or Indian, we need to know its meaning more than we need to know that it or its meaning is unclassical. The colloquial and commercial terms, the ungrammatical forms, and improper significations, which are found in Castell and Richardson, ought not to have been despised. Rich additions also might have been made from the recent French and Arabic lexicons of Berggren and Bocthor, of these important Turkish and Mogrebbin corruptions, and, from the Calcutta "Camus," of those which have originated in Persia and India.

Freytag has generally omitted proper names, and perhaps rightly. But, till we can have a new "Bibliothèque Orientale," combining the matter of D'Herbelot with that of Assemann, and giving Arabic and Syriac names in Arabic and Syriac letters, there will be an inconvenience from the omission of proper names. At any rate, Freytag ought to have inserted all names of places, which are taken as surnames. This he could have done from Assoiuti's "Dictionary of Surnames," a manuscript of which was near him. He ought also to have inserted all names of persons and places on which proverbs or phrases are founded. Here the "Notes on Meidani" would have aided him.

Though the work is now somewhat rich in technical terms, yet it might well have abounded in them much more. The author seems to have been discouraged in this branch of his work, because he found that the technical, and particularly the botanical, terms of Forskäl and Niebuhr were confined to a particular region, or were not to be trusted on account of their false orthography. This, however, ought to have been expected, and, instead of discouraging, should have impelled

the author of the lexicon to gird up his energies for a triumph over the difficulty. Every language, which is diffused over an extended surface, is subject to this inconvenience. Look at our own. In Boston, a horse is called *a horse ;* in Delaware and Maryland, *a crittur ;* in Virginia, *a hoss ;* and further south, *a beast.* In New England, the leafy envelope of an ear of Indian corn is called *the husk*, in Virginia *the shuck* ; while the spike, on which it grows, is called in the north *the cob*, and in the south *the husk.* Instead of omitting words on this account, Freytag should have given them, with some convenient mark to indicate their *locale.* For such a work he had help enough in the Travels of Shaw, Seetzen, Burckhardt, and others, and particularly in the dictionaries of Berggren and Bocthor.

Freytag's etymologies are often questionable, except where they had passed under the observation of previous scholars. As this part of the work needed a philosophical mind more than extensive Oriental reading, it needed not to be overlooked. A defect kindred with this is found in the arrangement of the significations, without any steady regard to their historical relations, or to sound philosophical principles.

Professor Freytag seems to have been too impatient in preparing his work, to make it that enduring monument to his memory which it might have been. He asks us in the simplicity of his heart, "*Nonne timendum enim, — si tardior moras facerem, ne alius quis simile quid edendo præveniret ?* " True. But delay enough to have made the work tolerably complete, might have secured patronage for it in future ages. Now, it must soon be superseded by a better. Nevertheless, till a better is offered, this deserves our commendation for this one reason, if for no other ; namely, that it meets, in a respectable way, the pressing demand for an Arabic lexicon of some sort ; and that, for a third of the sum which Golius would cost, it gives us the substance of that great work, with some real improvements. In this country, this grace of cheapness will not fail to be estimated ; for while we, as a people, are neither poor nor very penurious, our commercial spirit, which in some seems to occupy the place of a soul, is not above being soothed by a good bargain.

The value of this work, in short, is real ; its faults, though great, are mostly negative. Therefore let it be bought

and used, and diligently put to its work in the advancement of Arabic learning in these western ends of the earth.

With regard to the *Nepos* of Freytag, the abridgment of his lexicon, we may, in closing, make a single remark. Abridgments are bad in their best estate. If a work is abridged by its author, it is usually a monster. Every thing else is apt to be so curtailed, as to give prominence to his pets, his awkward hobbies. If it is abridged by another, the process is commonly that of distillation, in which the spirit or essence is distilled *out*. The architect must plan his work at first, either large or small. He must lay his keel for a ship or a boat, and finish accordingly. A razeed thing can never be better than a deformity. But if one will perpetrate an abridgment, he is surely bound to his reader and to his bookseller, to explain on what principles the curtailment is made, else we will not buy, or so much as borrow it, lest we be deceived in our dependence on it. This, Freytag has not done in his abridgment. We find roots with unbroken masses of derivatives, or with important conjugations left out; and we know not why. The reason may have been a good one; but, as we know it not, we cannot trust the work. It may have been prepared for certain *chrestomathies*, or courses of Arabic reading; but, as we are ignorant what it was designed to be used for, we can use it, with satisfaction, for nothing. Accordingly, for a work at once small, cheap, and convenient, we still cleave to Wilmet, with which we know we can read the Koran, which is fundamental in Arabic scholarship, Hariri, the great and only epic poet, the Homer of the Desert, and the life of Timur, one of the most delightful Arabic histories.

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ART. VIII. — *The Life and Times of the* Rev. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, M. A. By ROBERT PHILIP. One Volume. New York. 1838.

WHITEFIELD has enjoyed a traditional reputation in some respects, no doubt, resembling that of a great player; and, as he has left nothing behind him, in theology or literature, to

justify his celebrity as a preacher, it has seemed that he was to remain a traditional wonder of pulpit acting, and nothing more. He was to have that popular, but not wholly desirable kind of fame, which is perpetuated by anecdotes, pointed sayings, and ingenious and amusing exaggerations. We might read, that Hume thought it well worth one's while to go twenty miles out of his way to hear him; and that Dr. Franklin, on one occasion, instead of listening to the sermon, walked from street to street in the neighbourhood, to make some exceedingly characteristic calculations of the reach of his voice. His pathos and thunders were proverbial. There was something picturesque in his preaching to thousands under the open sky, and turning every incident and object to his purpose. There was something romantic in his adventurous itinerancy on an errand of love to human beings. Surely here was material enough for stories and descriptions of the wonderful preacher.

Whitefield had evidently made a deep impression on the imaginations of the men of his day; for, in every account they gave of his preaching, there was a distinct image of the man, of his look, his action, his fervor; and some particular point was remembered, that he had made in his discourse. It seemed as if there was, every time, some new effect or uncommon incident, to fix the sermon in every memory, to be transmitted to at least one generation. We remember hearing two of our public men describe Whitefield many years ago. They were then aged, and disposed to value the solid more than the showy. They were of ripe years and judgment when they heard him, and, though of strong passions, yet good masters of themselves and disposed to see the whole of things. And the imagination of the one was filled with his preaching a farewell sermon on Boston Common at sunrise, and investing the new-born day with a glory the eye had never seen; it became a religious memorial. The other dwelt upon the flight of the dove towards heaven, and gave Whitefield's action as his soul seemed to follow the waving of its wings. They had probably forgotten much of the doctrine, but the image was fixed for ever.

But what can narrative and description do to give us an idea of a great speaker? If fond himself of contemplating renowned and useful examples, that are never to perish, he may think it a hard fate, that so much power must cease for

ever with himself, — that the subtile essence of oratory, its life and virtue, are as evanescent as a beautiful cloud or a grand thunder-peal. Roscius has a classical immortality, but it is only a name to be called and given. He is celebrated by those whom we venerate, and thus has a sort of life, and yet it is nothing. The Hermit of the Crusades has a better hold upon us; for, though we cannot conceive his eloquence, yet we know that it set the heart of Catholic and chivalrous Europe on fire, and drove countless multitudes upon expeditions that have left their mark on all ages since. We may read descriptions of pictures, buildings, and statues, and, if we have an eye or mind for such things, we may obtain distinct, and perhaps just ideas. But how is the orator to be brought before us? How is the ear to gather the lost note that thrilled living masses, and made them as one man? This music cannot be written and reproduced through ages. How is the look, the movement, or even the attitude of passionate or graphic eloquence to be preserved in words? Cardinal Maury has described Massillon. From another writer we have an elaborate account of Lord Brougham's manner. It is no matter that their descriptions are exaggerated. This may be necessary for true effect. The colossal need not be monstrous. But it is observable, that each has painted a scene rather than an individual, and given us a good idea of a result, while all the painful minuteness of description was intended, and we think in vain, to acquaint us with the means. It must always be so. The best descriptions will fail of what we most want.

Without pursuing this familiar topic, we repeat, that Whitefield may be thought to have died with his voice. And why lament it? He had his day of glory. He had the pleasure of ceaseless activity. He had his battles and victories. He drew all eyes and ears to himself. He was not shut up in the theatre of a city, like Garrick, but sent forth his voice over the earth, day and night, in the wilderness and in the streets, amidst the blasphemies of sailors and the howling of the ocean storm, — in old, populous England, and along the scattered settlements of the new world. It is enough to have made such a stir in his own time. It need not be regretted, that a day like his has past, and that he has not left us one great sermon.

But this very obvious view of Whitefield's case is also a

very imperfect one. He has many claims to present notice. His character is original, his course original; his errors are useful, and his sacrifices memorable. To an American it is of some account, that he made seven voyages to this country to do good, and, moreover, that his name is closely associated with the great religious movements here about the middle of the last century. It may be of some interest, that he died and was buried here. And, further, it should be considered, that, though we hear of him chiefly as an eloquent man, yet his power as an orator included qualities of mind and character, which might have made him remarkable, if he had chosen quite a different line of life. The charm was not wholly in voice and gesture. His invincible spirit, the fruit of religious faith and ardor, and not of constitutional hardihood; his passion for activity; his love of new results, and desire to see a changed face put upon the religious world; his prodigal benevolence, which is seen at its height when he is in peril, or denouncing woes upon the impenitent, and which gives a reasonable air to his romance, and almost a respectable one to his "mad pranks and splendid irregularities" as a field-preacher; his recklessness as to all temporal consequences to himself, and his absorption in the saving of souls; his consuming desire, that others may enter into his rapture and his peace; and, almost above all these, a childlike simplicity, an humbler sense of self, and a growing gentleness in his deportment towards his adversaries, as he lived longer among men; these are points of character, that may well give a man figure among his contemporaries, and a higher distinction than mere eloquence could obtain.

But we are asked, Where then are his monuments? Could *all* perish of so much power, ardor, and effort, and in less than seventy years from his death? It might be replied, that Whitefield was not a wise man for himself. He was lavish of his resources. He seems to have had not one selfish or ambitious object, — no pride of a leader, no forecast to provide for organizing a party, with institutions, codes, badges, and rulers, which might perpetuate his name, and sustain the interest which his presence had excited. Instead of seeking to break up episcopacy or presbyterianism, or religious societies of any name, that he might bring the dispersed flocks into his fold, he sought only for hearers; it mattered not what were their opinions or forms, or their places and sea-

sons of worship. If he could wake up the languid preachers of the time to more effective ministration, they might keep their titles, cathedrals, revenues, and congregations. God's purpose would be accomplished, and he knew no other.

But he has his monuments. One of them is, that with Christians at the present day, differing from each other in many points which they deem important, he is remembered with equal affection, respect, and gratitude. There are even churchmen, who delight to trace to Whitefield a change in preaching among no small portion of their body; there is more of sound doctrine, it is thought, more of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and more solemn and fervid delivery, since he, a priest of their own order, shook the pillars of their ancient temples with his new mountain-trumpet.

Again, it is his monument, that he was foremost, even when a stripling, among those godly men, in and out of the Establishment, laymen and clergy, who set themselves against the skepticism and indevoutness of the age. It was a time to come out and speak ardently to high and low, as if they had hearts and consciences, and an endless future, and business, and pleasures, and woes that were not of this world. We doubt not, that the secret influence of his character and preaching has descended and now rests on thousands who never heard his name.

His humblest monument was his most precious gem, — the Orphan-House in Georgia. The popular London preacher, the eloquent youth, whom old and young were following with love or hate, some trembling for their salvation, some for the safety of the church and the good order of society, and some to mock at the fanatic, — in the midst of all this public ferment and personal importance, and fond as he was of society and of crowds, and deficient, as he acknowledges himself to be, in natural bravery, — is preparing to leave all and follow the Wesleys to an infant settlement upon our southern shores, with the wild Indian and the hostile Spaniard for his neighbours, and a few rich and a few poor people for the objects of his Christian exertions. There were poor people at least, and it was enough. To build a house for a few orphans, where they might be fed and clothed and taught, was enough. He could preach in every town along our coast, he could return again and again to England, to preach for this humble charity, and gratefully receive in half-pence the donations of

his Moorfields' thousands. Here was no boyish passion, that died in the first pulsation. It was a great and darling object of his life. He could count at his death but one hundred and eighty-three children who had been regularly educated and provided for at this school for thirty years ; but the insignificance of the establishment gave him no uneasiness, if good was done to any. If the charity had expired with him, it should still be remembered as an interpreter of his mind and purposes. It survives, we believe, in its primitive humility.

How far the numerous societies which Whitefield formed, may be brought forward as his present memorials, we cannot say. We are told, that, "in general, they have subsided into other churches, especially in America." It is certain, that he did not covet the care and superintendence of them. He thought it would make him appear as the head of a party, and he chose to be a pilgrim to all, rather than a ruler over a particular class of Christians. It is no mean monument to have such a fact on record.

In what follows, we would direct the reader's attention to Whitefield's eloquence ; both because of itself, and because it was the chief instrument of his power, and the main outward sign of his whole character and resources. Though we can but faintly conceive it, yet we may, without much hazard, attempt to distinguish its peculiarities, and name some of its results. If the inquiry effects nothing more, it will at least serve to illustrate Whitefield himself.

He set out in life with very humble prospects. He was the son of an innkeeper, and, when the establishment was itself decaying, he served as a common drawer in the tavern, at the age of fifteen, and continued in this employment for nearly a year and a half. According to his own account, he was an idle and wicked boy, passionately fond of reading romances and plays, and somewhat noted for his elocution, and his skill in private theatrical representations, as early as his twelfth year.

At times, however, he longed for a liberal education ; and, by the kindness of friends, his wish was gratified. At nineteen he was admitted a servitor in Pembroke College, Oxford ; and here began that remarkable change in his character and life, which distinguished his whole subsequent course. He fell into the society of the Wesleys and others, who were

known at Oxford, as they now are through the world, as Methodists. His religious experiences and conversion, his severe self-denial, and mental agonies and aberrations (they are all upon record), will of course be regarded differently by different minds; but, in his own never-changed conviction, he was made a subject of spiritual regeneration; he had passed through an entire renewal of his nature into the image of God. His whole soul was now given to the salvation of others. At the age of twenty-one, and before taking his bachelor's degree, he was admitted into holy orders. It was a trying time for the poor youth, so exalted were his views of the sacred office, and so humble his estimate of himself. He says,

"When I went up to the altar [to receive ordination], I could think of nothing but Samuel's standing, a little child, before the Lord, with a linen ephod. When the bishop laid his hands upon my head, my heart was melted down, and I offered up my whole spirit, soul and body, to the service of God's sanctuary."— "I gave myself up to be a martyr for him who hung upon the cross for me. Known unto him are all future events and contingencies. I have thrown myself blindfold, and, I trust, without reserve, into his Almighty hands. Only I would have you observe, that, till you hear of my dying for or in my work, you will not be apprized of all the preferment I expect."— pp. 42, 43.

This is all sincere. He felt every word of it, and acted upon it to his death's day. We come now to his first sermon. He had not one to begin with, except a discourse which, he says,

"I made for a small Christian society, and sent to a neighbouring clergyman, to convince him how unfit I was to take upon me the important work of preaching. He kept it for a fortnight, and then sent it back with a guinea for the loan of it, telling me he had divided it into two, and had preached it, morning and evening, to his congregation. With this sermon I mean to begin, God willing, next Sunday."— p. 43.

He accordingly preached it at his native town, in the church where he had been baptized, and had first received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Though so young, and in a crowd of those who knew him in his infant and childish days, he spoke with authority and effect, and says, he soon found the unspeakable advantage of having been ac-

customed to public speaking when a boy at school. He adds,

"I have heard that a complaint had been made to the bishop, that I drove fifteen mad by the first sermon. The worthy prelate, as I am informed, wished that the madness might not be forgotten before next Sunday." — p. 44.

His preparation for his profession will appear very moderate to those who know that learning and reflection were as much needed by a preacher of those days, as now; and especially, if he set up for a reformer both in doctrine and manners. But we are speaking of one who is not to be estimated in any respect by ordinary rules, and who always trusted chiefly to his power over men's hearts and wills. If Oxford did little for him as a scholar, yet while there he had sought out the poor and the prisoner as objects of spiritual influence; and, at the very commencement of his preaching, his thoughts were fixed upon his American voyage, with a like benevolent purpose. And it is not long before he finds that, in a spiritual sense, the poor and the prisoner make up the great mass of mankind in all places and conditions. So that the rudest part of his early training was no small part of his preparation for the great work of his after life.

We have full statements, from his own pen, of the first-fruits of his preaching in Bristol and London. He says, "Last week, save one, I preached ten times in the different churches, and the last week, seven, and yesterday, four times, and read prayers twice, though I slept not an hour the night before, which was spent in religious conversation." (p. 51.) And it is important to remember, that the preacher is a clergyman of the established church, and not an erratic, highflying Dissenter in conventicle, chapel, or tabernacle. He proceeds thus;

"Last Sunday, in St. Dunstan's, at six in the morning, when I gave my farewell, the whole church was drowned in tears. Since that, there is no end of persons coming and weeping, telling me what God has done for their souls. Others, again, beg little books, and desire me to write their names in them." — (p. 51.)

At Bristol, such was the pressure in every church, that he could hardly make his way to the reading-desk. He says,

"Some hung upon the rails of the organ loft, others climbed

upon the leads of the church, and altogether made the church so hot with their breath, that the steam would fall from the pillars like drops of rain." — p. 50.

Such was the commencement of his memorable thirty years' preaching. A new power was in action ; a new voice among lethargic hearers and preachers; a spiritual energy, that seemed ready to sweep away forms and rituals, and even to bring the decencies of worship into disrepute. He held nothing in respect, which, as he thought, lulled men's consciences, and substituted lifeless habits or ceremonial pageantry, for a sacrifice of heart and life to God. And, though he comes forth under the wing of the ancient hierarchy, his whole bearing is that of a fearless reformer, fixed upon acting out an idea of his own. No one ever thinks of asking, whether this young man was not seeking preferment, and making trouble to be bribed to peace. If he were a machine, he could scarcely be less conscious of self, either as to his power or his objects. He is, on the contrary, too much absorbed in the concerns of others. He has not studied himself enough. He meets the world with affections, strong desires, ardent sympathy. His heart is poured out like water. Calculation, discrimination, safe judgment, are not in him. He estimates men, and the power of improving them, by his wishes, and not by a wisely-applied experience. He brings the homeliness and ardor of the Reformers into a very different age. And, whatever his error, he owes his success to this ready meeting, this seeking of other people's hearts.

We should try to conceive how Whitefield's new method of pulpit eloquence struck the London population. His doctrine was in no respect new ; but we know, that to insist strongly upon a single old topic is almost making it new. He insisted upon change of heart, wrought by the Holy Spirit, as essential life. There was none other. He cared not for rites, as having any virtue in themselves. Every man must be converted or perish ; and he was set to urge this fact upon high and low, till they should feel what *perishing* and what *conversion* meant. To this work he went with the fire of heroism, but with none of its selfishness and ambition. He went with the avowed consciousness of power swelling almost to inspiration, but all the time heightening his sense of responsibleness, and calling forth more intense effort. There is no room or motive for exaggeration in describing this

higher than romantic enterprise. It may cost us some pains to take in all the circumstances of the case; but, if we can conceive of consummate oratory, a burning spirit of devotion and benevolence, and horror at the degradation and ruin in which sin plunges the soul, all acting together to kindle religious feeling, or produce some undefined spiritual movement, in the masses of a thronged town, till scoffers were silenced, the indifferent aroused, and the most abandoned moved to call for mercy, we shall understand the language in which he sounded his London triumphs, and feel little surprise that the effect, for the time at least, was overwhelming.

No doubt, the traits of character we discern and admire in Whitefield, may be found in others. Ardor, enthusiasm, devotion to a single point or cause, terrifying or melting appeals, addressed with effect to the obdurate, the stupid, the grossly wicked, — these, certainly, are not strange facts or qualities in the history of orators. He was by no means the only one, among churchmen or Dissenters, who set himself zealously against the skeptical and irreligious spirit of the age. If he was the first, and eminently the great field-preacher, since the apostolic time, this is but an accident in the case, and scarcely an explanation of the interest and celebrity that are still attached to his name. The singularity of his adventure could do little more than distinguish him as one of the most remarkable of eccentric men. We may better account for his influence then, and his present importance, by his fearless example of devoting the whole of his life and strength to the support of a vast spiritual interest, in any way that gave promise of success. It was not a popular cause, nor a worldly good, that he was engaged in. The same power and devotedness, turned in another direction, might have brought him present profit. He certainly might have avoided contempt and personal outrage. But we see every moment, that what he sacrificed or endured is always a second thought with him, if considered at all. His eye is ever upon his object. The turns of popularity, the alienation of old friends, — even of those with whom he first took counsel in Christian fellowship, in the days of bitter trial, — the dull hardships of his frequent voyages, his many painful journeys to collect money for his Orphan-House (and which he was charged by his foes with not accounting for), and all this expenditure of labor for an obscure charity, which could

give him no name in the world, and offer no worldly excitement; — these, certainly, were things to exhaust the spirits. But with him they were as nothing to break or weaken his purpose, though he weeps for a sundered friendship, and repels an assault upon his reputation, with as warm a human feeling as if he had lived upon the breath of opinion, and the sweet solaces of home.

This, then, is the explanation of his power, — the subduing and forgetfulness of self, that he might give all to the spiritual advancement of others. He seems to have no home, no possessions, and no prospect or desire of either. When a private contribution was proposed for him in Edinburgh, he said, "I will not admit of any such thing. I make no purse. What I have, I give away. 'Poor, yet making many rich,' shall be my motto still." (p. 236.) He must be for ever at work; and Foster names him, "as a noble instance of that attribute of the decisive character, — the intense necessity of action." And action with him requires change of place, succession of objects, public scenes. His consuming zeal admits of no repose, and is fed by agitation. He says, "Every thing I meet with seems to carry this voice with it, — 'Go thou, and preach the gospel; be a pilgrim on earth; have no party, or certain dwelling-place.' My heart echoes back, 'Lord Jesus, help me to do or suffer thy will. When thou seest me in danger of *nestling*, — in pity, in tender pity, put a *thorn* in my nest, to prevent me from it.'" (p. 348.) His itinerancy, or ranging, as he called it, was his delight. Others might adopt it, after deliberating upon the general utility of the practice, and its efficacy as part of a scheme of ecclesiastical tactics. But he followed it from some uncontrollable impulse.

Is the occasion for such devotedness wholly gone? Does the case alter with the creed a man subscribes, or the character of the church he addresses? We do not ask, whether a preacher is to show his zeal in the same way with Whitefield; but is equal zeal less wanted now, or will it be ever less wanted, till sin has passed off from the earth? If not, then Whitefield, the Calvinist, the Methodist, the itinerant, the field-preacher, "the hunter of souls," as he styles himself, is, in one point at least, an example for all who preach what they believe to be the word of God.

We are prepared now, in some degree, for his most char-

acteristic, and, as many think, most questionable, exhibition of himself; that is, as a field-preacher. This practice he began soon after his first return from Georgia in 1739, when he was twenty-five years of age. The history of this adventure may be given in few words. He had already discovered his power over others, and over himself, in extemporaneous preaching and prayer. He saw, that "myriads of people, who never troubled any church, nor were likely to do so," were glad of an opportunity to attend the private, devotional meetings of the Methodists. So long as he was permitted to preach in the churches, multitudes pressed to hear him, for whom there was no room; and even this privilege was soon withdrawn, as his course was considered altogether against the canons of the church. He was not allowed to collect money for his Orphan-House in those very churches where he had often preached with success for the London charities. These things, no doubt, had their effect in suggesting the idea of preaching in the open air. But there is good reason to think, that he rejoiced in the temptation to go out to the multitude. He loved large audiences, for they excited him. He loved a mode of preaching which dispensed with form, and suffered the orator to come to his thousands at any hour of the day or night. He was animated by the sense of freedom which this bold, unlicensed preaching inspired. With a religion, designed to be popular, for his message, he was attached to the most popular form of communicating it. He had a voice of such power and flexibility, that he found it not only easy, but, it should seem, most natural and agreeable to him, to address multitudes in the open air. He finds more than an apology for field-preaching in the example of the Saviour, who, in Whitefield's words, "had a mountain for his pulpit, and the heavens for his sounding-board; and who, when his gospel was refused by the Jews, sent his servants into the highways and hedges." He would, most probably, have made his way to the fields, if every church in the three kingdoms had been open to him day and night.

He was nothing daunted by the strangeness of the measure; but the more excited by what would have dismayed a man of fastidiousness and calculation. When the wealthy stopped in their coaches to hear what the madman had to say, or the mischievous assembled to annoy him by the grossest devices, or if he saw in his hearers nothing but vacant wonder, yet he

was well aware, that there was no indifference in this. Whatever the motive, he was the object of attention, and all that remained for him to do was to turn the interest, of whatever kind, to his purpose. And here his skill was matchless. He always retained his self-possession perfectly, and apparently without making those efforts to preserve it, which must in some degree lessen one's natural ardor. So that all his resources were at hand. He abounded in familiar topics and examples, and popular terms, and excelled in the art of drawing arguments and motives from present incidents and objects; and, then, his voice and action of themselves arrested the mind, and soon set it at work in the speaker's service. A look or a motion was a picture. Call him mountebank, or fanatic, or what we will (he often deserves a hard name), it is no less the fact, that he could keep his immense and various audience together, by night or day, in rain or sunshine, and spread an awful silence far and wide, till he could address every one in a tone as if he were speaking earnestly to a neighbour.

Is it strange, that such a man loved his "field-pulpit" far better than to preach to an accustomed and select audience, in lazy seats, and hemmed in by narrow walls? Is it even strange, that he should have been so carried out of himself, and beyond all the monitions of prudence, as to encounter the populace of Basingstoke and London, in the midst of their revels, and get upon the very stage erected for the wrestlers, to preach against the profane sport; or set up his pulpit in Moorfields on Whit-Monday, "the great gala-day of vanity and vice," in the neighbourhood of "drummers, trumpeters, merry-andrews, masters of puppet-shows, exhibiters of wild beasts, players, &c.," who, he might be sure, would make their game of the preacher, as the best part of the day's entertainment? If it had been always so with Whitefield, he would have had reason to say, "We shall never know what good field-preaching has done, till we come to judgment." But it was not always nor often so, even when he met the mob of cities. And the fabled power of art is scarcely to be compared with his sway over the rude colliers at Kingswood.

However we may explain the origin of his field-preaching, it soon became an essential exercise to him. When the severity of the season drives him into houses and chapels, he

speaks with regret of retiring into winter-quarters. He pines for the return of good preaching weather. "Field-sickness was his home-sickness." During an illness, occasioned by his many labors and exposures, his physicians prescribed several remedies, — silence, warmth, and, one of them, a perpetual blister. But he preferred his own remedy, "perpetual preaching. When this grand catholicon fails," said he, "it is all over with me." Sometimes his impatience was such, that he would go forth in spite of hail and rain; and his spirits returned, objects resumed their old look, and he was again at home and himself. He thus speaks of his preaching in the cold season.

"At seven in the evening, I preached in the open air, to a great multitude. All was hushed, and exceedingly solemn. The stars shone exceedingly bright. Then, if ever, I saw by the eye of faith, Him who calleth them all by their names. My soul was filled with a holy ambition, and I longed to be one of those who shall shine as the stars for ever and ever. My hands and my body were cold; but what are outward things, when the soul within is warmed by the love of God. Oh, that I may die in the field." — p. 392.

In a mild climate, beneath a soft moonlight, or the shadow of mountains or trees, with a population accustomed to be in the open air for amusement, society, or business, and affected from early years by the soothing or romantic influences of natural scenes, we should see nothing extraordinary in out-of-door preaching, any more than in music upon the lake or river side. There would be no profanation, and no violation of taste in either; but rather a gracious harmony, between the purest of sentiments and the religious beauty of nature. Even the vision of Jacob seems to gain something from the place and hour, —

> "Dreaming by night under the open sky,
> And waking cried, 'This is the gate of Heaven.'"

So the rite of baptism, by immersion, no doubt has a more imposing (why not a more spiritual?) influence, upon spectators, if it be performed on the margin of pure running water, or by the ocean side, and under a soft sky, than in foul docks on a raw day, or in a stagnant reservoir under cover. Whitefield was often favored by the scene and hour of his ministrations. He says,

"The open firmament above me, the prospect of the adja-

cent fields, with the sight of thousands and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the trees, and, at times, all affected and drenched in tears together, — to which was sometimes added, the solemnity of the approaching evening, — was almost too much for me, and quite overcame me." — pp. 105, 106.

With a little exercise of the imagination, those who are most scrupulous with regard to the proprieties of worship may find their objections subdued by the scene they can conjure up of a silent crowd, in a romantic spot, intent upon holy thoughts. Those who were present at the consecration of Mount Auburn will understand this. Suppose the assembly swelled to fifty thousand, seated on rural benches, round the wooded hill, on a day like that, when shadow and light, and the air itself, harmonize with a sober, yet elevated sentiment, in all; and then suppose every eye and heart turned to one eloquent man, whose voice penetrates every nook, as easily as the tide seeks every inlet of the coast, — and we may have some idea of Whitefield and his audience. We may say, that this is mere exhibition, a gratification of the senses, or at best a source of poetical meditation and rapture; and that the religious part of the occasion is but one of the circumstances. This is possible. But the important consideration is, and the only one we have in view, — how easily the devout sentiment may be made predominant and overwhelming, and permanent too, when these influences from abroad take a decidedly religious direction, and when in after life the clear image of such scenes as we now speak of, is readily associated with devout feelings.

We are far from recommending field-preaching, as a general practice. We do not recommend it at all; but would speak fairly of its advantages, and remove fallacious objections against it. No one can say, that we have discovered the only true or the best method of communicating religious instruction. And few will doubt, that Whitefield accomplished more good in this way, than he would have done in churches alone. It brought him into connexion with more hearers; and, which is more important, with the ignorant, poor, and vicious, whom he would have sought in vain within the walls of a church. If it be objected, that a riotous mob, swarming from the foul dens of a large town, is not a fit audience for a preacher of divine truth, and that he is to be

blamed for exposing it to vulgar contempt, — the objection shows distrust, not only of the power of oratory, but of the power of the religious principle in all men, and of that spiritual striving in the dark, which needs only a ray from heaven, however imperfectly and accidentally it may come, to be changed into rapture, and at last into peaceful assurance. Whitefield ran very little risk of bringing religion into dishonor by offering it to his wild audience, except when he grossly violated prudence and decorum, and became as much a rioter himself, as those whom he denominates the instruments of Satan.

But, though field-preaching has its advantages in certain hands, and in peculiar circumstances, we cannot overlook the obvious inconveniences and dangers, that would follow from its coming into general use. It would introduce a violent and rudely passionate style of oratory, partly from the necessity of the case, where so many are addressed in the open air, and partly from the reaction of listening and agitated throngs upon the speaker himself. From the promiscuous assembling of men and women, of the aged and young, strangers to each other, and of course unrestrained by daily intimacies and familiar objects, and by common habits of thought and feeling, we may expect excessive and false agitation ; and vast immediate results will be looked for, and unduly estimated. We lose what many deem the incalculable good of the orderly meeting of households in one church. We must, in a great measure, lose the undoubted assistance which worshipping in the same place affords, by recalling the religious feelings that we have associated with familiar objects. And, finally, we put in jeopardy the support of stated worship, to which much importance is reasonably attached, as upholding good habits and cherishing calm sentiments.

Whitefield's triumphs were not limited to the poorer classes and to field-preaching. In Scotland, least liable of all to give way to impulse, he was sought after by all conditions, and by divided Christians. In America, toward which his heart yearned to the end, he was received with delight by ministers, rulers, and people. In his frequent visits to this country, he passed through it again and again, as a religious agitator and an asker of alms for his school, and apparently without the charm of his appeals being broken or weakened. He preached before the colleges, and at the

tables of magistrates ; in the churches, and sometimes in the fields ; and, in his own view, with such success, that his hope for Scotland is, that she may be like New England. The business of common life seems to have been suspended, that the whole population might go forth to hear the young stranger. That he was opposed by many, and deserved rebuke, is not disputed. Our object is to show, that he had power in different spheres.

If we turn now to high life in England, we shall find him no less successful there in drawing attention. As chaplain of the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, who was one of his most determined proselytes, he was brought into the society of people of fashion. Wits, accomplished infidels, nobles, the last to follow a Methodist, unless as they would seek out any odd thing to relieve their dull, jaded lives, — these are among his hearers, and some are his disciples. They attend upon him once, and desire to hear him again. Chesterfield thanks him, and Whitefield preaches at his chapel, or rather in Bretby park, for the chapel was soon found to be too small. Bolingbroke comes and tells him, if the Bible is true, Whitefield's views of Christian doctrine are incontrovertible, and his Lordship is ready to vindicate the Methodist against all his revilers. Even the king is apprized of the new power, that is at work among the nobles and wits, and has his jest at Lady Chesterfield, one of the converts, for the simplicity of her dress.

It is needless to say more of his successes among the high-born and learned, whether in London or in the rural chapels. We do not refer to them as being much in his favor. The dignity of a convert is of little moment. And who can escape wholly the fascination of praise from those who in any way excel us ? It is social as well as selfish in us to be pleased with it. Whitefield was safer in the wilderness and among the weeping colliers. He feels his danger. When the nobility graciously accepted copies of his sermons, he said, " Thus the world turns round. In all time of wealth, good Lord deliver me." He says, it took him twice seven years of pretty close intimacy with contempt, to make contempt an agreeable companion ; and he discovers, that a love of power and distinction sometimes intoxicates even God's dear children.

We have no reason to think, that Whitefield preached very

differently before his fashionable, and his less educated audiences. He would have risked much, if he had been careful to adapt his discourse and manner to particular tastes; and he knew the secret of his subject and of his power too well, to stand in awe of his hearers, or even distrust his own poorest matter. What in reading may appear to us little better than a rambling and empty rhapsody, was sustained and borne to the heart by a voice that prepared a way. The hearer was soon transported far above the sphere of criticism. Whether he listened to denunciation, appeals, or invitation, or to question crowding on question, and whether clothed in language of Scripture, or of the market, or of polite life, a power he could not resist kept him always in advance of the speaker, with a conscience ready to tremble and a heart to break, while the word yet hung upon the lips of the prophet. What mere lover of art would not rejoice to have been present, when Whitefield, after he had ruled his vast audience in the fields, paused, and, as in a whisper, communed with the multitude upon the awful silence and the falling tears?

We have room but for one or two of the reports which have been transmitted of his manner. The first is from Hume. He says, "Once, after a solemn pause, Whitefield thus addressed his audience. 'The attendant angel is just about to leave the threshold of this sanctuary, and ascend to heaven. And shall he ascend, and not bear with him the news of one sinner, among all this multitude, reclaimed from the error of his ways?' To give the greater effect to this exclamation, Whitefield stamped with his foot, lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and cried aloud, 'Stop, Gabriel, stop, ere you enter the sacred portals, and yet carry with you the news of one sinner converted to God.' This address was accompanied with such animated, yet natural action, that it surpassed any thing I ever heard or saw in any other preacher." *

To what a height must he have carried his art, how perfect a master must he have been of natural expression, if his ut-

* A less showy but more striking testimony to his eloquence may be found in the following anecdote, which we take from Southey's "Life of Wesley." "A ship-builder was once asked what he thought of Whitefield. 'Think!' he replied, 'I tell you, Sir, every Sunday that I go to my parish church, I can build a ship from stem to stern under the sermon; but, were it to save my soul, under Mr. Whitefield, I could not lay a single plank.'"

most extravagances, so far from offending, could bear away a cold, fastidious, and irreligious hearer.

Mr. Philip says, "He left nothing to accident which he could regulate by care in his delivery. Foote and Garrick maintained, that his oratory was not at its full height, until he had repeated a discourse forty times."

Franklin's testimony is as follows :

"By hearing him often, I came to distinguish easily between sermons newly composed, and those he had preached often in the course of his travels. His delivery of the latter was so improved by frequent repetition, that every accent, every emphasis, every modulation of voice, was so perfectly well turned and well placed, that, without being interested in the subject, one could not help being pleased with the discourse ; a pleasure of much the same kind with that received from an excellent piece of music." — p. 527.

According to Southey, in his "Life of Wesley," these repetitions were far from being in precisely the same words. He recited instead of reading his sermons.

"Had they been delivered," continues Southey, "from a written copy, one delivery would have been like the last ; the paper would have operated as a spell, from which he could not depart ; invention sleeping, while the utterance followed the eye. But when he had nothing before him except the audience whom he was addressing, the judgment and the imagination, as well as the memory, were called forth. Those parts were omitted, which had been felt to come feebly from the tongue, and fall heavily on the ear ; and their place was supplied by matter newly laid in, in the course of his studies, or fresh from the feeling of the moment."

Let the modern preacher, however free from fanaticism, remember and ponder this well. Let those who think it enough to be sincere, and well provided with pertinent matter, remember, that Whitefield was as sincere as they can be, and felt the authority of his high credentials, and the dignity of his message, and that it was his duty to preach, and that words and matter and an ardent nature would never fail him ; and yet that, to the end, he studied oratory with the diligence of a novice, and brought the vast power within him to a perfection, and a prompt use, which probably have never been surpassed. Hence, his equal sway over the ignorant and the cultivated. It was not the strangeness of the thing, that

amazed people ; nor yet his stamping, and sobbing, and tears, and shrieks, and thunders ; but the perfect skill with which he could bring these, and every other sign of emotion, to bear upon the heart and conscience of another man, let his powers or education or rank be what they might.

It is unnecessary to name the many topics connected with the life of Whitefield, which, as not entering into the limited notice we proposed to take of him, have been entirely passed over. As the view we have given of him may not have placed his defects and errors in a sufficiently clear light for a full understanding of his character, we will dwell upon them for a moment in closing.

Near the beginning of this article we observed, that his errors were useful. But, upon considering them in connexion with the peculiar temper of his mind, we are inclined to doubt the justness of the remark, except, possibly, in relation to the few cases, where we may be called upon to check the irregular sallies of young minds, similarly constituted to his, and in which extravagance in opinions, desires, and enterprises, has not yet become a habit and fixed disease. Without adopting the perilous notion, that the tendencies of genius, or of strong original temperament, cannot be safely interfered with, though the object only be to save one from painful deviations, and a mad expenditure of strength, we yet think, that men generally are not willing enough to let remarkable persons be useful instruments, without insisting that they should also be useful examples. We demand a perfection of character, because we behold a miracle of important action. A well-balanced mind, where there is a great deal to be balanced, is expected, instead of being wondered at.

If we judge Whitefield in this way, we apply an unreasonable test. He was in a fever from the time of his conversion. To restore him to health, as it is called, would have been next to making another man of him, and most probably at the sacrifice of his energy and ardor; for these evidently belonged to a confirmed proneness to run into excesses in every thing, and to make experiments in the dark, and at great hazard, from which a prudent and vigilant mind would have shrunk. Even his most deliberate actions, his care for his American school, and his constant study of oratory, are means or signs of a spirit strongly tinged with extravagance.

To propose such a man, then, as an example or warning,

generally, or to treat seriously the questions, whether he should have been suffered to go at large, and whether he would not have been happier if reduced by a physician to sound reason and lethargy, would show, that we did not enter fully and heartily into the case. Here is a man, exercising an extraordinary influence over numberless minds in all classes, for more than thirty years, and ceasing only with his life; and the fact, when we take all the circumstances into the account, is an exceedingly curious one. Let it then be considered by itself; and let his deficiences be examined, chiefly that we may the better understand his whole character and course.

He was in many respects a weak man. He wanted soundness of mind, and the disposition to think and compare before determining. He wanted that self-mastery, which puts it in a man's power to consider, at the outset, what faculties and what processes are needed and will profit him in a new enterprise, and which enables him to apply correctives in the midst of the severest and most ardent exercises of his mind, and to do this with instinctive readiness and fitness. With Whitefield, a sudden movement of his heart stood in the place of all reasonings or prudence, and was of higher authority. He took it for a sign from heaven; and a man who, in his sense of the words, "throws himself blindfold into the hands of God," is very little disposed to distrust the grounds of any determination, or the sources of any impression. Hence, perfect confidence in himself, and the power to gain the perfect confidence of all whose hearts he could reach; while the sober-minded would incline to look on him with pity or contempt, or, at best, with admiration of his eloquence as a remarkable specimen of art.

He had abundant talent and resource for every contingency which required feeling, or which he could bring within the sphere of feeling. And, strange as it may seem, the very eloquence which he so deliberately and diligently studied, and with so clear a sense of its importance as a means, was as heartfelt as his spontaneous raptures and agonies in his private hours. Everybody felt that it was so. The oratorical devices practised by him, time after time, before multitudes, were, at the moment of repetition, as sincere as a child's tears, and had the effect of sincerity. His power was always from passion. He had little or nothing of that dry sagacity and shrewd notice of others and of himself, which are not

unfrequently associated with the grossest fanaticism and self-delusion. He was under the control of impulse in all things; and, though we call him madman, or child, or seraph, we all have equally in view this single characteristic of the man.

We have instances of his weakness in his uniting spiritual pride with professions of humility, and in his violent transitions from religious rapture to the most abject self-condemnation. We see his weakness, in the importance he attached to impressions, impulses, dreams, coincidences, and the drawing of lots. One would think, that he was always on the look-out for something preternatural; or that his experience was so far above that of common mortals, that he lived in the midst of miracles, as his ordinary state. A wrong estimate of self leads naturally to a wrong judgment and treatment of others. He was sure, that he had the living witness of the Spirit to the truth of his favorite doctrines, and, as might be expected, he held the convictions of another who differed from him, as nought. He begs his old master, Wesley, not to be strenuous in opposing the doctrines of election and final perseverance, and adds, as an argument for the other's silence, "My doctrines I had from Christ and his apostles; I was taught them of God; and, as God was pleased to send me out first, and to enlighten me first, so I think he still continues to do it." We may imagine how the founder of Methodism would regard such language from his eager and confident disciple.

And yet the Wesleys themselves are chargeable with the weakness of holding those to be unconverted who do not think as they do. They wrote upon the tomb of their excellent mother, that she had "mourned a legal night of seventy years"; that is, she was not brought to a true sense of Christianity till that late period of a most exemplary religious life. Whitefield records his meeting with a clergyman nearly eighty years of age, who had lately preached three times in one day, and ridden forty miles; but, he adds, "He is not above *one* year old in the school of Christ. Dear Hervey laid the blessed foundation, whilst a curate here." Again, he comes to New England to convert the ministers, and to tell the students of our college, with no small grief, that their light was darkness, and this too from a young man and a foreigner to the descendants of the Pilgrims, a little more than a century from the landing of the Fathers. But he had re-

proved even Wesley, and separated from him, for what he deemed his errors in doctrine. He had said, that Archbishop Tillotson knew no more about religion than Mahomet. And could less exclusiveness have been expected from him towards the dignitaries of Yale and Harvard? His presumptuous appropriation of truth is seen in the declaration, that "if Jesus Christ be not very God of very God, I would never preach the Gospel of Christ again; for it would not be gospel. It would only be a system of ethics. Seneca, Cicero, or any of the Gentile philosophers, would be as good a Saviour as Jesus of Nazareth." "If Jesus Christ be no more than a mere man, if he be not truly God, he was the vilest sinner that ever appeared in the world; for he accepted of divine adoration from the man who had been born blind." * Whitefield could use this language, and yet rebuke Wesley for "pawning his salvation, in a late hymn-book, if the doctrine of universal redemption be not true." Thus it is with men of hot and inflated minds, who are possessed with an idea of their own light, which makes all dark beyond their limited vision.

We might in this way take separate instances of weakness and self-ignorance, till Whitefield should appear to many as little better than a hypocrite, or a driveller, or one drunk with self-conceit. And yet the chief impression received from his whole history is that of a warm-hearted, benevolent, devoted preacher and sufferer in behalf of what he believed essential to human salvation. His errors are from the same source with his virtues and his usefulness; and they furnish another proof, that a sound intellectual education from early years is needed by those whose religious tendencies are the strongest.

* We borrow these passages from what Hervey describes as "that sweet sermon which was a special means of bringing me to the knowledge of the truth." It is the twenty-fourth sermon in the collected Works, (1772.)

Art. IX. — *The Blue Laws of New Haven Colony, usually called Blue Laws of Connecticut; Quaker Laws of Plymouth and Massachusetts; Blue Laws of New York, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina; First Record of Connecticut; Interesting Extracts from Connecticut Records; Cases of Salem Witchcraft; Charges and Banishment of Rev. Roger Williams, &c., and other interesting and instructive Antiquities.* Compiled by an Antiquarian. 12mo. Hartford. 1838.

This volume, as appears from its title, is very miscellaneous; yet the most prominent part of it is a collection of the early laws, some real and some fictitious, of the English colonies in America. The laws here brought together are denominated "blue"; but no satisfactory reason is given for this general appellation. The compiler seems to have been aware, that some explanation of the title of his book would be expected by his readers; and, accordingly, he has stated in his preface, that "it has been generally supposed, that the laws enacted by the New Haven colony previous to the code by Governor Eaton, in 1655, formed the code of *Blue Laws*, so highly celebrated in this country." Of the truth, however, of this supposition he has produced no evidence; except that Peters is referred to, as saying, respecting this same colony, "that many of what have been termed 'Blue Laws' were not suffered to be recorded, but were to be made so familiar with the people, that recording them would be unnecessary; until the laws of that colony were systematized by Governor Eaton, and printed in 1656, at which time many of the laws previous to 1656 were expunged." Where Peters says all this, we are not told. This writer, indeed, asserts, in his "History of Connecticut," that the blue laws of New Haven "were never suffered to be *printed*," but he nowhere, in that work, denies that they were all *recorded;* nor does he say, that these laws were to be made "familiar with the people"; language which, we fully believe, Dr. Peters never employed. And as to the "expunging" of laws, which were never "recorded," though we think very unfavorably of Dr. Peters in many respects, we shall consider this absurdity as unjustly charged upon him, till the passage of his History, which contains it, is produced. Governor

Eaton's code is nowhere even alluded to by Peters; nor does this historian appear to have known, that such a collection of laws ever existed.

We cannot but express here some surprise, that a professed "antiquarian" should have investigated this subject so imperfectly. If it was worth his while to say any thing about the early laws of New Haven, it was certainly incumbent on him to exhibit the facts of the case. We are assured, on what we consider good authority, that the records of that colony are full and entire; and that there is no reason to believe, that any thing important, either legislative or judicial, to the time of Governor Eaton's code, was transacted there, which was not distinctly recorded, and which is not now open to the inspection of any one, who wishes to ascertain what was really done in that jurisdiction. An investigator of antiquities, if his object was the truth, should have gone to the highest source of evidence, rather than have published a story so incredible on the face of it, as that the New Haven legislature enacted laws, which were never put on record, referring it to an author notoriously of no credit, and who in fact has said no such thing as is here ascribed to him.

On the same page, we find another story of a similar character. This "antiquarian" here affirms, that the term "blue," as applied to the New Haven code, is said to have originated from the fact, that the first printed laws in the New Haven colony were enveloped in blue-colored paper. But in this case, as in the former, we in vain look for even the semblance of proof, that what "is said" has any foundation in truth. If there is, in fact, such a tradition, and it deserves notice, why are we not told where it exists, and what is its character, that all may judge of its claims to be considered authentic? Within a few sentences of the passage just quoted, we find it asserted of Governor Eaton's code, that, "strange as the fact may appear, but two volumes of the five hundred printed in 1636, are to be found in this country." We are not disposed to interpret this language too strictly. If all the unrecorded laws, which this "antiquarian" supposes Governor Eaton to have "expunged," had been in fact printed, no one would ever dream of their being so voluminous as is here represented. What is meant undoubtedly is, that, of the original edition of five hundred copies of the New Haven code, but two are known to the writer to exist in this country. Taking this then to be matter of fact, that two

copies remain, why are we not informed whether these are still in "blue covers," or whether any thing in their appearance indicates, that they were ever arrayed in such a dress?

If we supposed it of the least importance, we could report a tradition, entitled to some credit, that one copy at least of these laws was formerly so "enveloped." But admitting, either that what "has been generally supposed," or what "is said," rests on a proper foundation, what reason hence arises for applying the epithet "blue" to the laws of New York, of Virginia, and of the other colonies mentioned in the title of this volume? Is it to be understood, that these laws were likewise unrecorded? or, if recorded and printed, were they also bound in "blue-colored paper"? If this "antiquarian" has made any discoveries here, he should have announced them. As the case stands, he has wholly failed to explain the principle, on which his collection has been made.

But we see no mystery in this matter. The epithet "blue" was, certainly, used in England after the Restoration, as a term of ridicule and reproach. It is so used in Butler's "Hudibras."

> "Can fetch in parties (as, in war,
> All others heads of cattle are);
> From th' enemy of all religions,
> As well as high and low conditions,
> And share them, from blue ribands, down
> To all *blue aprons* in the town."—
>
> *Part III. Canto II.* l. 870.

In Grey's edition of this poem, the words "blue aprons" are explained, as alluding to the preachers in blue aprons, in those times; persons being then admitted to preach, who wore blue aprons in their trades. Grey refers to a passage from the *Mercurius Rusticus*, which speaks of a "blue apron committee" at Reading. This was a committee acting under the Parliament; from which it would appear, that "blue apron" was a term of reproach applied to the Parliamentary party, as consisting of men in humble situations of life. In support of his illustration of the phrase, the commentator, among other quotations, has the following;

> "And first, to tell you must not be forgot
> . . . . . How I did trot,

With a great zealot to a lecture,
Where I a tub did view
Hung with an *apron blue*,
'T was the preacher's, I conjecture ;
His use and doctrine too
Was of no better hue,
Though he spake in a tone most mickle."

*Loyal Songs.*

This species of ridicule was of course introduced into New England by those who wished to bring the institutions of the early Puritan colonists into disrepute and contempt. The epithet "blue" probably was applied here more extensively than in the parent country ; and was employed particularly to characterize the laws as over-strict, and withal somewhat whimsical. This is the sense, in which our "antiquarian" uses the word ; though he seems not to have been aware of the import of his own language, or, at least, has neglected to explain it. In applying the word "blue" to laws beyond the limits of New England, the author might plead analogy in justification.

The execution of the editorial part of this volume is most deplorable. Mistakes and blunders meet the reader at every turn. We will notice two as specimens. The first of them occurs where the "antiquarian" is treating of the affairs of his own State, in which he ought to be, if anywhere, well informed. He gives, page 119, "an extract from a Journal of a Dutch traveller up the Connecticut River, in 1638, to Hartford ;" the Dutchman, however, seems, from the Journal itself, to have been in Hartford, in 1640. On his way, he arrived "on [at] Rhodabergh, a fine haven, and found that the English were building a fine town, having already erected upwards of 300 houses, and [a] fine church." This Rhodabergh could have been no other than New Haven. Three hundred houses would allow it at least two, for every man, woman, and child, at that time, in the colony. There could not have been half this number of houses in New Haven, a century after this Dutchman's visit. This extract must have suffered greatly in the hands of the editor. The other passage is on page 64, in the account of the charges against Roger Williams at Salem. One allegation was, that he held the dangerous opinion, "that the magistrate ought *not to punish the breach of the first table*, otherwise than in such case as

did disturb the civil peace." To aid his readers in understanding what is meant by the *first table*, the editor has subjoined a note, "First commandment, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart." Things must have got to a strange pass in Connecticut. This "antiquarian" ought immediately to take some lessons in the New England Primer.

It would be easy to show, that a large portion of this volume is prepared in such a manner, as to make a very incorrect impression on the minds of those, who are not well informed in the history of the country. Some of the colonial laws, as well as the proceedings under them, were without doubt highly objectionable. Others, compared with our present standard of judging, are of a questionable character; but were, in truth, a great improvement in the legislation and general policy of the age. Much the larger part of these laws might be shown to be highly creditable to the early colonists. But we do not suppose, that the public generally need, at present, any discussion of this subject. The great object of the compiler was, obviously, to make a book which would sell among a class of readers, with whom matter of fact is of secondary importance.

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ART. X. — *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature.* Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY. *Volume III., containing Select Minor Poems, from the German of Goethe and Schiller, with Notes;* by JOHN S. DWIGHT. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 439.

WE approach the present volume in the blandest of critical moods, with the maximum of honey and the minimum of gall, which can possibly enter into the composition of a reviewer; not only on account of the good wishes which we entertain towards the project which Mr. Ripley has undertaken, but also on account of the difficulties which the translator has overcome in the prosecution of his task; we should rather have said, translators, as Mr. Dwight has received considerable assistance from his literary friends. We hold it to be a very difficult thing to translate well, especially

poetry ; requiring, if not high, yet rare powers, almost as rare as original genius ; and, consequently, we look upon a successful translator with great respect, and feel tolerant towards one of no more than moderate merit. We have some mercy even for Hoole.

The peculiarities of the German mind and of the German language throw especial obstacles in the way of him who essays to clothe their productions in an English dress ; and, of all the authors in that prolific literature, Goethe, considered as a lyrical poet, is undoubtedly the most difficult to translate in a satisfactory manner. The charm of Goethe's lyrical fragments consists in their exquisite finish, and in that airy grace of style and delicacy of execution, which a translator can no more transfer to his version than a maker of artificial flowers can give us an exact resemblance of the dazzling white of the japonica, or reproduce the pendulous beauty of the lily of the valley. It is with many of these poems as with no inconsiderable portion of the Greek epigrams ; — the thought or substance is something obvious, even commonplace ; the magic is in the words. The execution of a master hand has exalted what was low, and idealized what was common, as we sometimes see a plumstone so elaborately carved as to become the gem of a virtuoso's collection. We may translate and paraphrase as carefully as we will ; but all in vain ; the charm has vanished ; it is "Open, Barley," not "Open, Sesame."

Judging the work before us by this standard, and with a proper allowance for the difficulties of the task, we may, with a good conscience, congratulate Mr. Dwight on his general success. Many of the translations are extremely well done ; and we have no doubt (judging from the very few specimens with which we happen to be acquainted in the original), that they are correct and faithful versions. Indeed, we apprehend, that the translators have made this a prominent object of solicitude, and that the many rough and bald lines which are to be met with, have their origin in a reluctance to sacrifice any portion of the meaning of the original to a mere gratification of the ear. One of the best pieces, if not the very best, is the translation by Mr. Dwight of Schiller's "Song of the Bell." The following passage gives the translator himself a title to the name of poet.

"Clear and full, with a festal sound
It hails the lovely infant child,
First entering on his earthly round,
Borne in the arms of slumber mild.
His future lots, or dark or clear,
In time's deep lap await him yet;
He wakes beneath a mother's care,
And golden morns his glad eyes greet. —
The arrowy years have sped away!
From trifling maid, from childish play,
Th' impatient boy, with ardor burning,
Storms into life, unchecked, to roam
The wide world round; and now returning
He hails his dear paternal home,
A stranger 'mid old scenes, — when, lo!
In ripened youth's full, mellow glow,
Beaming with beauty's every charm,
Majestic as some heaven-lit form,
With downcast eye, and cheek o'erspread
With deepening blushes rosy-red,
The maid before his sight appears, —
The child he left in lighter years!
Then creeps a nameless, longing feeling
O'er his whole soul; he seeks the shade,
The solitude of wood and glade;
And ever and anon come stealing
Stray tears adown his cheeks; no more
He seeks the sports he loved before,
But, in abstracted mood, would flee
His brothers' gladsome company." — p. 313.

The "Magician's Apprentice," from Goethe, is also translated by Mr. Dwight, very successfully; likewise, "The Cranes of Ibycus" from Schiller, by the Reverend C. T. Brooks; and many others might be mentioned with commendation.

The volume is composed entirely of the productions of Goethe and Schiller, the former contributing about two hundred, and the latter about one hundred and fifty pages; and among these, no candid person can deny, that there is a great deal of admirable poetry, imbued with the distinguishing characteristics of these eminent men, and addressing itself to the universal sympathies of mankind. Many of the poems, however, are so deeply tinged with the peculiarities of the Ger-

man mind, that their admirers must, among any other people, it seems to us, be confined to a select few. As an instance, we copy the following from Goethe.

"ONE AND ALL.

"How yearns the solitary soul
To melt into the boundless whole,
And find itself again in peace!
The blind desire, the impatient will,
The restless thoughts and plans are still;
We yield ourselves, — and wake in bliss.

"World-Spirit, come, our spirits firing!
For evermore to thee aspiring,
We but obey our nature's call.
Good angels feelingly persuade us,
And heaven-taught masters gently lead us
To Him who made and maketh all.

"To re-create the old creation,
All things work on in fast rotation,
Lest aught grow fixed, and change resist;
And what was not shall spring to birth,
As purest sun, or painted earth.
God's universe may know no rest.

"It must go on, creating, changing,
Through endless shapes for ever ranging;
And rest we only *seem* to see.
Th' Eternal lives through all revolving;
For all must ever keep dissolving,
Would it continue still to be."— pp. 151, 152.

The following passage, from "The Artists," by Schiller, seems to our apprehension vague, shadowy, and indistinct; the meaning so buried under a cloud of words, that the mind shrinks from the labor necessary to get at it.

"And now, in all that round him lives,
To him a fair proportion speaks;
Beauty her girdle of all colors weaves
Into whatever path he seeks;
And, with your glorious works before him,
Perfection's self, blest fancy, hovers o'er him.

Where frank-voiced Joy darts off to recreation,
Where silent Sorrow shrinks away from light,
Where lingers thoughtfully pale Contemplation,
Where weeping Misery meets his sight,
Where thousand terrors crowd around his way, —
Follows a stream of harmony divine ;
He sees the Goddesses, — the Graces, — play,
And strives his inmost feelings to refine,
That he that lovely company may join.
Soft as the lines to beauteous curves still tending,
Soft as appearances, which never stay,
In yielding outlines, undulating, blending, —
So flows his life's light breath away.
His soul dissolves in a harmonious ocean,
Which round his sense its gladdening billows flings ;
And every thought, in hushed, entranced devotion,
To all-pervading Cytherea clings.
At one, in highest sense, with Destiny,
He on the Graces' quiet strength reposes,
And to the arrow his full breast exposes
From the mild bow of great Necessity." — pp. 216, 217.

Mr. Dwight remarks, in one of his notes, that Goethe's "love-songs, by their tenderness, whether gay or sad, and their sincere depth, which seems unwillingly betrayed, win us to their mood, like those of Burns." We cannot but think, that the translator's partiality has here seduced his judgment ; the specimens which are presented to us in this volume certainly do not warrant such an encomium. The following is one of them.

"MAY SONG.

"'Twixt the barley and corn,
'Twixt the hedge and hawthorn,
'Twixt the grove and grass-plat,
Where goes Sweetheart ?
Tell me that !

"'Found my Dearie
Not at home ;
Sure, the Faerie
'S gone to roam ;
Greener daily

Grows the May ;
Love, she gayly
Trips away.

" On the rocks by the brook,
Where she gave me that look,
In the grass, all to me,
Something I see !
Is it she ? " — p. 23.

Were not the majestic name of Goethe appended to this, we cannot think it would have been esteemed worth the trouble of translating.

Some of the translations in this volume are nearly literal. They are in a rhythmical form merely, but not rhymed ; and, as a proof of what we have before said, of the difficulty of translating Goethe, an entire stranger to his works would often be more impressed with his powers, through these literal versions, than by the more elaborate paraphrases. We have, for instance, the tranquil beauty and serene repose of that charming Idyll, " The Wanderer," very successfully preserved in its English dress.

In one or two instances, we have the literal translation and the free version ; and the advantage is, in every case, with the former. The following is a literal transcript of a poem, familiar to readers of German, entitled, " The God-like."

" Noble be Man,
Helpful and good !
For that alone
Doth distinguish him
From all the beings
Which we know.

" Hail to the Unknown, the
Higher Beings
Felt within us !
His pattern teach us
Faith in them !

" For unfeeling
Is Nature ;
Still shineth the sun
Over good and evil ;

And to the sinner
Smile, as to the best,
The moon and the stars.

" Wind and waters,
Thunder and hail-stones,
Rustle on their way,
Smiting down, as
They dash along,
One for another.

" Just so does Fate
Grope round in the crowd,
Seize now the innocent,
Curly-haired boy,
Now on the old, bald
Crown of the villain.

" By great, adamantine
Laws everlasting,
Here we must all our
Round of existence
Faithfully finish.

" There can none but Man
Perform the Impossible.
He understandeth,
Chooseth, and judgeth ;
He can impart to the
Moment duration.

" He alone may
The Good reward,
The Guilty punish,
Mend and deliver ;
All the wayward, anomalous
Bind in the Useful.

" And the Immortals, —
Them we reverence,
As if they were men, and
Did, on a grand scale,
What the best man in little
Does, or fain would do.

"Let noble Man
Be helpful and good!
Ever creating
The Right and the Useful, —
Type of those loftier
Beings of whom the heart whispers!"
— pp. 113 – 115.

Immediately following is a free version by Mr. Bancroft, which, though tasteful and smooth, fails to preserve the terseness and vigor of the original.

"THE SAME.

"[A FREE VERSION.]

"LET Man, for highest ends designed,
Be just in action, generous, kind.
He differs, by his heavenly birth,
From all the tribes that roam the earth.

"Hail to the Spirits! — the Unknown,
Sublime, revealed by Faith alone!
Man, from his own example, learns
To trust in what no eye discerns.

"Unfeeling Nature, ruthless, cold,
Moves in her orbit, as of old;
On just and unjust shines the sun;
And bright to all, who boldly run
Through crimes, and them who have no stain,
Glimmer the moon and all her train.

"Thunder and hail, the stream, the breeze,
Rush onward in their course, and seize,
Resistless, as they haste along,
One and another, — weak and strong.

"And Fortune blindly gropes her way
Amid the crowd, nor fears to lay
Her hand upon the guileless boy
With curling locks, (or to destroy
Or bless, she recks not;) and e'en now
She smites the aged sinner's brow.

"That mighty law, whose iron sway
Is boundless, endless, we obey;

And, following nature's changeless will,
Existence' high designs fulfil.

" And Man can do, — and Man alone,
What seems impossible, hath done ;
Continuance can to moments lend,
Compare and choose the nobler end.

" 'Tis he that gives the wise their meed ;
He may avenge the evil deed,
Heal, save, and to good ends unite
The wayward force that strays from right.

" And we revere the immortal powers,
As if their spirits were like ours ;
And they but widely do what here
The best have done, in narrower sphere.

" Let Man be generous, just, and kind ;
Unwearied do, with willing mind,
Whate'er is useful, pure, and right.
Thus will he live an image bright
Of beings whom our hearts, e'en here,
Forebode, commune with, and revere."

— pp. 116, 117.

Many of the "Epigrams" of both Goethe and Schiller are striking, and are generally well translated. The following, from Goethe, has vigor of expression and condensation of thought.

" *Goods* gone, — something gone !
Must bend to the oar,
And earn thee some more.
*Honor* gone, — much gone !
Must go and gain glory ;
Then the idling gossips will alter their story.
*Courage* gone, — all 's gone !
Better never have been born ! " — p. 187.

These, from Schiller too, are excellent.

" THEOPHANIA.

" Show me the fortunate man, and the Gods I forget in a moment ;
But before me they stand, when I the sufferer see." — p. 343.

"WORTH AND WORTHINESS.

"*Hast* thou something? Impart; I'll willingly pay thee what 's proper.
*Art* thou something? O, then souls I with thee would exchange." — p. 344.

"FRIEND AND FOE.

"DEAR to me is a friend; but a foe, too, often is useful:
Shows me the friend, what I *can*; shows me the foe, what I *should*." — p. 349.

"FORUM OF WOMAN.

"WOMAN, presume not to judge a man's particular actions!
Judge thou only *the man*, — there shall thy sentence avail," — p. 351.

The volume closes with some seventy or eighty pages of notes, original and translated, illustrative of the text. Mr. Dwight is apparently a good German scholar, and he writes like a man of generous impulses and warm poetical sensibility. The sincerity and strength of his own convictions makes him decided and earnest in the expression of them. His admiration of Goethe seems unbounded; we should have said extravagant, were it not that our own half-knowledge of that famous man, makes us diffident about applying that epithet to the views of one who has studied him thoroughly.

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ART. XI. — *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, by ALPHONSO WETMORE. St. Louis. 8vo. 1837.

FEW of our readers, we suppose, are prepared to be told, that Missouri is not only the largest State in the Union, but that it is unsurpassed and perhaps unequalled by any other in natural resources. Yet such is the fact; taking into view its advantages of climate, soil, rivers, variety of agricultural productions, and mineral wealth, we do not know of any State which is entitled to take precedence of this.

The history of Missouri, as a home of civilized man, begins with the cession by France to England, of her posses-

sions east of the Mississippi, at the peace of 1763. The French then, relinquishing their possessions on the east of the river, began to make progress in colonizing its western banks. The first town founded in Missouri was St. Geneviève, which was laid out by a party of French from Kaskaskia, in Illinois, in the course of the year of the cession to Great Britain. Other settlements, west of the Mississippi, were about the same time formed. In the year 1764, the city of St. Louis was founded, by M. Laclède, a partner in a company which was extensively engaged in the fur trade, a business at that time already very lucrative. It was selected as the *dépôt* for Upper Louisiana, in which term was included all the State of Missouri and the territory west and northwest of the same. In this wide tract of country, a monopoly of the trade with the Indian tribes had been granted, by M. d'Abaddie, Director-General of Louisiana, to the company just alluded to. It was wealthy, and clothed with very valuable privileges, so that the settlement at St. Louis almost immediately assumed considerable importance. The selection of a place, moreover, was so judicious, that, independently of any other circumstances, it could not fail to attract early attention, being so evidently destined to become, what we now live to see it, the metropolis of a wide-spread and fertile region. It is one of those points which seem formed by nature for the sites of large cities, uniting all the advantages that are essential, on the one hand, for the comfort and health of their immediate inhabitants, and, on the other, for the convenient exportation of the produce of the country, and the importation of whatever is needed for the supply of its wants. Nothing can permanently keep back a place possessing such advantages. Thirty years ago, the towns of St. Charles, St. Geneviève, and Cape Girardeau, were competitors of St. Louis in point of population and wealth. The difference of natural advantages has already made a marked distinction among them; and it is safe to foretell, that in St. Louis will prove to have been laid the foundations of one of the largest cities of the West, perhaps of the largest inland city of the United States. It has only just begun to attract the attention which it deserves. In four years, reckoned from the winter of 1833–4, its population and business doubled; and it is reasonable to expect that, ten years hence, it will contain fifty thousand inhabitants.

The fur trade, and the exportation of lead, constituted the chief business of the early settlers of Upper Louisiana, as indeed they made the occupation of the majority of its inhabitants down to the period of its coming into the possession of the United States. Of the emigrants into this region, in the years immediately succeeding its first occupation by the French, some began to form new settlements, as Vuide Poche, afterwards called Carondolet, Florisant, and Les Petites Côtes, now St. Charles; others joined the infant settlement at St. Louis, which, soon coming to be considered the capital of Upper Louisiana, became the residence of the French and afterwards of the Spanish governors.

But the hope of living under their own laws and rulers, which had brought the settlers together, was speedily disappointed. The weakness of France had already compelled her to relinquish her last hold upon America. By a treaty, which was made with Spain in 1762, but was not fully carried into execution until 1769, she had ceded to that power all her territories west of the Mississippi, together with the island and city of New Orleans.

"The fate of the Louisianians," says Stoddard, "was made known to them by a letter signed by the French king, dated April 21st, 1764, addressed to M. d'Abbadie, whom he calls Director-General and Commandant of Louisiana, informing him of the treaty of cession, and directing him to give up, to the officers of Spain, the country and colony of Louisiana, together with the city of New Orleans and the military posts. He expressed a desire for the prosperity and peace of the inhabitants of the colony, and his confidence in the friendship and affection of the king of Spain. He, at the same time, declared his expectation, that the ecclesiastics and religious houses, which had the care of the parishes and missions, would continue to exercise their functions; that the superior council and ordinary judges would continue to administer justice according to the laws, forms, and usages of the colony; that the inhabitants would be preserved and maintained in their estates, which had been granted to them by the governor and director of the colony; and that, finally, all these grants, though not confirmed by the French authorities, would be confirmed by his Catholic Majesty. The treaty of cession, dated the 3d of November, 1762, was never published, and the terms of it remain a secret to this day; but there is good reason to believe that the sentiments, expressed by the French king, corresponded with the stipulations it contained."—*Sketches of Louisiana.* pp. 71, 72.

Four years elapsed before any attempts were made on the part of Spain to take possession of her newly-acquired territory. Even then the attempt was unsuccessful. The Spanish governor, who arrived in 1766, with a military force, found it prudent to abandon his design and return to Havana, so great was the excitement among the colonists, because the transfer had been made without their consent.

"Things remained in this situation," says Stoddard, "till the 17th of August, 1769, when O'Reilly arrived, and took peaceable possession of the colony. He immediately selected twelve of the most distinguished leaders of the opposition, as the victims of resentment. Six of them were devoted to the halter, to gratify the malice of arbitrary power, and to strike terror into the other malecontents. The other six, deemed less guilty, and surely they were much less fortunate, were doomed to the dungeons of Cuba. This scene of blood and outrage made a deep impression of horror on the minds of the people, and will never be forgotten. In 1770, the Spanish authorities were established in Upper Louisiana.

"O'Reilly was the first governor and intendant general, who exercised the Spanish power in Louisiana. As governor-general he was vested with the supreme power of the province, both civil and military; and, as intendant-general he granted lands, prescribed the conditions, and confirmed the concessions made by his subordinates; superintended the fiscal department, and the affairs of the Indians." — *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73.

On the 26th of November, 1769, he issued a proclamation changing the form of government in Louisiana, abolishing the authority of the French laws, and substituting those of Spain in their stead. From the time of its promulgation, the French laws ceased to have any authority, and all controversies were tried and decided conformably to the Spanish laws. To the credit of Spain, however, it should be recorded, that her governors conducted themselves with almost uniform moderation and impartiality towards the French inhabitants. This is abundantly proved by the fact, that the spirit of society in Louisiana does not seem to have been materially changed by the transfer to Spanish authority. New laws were of course introduced; but, except at the very first, no opposition was made to their administration, and no outbreaks of public feeling took place. The manners and cus-

toms of the people continued French ; and, at the present day, we can hardly find any trace of the Spanish dynasty. It is, moreover, a remarkable fact, that when Louisiana again came under French dominion, in the year 1800, the French inhabitants were dissatisfied with the change.

In 1670, the Spanish governor, M. Rious, began to exercise authority in Upper Louisiana. The house in which he resided yet stands, in St. Louis. It is built in an old-fashioned, substantial manner, with a portico all around, and will probably long remain, a memorial of the past.

From this date, to the year 1800, the colonies in Upper Louisiana experienced scarcely any thing of great interest. The most remarkable events were, an attack by the British and Indians upon St. Louis, in 1778 ; an unparalleled rise of the Mississippi, in 1785 ; and the arrival, at St. Louis, of ten keel-boats, in 1788 ; each of which events gave a name to the year in which it occurred. The attack referred to was instigated by the Canadian English, by way of retaliation against Spain, for the part which she took in the American Revolution. The assailing force consisted of about fifteen hundred men, of whom the greater part were Indians. The whole Spanish settlements were in great danger, but the inhabitants of St. Louis behaved in a most spirited manner. When the attack was first threatened, they fortified the city with a breastwork, formed of the trunks of trees, placed upright upon the ground, with their interstices filled with earth. It formed a semicircle, extending to the bank of the river at both extremities, and terminating at each in a small fort. Three gates, each defended by heavy cannon, afforded a communication with the country. The remnants of these defences yet exist, and are pointed out by the old inhabitants. The attack itself differed in nothing from the usual mode of Indian warfare. It was entirely unsuccessful, and was followed by no important result.

In the year 1800, all the territory west of the Mississippi was ceded back again by Spain, to France. But during the three years of the continuance of French authority, nothing important occurred. No alteration was made in the jurisprudence of either Upper or Lower Louisiana, and the Spanish laws remained in full force, as the laws of the whole province ; a fact which is very important to those who would un-

derstand the legal history, and some of the present laws, of Missouri.*

By the treaty of April 30th, 1803, Louisiana was purchased by the United States from the French crown; and, six months after, the President was authorized to take formal possession. W. C. C. Claiborne was appointed Governor and Intendant-General of Louisiana, and Amos Stoddard was commissioned to exercise the powers and prerogatives of the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor of that province. The province of Louisiana was subsequently divided into two parts, the territory of Orleans and the district of Louisiana; the latter comprehended the present State of Missouri, and, as a matter of convenience, was placed under the jurisdiction of the governor of Indiana, in whom all necessary powers had been vested. The governor at that time was General William H. Harrison, and by him the government was organized and put in motion, in a manner most creditable to him and satisfactory to Congress. In 1805, the district was organized as a Territory, the legislative power being vested in a governor and three judges. In 1812, an act of Congress gave it its present name, and transferred the legislative function to a General Assembly. In 1820, a State government was formed, a constitution being established on the 19th day of July, of that year. An Act of Congress, passed after a well-known protracted debate, gave Missouri admission to the Union on the 2nd day of March, 1821. From the period of the transfer of Louisiana to the jurisdiction of the United States, the country, which heretofore had been slowly settled, and by people of little enterprise, had begun to be very rapidly filled up. A new population then came in, and a new aspect was given to every thing. The laws began to be more fixed and better understood, and their administration to be more impartial. The settlements, after the lapse of a few years, became more

* "It is believed by many, that the whole body of the Spanish law was repealed and abolished by an act of the General Assembly, on the 14th of January, 1816, which adopts the common law and British statutes as the law of the territory. But the words of that act are, 'which common law and statutes are not contrary to the laws of this territory.' The 'laws of this territory' embrace the Spanish laws, 'not inconsistent with the acts of Congress in relation thereto,' altered, modified, and repealed as they had been by preceding legislatures. If, then, the Spanish laws were, previous to this act, a part of the law of the territory, it follows, that the common law and British statutes control only those cases, where the Spanish law, restricted and modified, and the acts of the legislature, had been silent." — *MS. Memoir by a Citizen of St. Louis.*

secure from Indian depredations, and every thing began to bear the marks of American enterprise. The original French inhabitants were, indeed, not much, if at all, benefited by these changes. Some of them were made, suddenly, very rich; but the quiet and peaceful lives of the majority were sadly disturbed. In general, they could not sympathize with the schemes, nor compete with the enterprise, of the new comers, and were, therefore, soon thrown into a painful obscurity. For a long time after the introduction of American authorities, they mourned bitterly over the innovations, which, however useful, their unambitious minds could not regard as improvements. What was their loss, however, was the country's gain. Notwithstanding several severe checks to immigration, the population rapidly increased. The late war, for a time, effectually repressed the progress of the country, and many settlements, as those of Boon's Lick and Salt River, were entirely broken up. But peace was no sooner declared, than crowds of emigrants, chiefly from Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas, began to cross the Mississippi; and, in the year 1817, the population of Missouri was supposed to be not less than sixty thousand.

It was not the French alone, who had cause to lament the occupation of Missouri by the Americans. To the Indians it brought the most unhappy consequences. That ill-fated people quickly perceived the change in the policy towards them, introduced by the new government. So long as they had none but the French to deal with, they were generally pacific. They had few causes of complaint, and no wrongs to avenge, and they very seldom raised the tomahawk against their white neighbours. With the exception of a few instances of inroad for the sake of plunder, the settlements remained undisturbed. The French, it is well known, have always pursued an indulgent policy towards the Indians. But, no sooner do the English or Americans come near them, than war and massacres begin. So it was in Missouri. The Americans had scarcely taken possession of that country, before causes of contention were found; the fierce passions of the Indians were aroused, and but little pains taken to appease them; the border warfare began, with all its horrors; and, when the war with England commenced, many of the tribes were ready to give her that assistance, which she has never been backward to ask, or scrupulous to use. The years

from 1811 to 1814, inclusive, witnessed many bloody contests, in different parts of the State. The enterprise of Tecumseh, to excite a general Indian war, was attended with partial success; but some of the principal tribes held back, and the determined measures of the government soon quelled the disturbances. Forts were built at several important points on the Missouri and Mississippi; and, after the year 1814 no further contests ensued, except such as were immediately, and without much bloodshed, decided. The Indians, since that time, have been gradually, but rapidly, receding before the whites. Great numbers of them are yet left in the western parts of the State, and the territory immediately adjacent, from whom trouble is, perhaps not unreasonably, anticipated; but the day of their strength and prosperity is gone, and the next generation will probably witness their almost utter extinction.

Between the years 1817 and 1824, in consequence of the commercial embarrassments, and the sudden check given to the fever of speculation, in the Western States, Missouri made comparatively little progress. But, since then, she has increased very rapidly, both in population and riches. The country is settled by a substantial class of people, chiefly farmers, from the more northern of the slave-holding States. Until recently, they have not exhibited the same degree of public spirit and enterprise, that is found in some others of the Western States; but they have now awakened to the necessity of internal improvements, and several important works are projected or advancing. Education, for which ample provision has been made by law, is also beginning to receive the attention which it deserves.

The natural resources of this State are unusually varied and great. Its most remarkable feature is its mineralogical wealth. Almost every county in the State contains mines of some kind or other, many of which are unparalleled in richness. In a single county (Washington) are found iron, lead, copper, copperas, chalk, black-lead, brimstone, coal, freestone, limestone, millstones, resembling the French buhr, and some indications of silver and gold; most of them in very large quantities. *The nitrate of potash*, or saltpetre, occurs in several caverns on the Merrimac and Current Rivers, in great abundance; also upon the Gasconade, a hundred miles west of St. Louis. *Salt springs* are

found in almost every part of the State. *Compact limestone* is very abundant. It constitutes the basis rock at St. Louis, where it answers a valuable purpose as a building material. It is of a grayish blue color, and contains many fossil remains. *Chalk* has been discovered on the banks of the Mississippi, but in what quantities we do not know. *Sulphate of lime*, or gypsum, exists in great abundance. It is found on the Kansas River, the cliffs of which often consist of solid strata of this mineral; also in Jackson County, and elsewhere. *Alum* (sulphate of alumine and potash) is found, effloresced, in a cave in Bellevue, Washington County. *Buhr stone*, said to be equal to the French, is in great abundance on the Osage and Gasconade Rivers. *Potters' clay* has been discovered, of the best quality, on the right bank of the Mississippi, about forty miles above the junction of the Ohio, and extending for thirty-four miles up the river. The stratum varies in thickness from one to ten feet, rests on sandstone, and is covered by shell limestone, containing well characterized nodules and veins of flint. It is also found, ten feet below the surface, at Gray's Mine, Jefferson County, where it is snow-white, unctuous, becomes plastic by mixture with water, and is infusible at a very high heat. *Red chalk* is found in Washington County. Several springs in the vicinity of Herculaneum, and one near St. Louis, are highly impregnated with *sulphur*, which is deposited on the stones, over which the water runs, in a yellow crust. *Coal*, of a good quality, is found in St. Louis, Howard, Cooper, Boon, Monroe, Saline, Lafayette, Gasconade, and almost all the counties of the State. *Sulphuret of zinc* is found, associated wirh sulphuret of lead, at the mines in Washington, Jefferson, and St. François Counties. *Oxyde of manganese* and *sulphuret of antimony* have both been discovered in Washington County and on the Merrimac.

But the great mineral wealth of Missouri is in its mines of copper, lead, and iron. We are not informed of any copper mines in the State, which are in actual operation; but the existence of the mineral, in great quantities, has been ascertained beyond question. We have seen several beautiful specimens, brought from different parts of the State, one of which, found in Washington County, almost upon the surface of the ground, was the richest that we have

ever seen. The lead mines of the State are better known. They are found, to the greatest extent, in the counties of Washington, St. Geneviève, St. François, Madison, and Jefferson, and also on the Osage River. Some of them have been worked for seventy years. Those in Washington County are thus described by the "Missouri Gazetteer."

"Potosi is situate about the centre of the mineral region; and there are upwards of seventy-five lead mines now open and actually occupied within sixteen miles of the town, at which are engaged about five hundred hands in mining, though a great number have gone from this county to Fever River, Merrimac, and other mines, within the last two years. It is impossible to enumerate all the mines in Washington, for the whole county is, as it were, one vast mine. The mineral obtained here by the first process of smelting produces from sixty-five to seventy per cent., and by the second process about fifteen, making, in all, about eighty-five per cent. of clear, good lead. These five hundred hands raise about five million pounds of lead annually, which, at twenty-five or thirty dollars per thousand pounds, is worth about 150,000 dollars, making about 300 dollars to the hand."

These are probably the richest beds of ore in the State, but new discoveries of them, or of indications of their presence, are every year made, in different places, and probably not one half of them are yet known.

The *iron* mines are, however, the most remarkable. Some of these are so rich and so unprecedented in their character, that the descriptions of them are almost incredible, and seem like fabulous stories. Washington, St. François, and Madison Counties, which are adjacent to each other, contain enough iron to supply the world, for ages to come.

"The Iron Mountain, as it is commonly called, in the south-east corner of Washington County, is one of the most remarkable curiosities in the world. It is about one mile broad at the base, three hundred and fifty or four hundred feet high, and three miles long, literally covered with a bright, shining ore, having every appearance of metal which has been smelted. At the base of the mountain, the ore is in pieces of a pound weight or more, and, as you approach the apex of the hill, the pieces increase in size, to thousands of tons weight, until they assume the appearance of huge rocks, presenting to the astonished beholder a spectacle which cannot be described; and those large masses are of a quality surpassing any

thing of the kind heretofore known to the world. Six miles south, in Madison County, is another mountain, larger than the one above, known in this county by the name of the 'Pilot Knob.' It is entirely covered with iron ore, in huge masses, larger and more abundant than the former."

Besides these iron mountains, all the hills of that district contain great quantities of ore. That whole tract of country is a vast bed of iron. The ore is, besides, remarkably pure. That from the "mountains" does not need to undergo any intermediate process, but may be wrought without being smelted into pigs. A pen-knife was recently made from the ore, with an exquisite polish and a fine edge. We need not speak of the immense value of such mines as these. They are worth an hundred times more than all the gold and silver of Mexico. We should remark, however, that they are perfectly accessible, and that their treasures may be brought into the market at as small an expense as the nature of the commodity admits. They are situated only about forty miles from the Mississippi, and but seventy from St. Louis, to which city a railroad is now in contemplation. An abundance of stone coal has lately been discovered in their vicinity, and the whole district abounds with water power. It will not be many years before their wealth is poured into St. Louis, and thence throughout the whole land. They render it certain, that Missouri must, at no very distant day, become one of the most important manufacturing States in the Union.

Except in the mineral districts, which are, in general, comparatively barren, the soil is uniformly good. It is, besides, very varied in its nature, so as to be adapted to a great variety of productions. The northern counties contain large tracts of excellent land, calculated for hemp and flax. Cotton is cultivated, although not to such advantage as in Mississippi and other southern States. Tobacco is raised in large quantities, and of the best quality. All the varieties of grain and grasses yield abundant crops. Garden vegetables grow to great perfection. Fruit trees, of all the kinds which belong to temperate climates, are successfully cultivated, and the fruit is at least equal to that in the eastern States. The timber includes almost all the valuable and ornamental varieties of the temperate zone. There are extensive pine forests on the Gasconade and Merrimac rivers. The facilities for raising stock are great, and farmers

direct their attention very much to this branch of their business. There are many parts of the State, consisting of rocky points and broken sections of country, which seem peculiarly fitted for sheep-pastures, and hold out great inducements for the operations of wool-growers. In short, the agriculturist can hardly go amiss, to whatever he turns his attention. There is not, perhaps, so large a body of rich land as in some other States, but there is so favorable an alternation of prairie and hilly country, of meadow and woodland, that it is all rendered valuable.

The State is throughout well watered. Mill sites and water power are found almost wherever they are needed. The Missouri River passes through the richest agricultural portion of the State, and is navigable for steamboats twenty-five hundred miles from its mouth. It has almost innumerable tributaries, which, together with those of the Mississippi, irrigate every part of the State. The Osage river is one of the most considerable. It empties into the Missouri, ten miles below Jefferson City, and is navigable for moderate-sized boats, for several hundred miles. The Gasconade is also a very important river, falling into the Missouri a hundred miles from its mouth, and passing through a very fertile and well-timbered country.

The climate of Missouri is, in general, pleasant and salubrious. Like that of all North America, it is very changeable, and subject to extremes of heat and cold; but it is, we think, decidedly milder, if we take the whole year through, than that of the same latitudes east of the mountains. We are aware that, in this opinion, we differ from a greater part of the authorities upon the subject of climate in the United States; but we have had ample means of observation, and we are confident in the conclusion now expressed. We think, that, while the summers are not at all more oppressive than they are in the corresponding latitudes on and near the Atlantic coast, the winters are shorter, and, with the almost universal exception of a few weeks of severe weather in February, very much milder. We are sure, that we have never witnessed, in any eastern city, a continuance of such beautiful weather, in the months of November, December, and January, as we have seen in the central parts of Missouri. The spring season, except the first half of March, is almost uniformly delightful.

In point of healthiness, this State will bear a favorable comparison with the other western States. It is not, of course, free from the diseases to which all newly settled countries are subject, such as "fever and ague," the desease which undermines many a strong constitution, and which, although not dangerous in itself, prepares the way for more fatal disorders. But, in most respects, the whole State may be considered healthy. The disease alluded to is generally confined to the borders of the rivers, and may be avoided by proper care.

The waters of the Missouri, and of most of its tributaries, in consequence of the nature of the soil that they flow through, are very wholesome, in which respect they are much superior to the Upper Mississippi, the Illinois, and, we think, the Ohio. The Missouri is singularly turbid; so much so, that it gives the same character to the whole Lower Mississippi; and new-comers are unwilling to drink its water; but they soon learn to think it the pleasantest and most refreshing beverage, and to prefer it, when settled, to the clearest spring water. Chemists who have analyzed it declare, that it is entirely free from all hurtful admixtures, which can by no means be said of the water of most of the Western rivers. This circumstance, of course, exerts a highly favorable influence on the health of the State. Very exaggerated reports have gone abroad, of the prevalence and fatality of the bilious fever. It is certainly the most fatal disease of the region, but moderate caution and foresight are sufficient to guard against it, and it never assumes an epidemic character. The freedom from consumption and its train of kindred disorders, of which there are hardly any cases in Missouri, is more than a set-off to all the diseases which are peculiar to that section of the country.

Could we proceed to speak of the commercial advantages of the State, we should be led to offer some speculations concerning the practicability of a direct intercourse between the mouth of Columbia River and the East Indies, which, if ever established, will be a source of immense wealth to the whole West, and especially to Missouri. But for this we have, at present, no room. What we have said may be of some avail, to show the inducements which the State offers to immigrants, and the importance which it is destined, at no remote day, to assume.

## Art. XII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Observations on the Oriental Plague, and on Quarantines, as a Means of arresting its Progress, addressed to the British Association of Science, &c.* By John Bowring. Edinburgh. 1838. pp. 45.

The observations of Dr. Bowring were offered to the British Association in compliance with a unanimous request of that body; and it was also unanimously resolved, to recommend to the government the appointment of a commission to complete the investigation of the questions of which his paper had treated.

Dr. Bowring thought it necessary to apologize for what he calls his intrusion upon medical ground. It must, however, be a very narrow feeling, that would demand such apologies from those who have important truths to communicate. The science of Medicine has gained some of its most brilliant results by listening to the suggestions of those who were not its professed students. It was from the observations of simple rustics, that Jenner took the first hint of vaccination. The ingenious idea of injecting the Eustachian tube, in cases of deafness, was suggested, and put in practice upon his own person, by a postmaster of Lyons. Many, who have hung in rapture over the pages of "Faust" and "Werter," are ignorant, that Goethe was the discoverer of the intermaxillary bone in the human embryo, and one of the first who developed the singular doctrine, now received among the truths of transcendental anatomy, that the cranium is but a series of vertebræ, modified from the original type to accommodate the expanded nervous columns.

Unfortunately, those who have nothing to add to a complicated science, with which mankind and womankind are prone to meddle, are seldom troubled by any modesty in announcing their vagaries. But we must pardon the reverend homœopath, who inflicts upon the English public his infinitesimal doses of sense, diffused in copious pages of absurdity, and we must endure the *physiological* apostles of our own land, who grow fat by starving their disciples, rather than look with jealousy upon those whose freedom from prejudices, whose very ignorance of supposed truths, may be the surest safeguard from error. Especially should we value the general views, taken by enlarged minds, of the subjects, which engross, with minute details, the attention of those whose lives are devoted to their study.

We are happy, therefore, to see a man of intelligence and information, like Dr. Bowring, entering the domain of the medical philosopher. We are especially gratified, when the subject handled is one of general interest, and the opportunities for its study have been as favorable as in the present instance.

Is the Plague contagious? Are Quarantines a protection against it? Such are the questions raised in the pamphlet before us.

The first question has long been answered by the popular voice, and generally by the professed writers on the subject, in the affirmative. The readers of Boccacio and Defoe may therefore be surprised to find, that the whole tendency of Dr. Bowring's observation is directly opposed to the prevailing belief; that many of the most competent medical observers confirm his opinions; and that special facts in great numbers are not wanting, to prove that it is an exceedingly difficult, if not an impossible thing, to communicate the plague by actual contact with those suffering from it. How then has this terrible doctrine of the extreme contagiousness of the plague, the most appalling idea connected with this form of pestilence, obtained so general a credence?

Without denying the possibility of the disease being communicated under certain circumstances, we can easily account for the exaggerated fears, which have so long been entertained. Men must have a cause for every fatal epidemic. They cannot consent to die in large masses, unless the most satisfactory reasons for it can be assigned. We, who have lived in the time of cholera, have seen enough to convince us of this. The disease was caused by contagion; it was produced by swarms of insects; it was the result of atmospheric conditions, shown by a certain aspect of the clouds; it was the evidence of an adynamic and exhausted condition of the race, produced by the degeneracy of our social habits; it was the work of physicians, who poisoned the wells of the great cities. These, and a thousand similar absurdities, have been most widely believed, and have led to the most painful results, in many cases. The physician has been murdered by the populace, upon his errand of mercy, and the interests of nations have been sacrificed to a baseless apprehension of danger. We cannot think it strange, that the plague, which has been so much more terrible in its ravages than even the cholera, and which has prevailed most among ignorant nations and in the less enlightened ages, should have been invested with the worst of attributes which a disease can possess, and one which so easily explains every thing to those, who receive evidence with strong faith and feeble judgment. Only let it be advanced, that an epidemic disease is

contagious, and facts will seem, to the careless observer and the terrified subjects of its visitation, to render it evident as the day. A district, the local circumstances of which call into action the general pestilential cause, is attacked, or the members of a family, living under one roof and subject to the same hygienic influences, are successively invaded, and the case of transmission can almost always be apparently made out. But, as it is next to impossible absolutely to seclude an individual, still less a community, from direct and indirect communication, the negative of the question is extremely difficult to establish.

The facts, brought forward by Dr. Bowring and one of his correspondents, are certainly strongly opposed to the contagiousness of the disease, under the circumstances where these observations were made. It must, however, be remembered, that a disease, arising from general causes, may, under certain conditions, acquire a capability of transmission from one individual to another. Doubtless much of the apparent contradiction in the history of the propagation of certain diseases may be traced to this circumstance. The confusion of two or more diseases under the same name is another source of error on this point. Such has been peculiarly the case with *typhus*, under which term seem to have been included at least two distinct affections, and which has seemed at times eminently transmissible, at others purely endemic or epidemic. With regard to the plague, using the term to include the pestilences so distinguished in different ages and countries, we are in want of fuller materials to determine the identity of the affection, and the circumstances, if such there be, which determine its capacity of transmission. Allowing their full value to the facts stated by Dr. Bowring, we cannot forget, that, in other times and places, the disease called plague has appeared but too clearly transmissible, and that, in the dreadful pestilence of Marseilles, the chain of its propagation was traced too accurately to admit of its independence of contagion.

Dr. Bowring's observations relate principally to the plague as found in Egypt. We refer to his pamphlet, which we hope may be reprinted in this country, for many interesting facts, showing the complete impunity with which the disease has been solicited and defied, under the influence of affection, of benevolence, of science. The opinions of intelligent physicians, familiar with the subject, coincided with his own. The following words, which we quote from the "Dictionnaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie Pratiques," published in 1834, may be compared with an extract from the pamphlet of Dr. Bowring.

"La peste est éminemment contagieuse." — "Ce sujet a besoin d'être étudié par un homme d'un jugement sûr, et d'un esprit impartial. Qui pourrait mieux s'en acquitter que notre savant compatriote, le docteur Clot Bey?"

"Ere long, a very distinguished physician, Clot Bey, who is at the head of the medical department in Egypt; a man whose services to knowledge and humanity in that country outstrip all meed of praise, and who has treated thousands of cases of plague; will publish his observations on the subject. I found his opinions wholly opposed to those of the contagionists. He assured me, that, in the innumerable facts of which he had cognizance, he had found irresistible evidence against the prevalent opinion as to the contagious character of this disease; that, removed from the regions of malaria or miasmata, he had never known the plague to be communicated by contact; that all his attempts to communicate the disease had failed; that he had twice inoculated himself from plague-patients, without receiving the disorder; that the experiments made of wearing the clothes of those who had died of the plague, had shown the difficulty, if not the impossibility of communicating the disease; that he deemed lazarettos and quarantines not only useless, but pernicious." — p. 7.

Similar opinions are entertained by the body physician of the Pasha of Egypt, by the British Consul at Alexandria, by Mr. Abbot, Dr. Laidlaw, and others, who have been long familiar with the disease.

Not the least startling part of Dr. Bowring's pamphlet relates to a subject in which many of our readers may have had occasion to feel a personal interest.

"The fact is, the Quarantine establishments are, for the most part, instruments, and terrible instruments, of diplomacy and state policy. Under the plea of a regard for the public health, all letters are opened, all travellers are arrested and imprisoned, all commoditities are subject to regulations the most unintelligible, costly, and vexatious." "If there be a spot in the world, placed beyond the control of public opinion, it is a Lazzaret. Believed, as it is, to be an invention for public security, the tyranny, the extortions, the injuries, which are inflicted within it, escape all animadversion."

Something of this evil we have ourselves experienced. It was not a matter of surprise to us, that, during the prevalence of cholera in some parts of Europe, the jealous and timid rulers of Italy should tie up their petty states with cordons and prohibitions; we were not much astonished, when the guard pointed his musket at our travelling companion, for stepping too near the line of the papal dominion, after having crossed into Tuscany; — for all this was congenial with the habits of their governments in other matters. But to be arrested like felons in the harbour of *Marseilles;* to be huddled like brute animals within the bare walls of a dreary prison; still worse, to see the distress occasioned among some of our fel-

low travellers, one of whom was hastening home to die, if she might, in her own land; and to know that all this annoyance, all this suffering, was utterly unnecessary and idle; to hear it alleged, as a sufficient reason, that it was fair to retaliate on those coming from Italy the embarrassments thrown in the way of those who would enter it; — these recollections have made us rejoice in any attempt to expose abuses, which may be tenfold worse under the sway of Oriental despotism, than in the most cowardly and tyrannical of European governments. We hope, that the government of England will appoint a commission to investigate the subjects brought into notice by Dr. Bowring, as is recommended by the British Association; believing, that it may do much to promote at once the cause of humanity and of science.

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2. — *A History of the First Church and Parish in Dedham. In Three Discourses, delivered on Occasion of the Completion, November 18th, 1838, of the Second Century since the gathering of said Church.* By Alvan Lamson, D. D., Pastor of the First Church in Dedham. Dedham. 1839. 8vo. pp. 104.

These belong to that valuable class of commemorative discourses, which are called out by the return of centennial and annual occasions, the object of which is, in the language of Dr. Lamson, "not so much a discourse, as a history, embracing such incidents and biographical notices, as may seem appropriate and useful." It is well that such should be not only preached for the instruction and pleasure of those most nearly interested, but put in a permanent form for more extensive and more lasting use. "The ecclesiastical history of New England is yet to be written; and, if it is ever executed in a style worthy of the subject, it can only be by the aid of authentic details of the religious affairs of towns and parishes." The commemorative discourses of the pulpit are therefore preparing the way for the future achievement of that great task. The least important has its value. Even the quaint, odd, trifling details extracted from the old church records, seemingly of no interest but to some hungry antiquaries, will be found to have their use in enabling the inquirer to understand more truly the character and spirit of the times and the men, and so make a truer portraiture of them. The history of the country, no less than that of the church, may be essentially aided from these sources. It was a remark of the first President Adams, that, in order to

understand how the people of New England were prepared for the Revolution and fitted for their new government, it is necessary to know their town histories and town governments. There is no better way of being acquainted with them, than by means of such inquiries into their old records and local traditions, as furnish the matter of centennial discourses.

Dedham may be, in some fortunate particulars, distinguished above most other villages ; but we suppose, that, on the whole, the picture of olden time which it exhibits, is a fair likeness of all the other early settlements. A few families seeking a home in the wilderness, are induced, by some appearances in the localities which suit their fancies or their pursuits, to select the neighbourhood of "Little River," or "Wigwam Plain." They put up their hasty shelters, and call themselves a town ; they frame at once their constitution of government, styled "the Town Covenant," expressly based, as became religious exiles, on Christian principles. In 1637 they are thirty families ; a minister is among them, and they hold public worship under the covert of one of the large trees which shaded the plain. But soon, feeling ashamed, as the king of Israel did, that the ark of God should abide abroad while they lived beneath roofs, they project a meetinghouse, thirty-six feet by twenty, and twelve feet high. This they occupy as soon as it is covered in, and finish it by degrees, as they have leisure ; in nineteen years, they get so far as "to have it lathed upon the studs, and so daubed and whitened over workman-like ;" and, about the same time, they "set up" a gallery, in order to adequately accommodate the one hundred and sixty-six families to which the settlement has grown. Very close must they have sat, those families ; in modern times, they would need a church of more than double the capacity.

Meantime, while the town has raised the building, the few who are accounted worthy, organize the church ; at first, six in number ; proceeding cautiously, and leaving a record of every step for the benefit of future ages. Here, too, they are determined not to jeopard their liberty, and will not proceed till they have received from the Governor a satisfactory explanation of a certain ordinance of State, which seemed to prohibit their forming a church without the advice of other churches. This is one of numberless characteristic incidents that crowd the history of New England, not of great moment in itself, but serving to justify Burke's remark, that "the fierce spirit of liberty was stronger in the English colonies, probably, than in any other people of the earth." Having obtained satisfaction, they frame the church, in the simple way of the Puritans, and elect and ordain their own officers. Their

minister, Mr. Allin, is a man of gifts and influence, widely employed in the controversies and synods which had place during his ministry, and which make up no small part of the important transactions of the time. At the same time he is a thriving man in worldly affairs, becomes one of the largest landholders in the town, "hath a good stock of cattle, and a good accommodation in corn land and meadow," a salary of sixty pounds, and the governor's widow for his wife. He died after a ministry of thirty-three years, with such a reputation for sweetness of disposition, that the anagram-makers summed up his character in this, — "In Honi All."

Thus ends the first generation, in whose days the institutions of religion, and a severe simplicity of life, were the first considerations. But now a change begins. The original settlers are gone, and the sons, bred in the hardships of the forest, are inferior to the fathers, who had been educated in the halls of Oxford, and amid the comforts of Old England's civilization. There is less tranquillity in the town ; occasions of difference arise ; jealousies spring up between those to whom are assigned the higher and lower seats of their little cathedral; and the pulpit rings with complaints of the degeneracy of the times, and lamentations for error and sin. One candidate after another is invited in vain to take charge of the church ; at one period, the pulpit is vacant for eight years ; and, when supplied, the town is perplexed to devise ways and means of paying the stipend. We hurry over a half century, and at length find the ministry given to Samuel Dexter, a name that has descended through four generations of honor ; and soon the romantic features of the primitive era disappear, and we find ourselves amongst the prosaic scenes and interests of our own every-day life.

Dr. Lamson's Discourses, with their copious notes, are full of interest, not only from the unusual richness of the materials, but from the happy way in which he disposes them. In his sketches of the manners of the times, and the character of the fathers, he gives a picture as vivid as that of a novel ; and, in the discussion of authorities and hints respecting the old controversies, he uses all the careful gravity of history. To one who would find a scene and materials for a fictitious narrative illustrative of the first century of Massachusetts, we recommend these pages as fertile in valuable hints ; and we are sure that the ecclesiastical historian cannot do without them.

3. — *A Tale of the Huguenots, or Memoirs of a French Refugee Family.* Translated and Compiled from the Original Manuscripts of James Fontaine, by One of his Descendants. With an Introduction, by F. L. Hawkes, D. D. New York: J. S. Taylor. 1838. 12mo. pp. 266.

We do not know why this should be called a *tale*, since that word usually designates a fictitious narrative, and it is hardly wise to cast doubt upon the character of a work in the very words of its title. It is not clear too what is meant by its being "translated and compiled"; for the editor, in the Introduction, speaks of but one manuscript, from which he recommended that "extracts" should be made for publication; and we are left to guess whether the printed book contains only the extracts, or the whole original document, and whether or not aid has been derived from other manuscripts. That the existence of this paper or these papers, whichever it be, is not a pretence, like the documents of Diedrich Knickerbocker, or the Wardour manuscript, but a reality, though it might be brought in question by the title of the work, is put beyond doubt by the explicit testimony of the editor, who tells us that he read the original manuscript, which was lent him by the family in which it had been preserved for more than a century. We hope, that it has been printed without alteration.

It is the autobiography of James Fontaine, a Huguenot minister, written by him in his old age, for the information of his children. Its value consists in the picture which it gives of the sufferings endured by that persecuted people; and its interest, in the strange and almost incredible turns of fortune to which its author was subjected. Did we not know that "truth is strange, stranger than fiction," we should be tempted sometimes to think, that the writer was trying his inventive faculty at the expense of his reader's credulity. Indeed, so marvellous is the account which he gives of his own adroitness, courage, skill, and success in the most various occupations and the most hazardous emergencies, that we are reminded a little too frequently of the heroic self-complacency of that vainest of story-tellers, Benvenuto Cellini; we are almost led to suspect that the old man has unconsciously exaggerated the remarkable circumstances through which he has passed, and tells them rather as they appear to his own fond memory, than strictly as they were. We should be greatly unjust, however, if we suspected him of intentional exaggeration. Of this there are no signs, but, on the contrary, an air of simplicity and truth runs through the whole; and if we sometimes smile at what seems the self-importance of the narrator, we are checked

by considering that nothing could be more natural or excusable in one who had experienced such wonderful changes and almost miraculous escapes in defending the cause of religion, while he referred every thing to an overruling Providence, and did not allow himself to doubt of a special guidance and protection. If Walter Scott had designed a representation of the times of the Huguenots to mate that of the Covenanters which he drew in "Old Mortality," he would not have ventured on inventions so bold as are some incidents in this book; and he could not have reached any thing approaching to the vivid picture of simple-hearted faith and real devotion, which this true history displays.

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4. — *A New Dictionary of the English Language.* By Charles Richardson. In Two Volumes, 4to. London: William Pickering. New York: William Jackson. 1838.

In a previous number of our Journal, we gave an account of the plan of this work and of its general execution.* From that account it will be readily perceived, that the value of the Dictionary does not consist in its adaptation to popular use. As a dictionary of reference for definitions and illustrations of words, in the existing state of the language, it is inconvenient, and therefore cannot obtain extensive use for that purpose. But it is a curious philological storehouse; overloaded, indeed, with the antiquities of the English tongue, yet deserving a place in all public libraries, and in the private libraries of critical English readers. We hope the publishers will be amply rewarded for giving us access to this elaborate production, which throws much light on the origin and progressive changes of our copious English vocabulary. The work is now completed upon the plan which we explained sufficiently in our former notice of it, and we do not think it important to add any thing to what has been already said.

The Preliminary Essay and Preface appear in the closing number of the Dictionary, and afford ample matter for those who love to revel in etymological subtilties. Like other lexicographers and grammarians, Mr. Richardson has a theory concerning language, which he explains and defends; a theory which is ingenious, if not in some respects original. It is founded on the *thesis*, that organic sounds derive their meaning from natural causes. We shall say nothing concerning his illustrations of this, drawn from words of the same meaning in

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLV. pp. 186, *et seq.*

different languages, which really show nothing about the origin of organic sounds, as connected with their meaning ; but which, when stripped of their disguises, show only the derivation of these words, in successive languages, from a language preceding. His theory, summed up in a few words, is this ; namely, that all men have the same organs of speech and of hearing ; that organic sounds are intelligible sounds with distinct meanings ; that written signs denote these intelligible sounds, each sign corresponding to an organic sound ; and consequently that each letter, in its origin, is the sign of a distinct meaning, and in fact of a word previously familiar in speech.

Starting from these first principles, he finds or imagines the initial and final letters of words to be significant, and when he cannot account for letters interposed (appearing not to be significant), he ascribes the interposition to accident or corruption. But his illustrations appear to be, for the most part, forced and fanciful, and are so generally either unsatisfactory, or unintelligible, that we leave them for the investigation of more profound miners in the depths of philology.

Mr. Richardson is a generous critic. He speaks in just terms of praise of the labors of Johnson, from whose Dictionary, he says, may be chosen "interpretations expressed with most admirable precision and completeness" ; and he concurs in the opinion of Nares, that "Johnson's authority has nearly fixed the external form of our language, and that from its decisions few appeals have been made." He is just too, no less than generous. Speaking of his obligations to Horne Tooke (his *magnus Apollo* among grammarians), he says, "I have done to him that scrupulous justice which I have done to all, to whose labors I have been indebted. Of not one borrowed feather, unacknowledged, would I willingly permit myself the use." To that distinguished political philologer he is, indeed, more than just. He speaks of him "as the philosophical grammarian who alone is entitled to the name of a *discoverer.*" We, too, acknowledge our obligations to this discoverer, so called, but not on the ground upon which Mr. Richardson founds his preëminent claims ; namely, that "he has demonstrated that a word has one meaning and one only." This seeming paradox, when explained, amounts to nothing more than what has been perceived and affirmed by other philosophers and grammarians, ancient and modern. Scaliger affirms, that no word has more than one primary and peculiar signification. "I doubt not," says Locke, "but if we could trace them to their sources, we should find, in all languages, the names that stand for things that fall not under our senses, to have had their first origin from sensible objects." That such

names are the origin of language, and hence that language, with all the refinements that have attended its growth, has sprung from nouns, may readily be admitted.

Sir James Mackintosh says, that "Horne Tooke's is a wonderful work; but the great merit is the original thought." The original thought attributed to that "wonderful work" does not belong to it. The real merit and peculiarity of the work, consist in the illustration of an old theory by a process of induction, and forcing every thing to bend to that theory. Every word, in its origin, says the author, is a noun. The particles are abbreviations; the verb is a noun and "something more"; but here he leaves the matter, and tells us not what that something more is. Though he rejects the common nomenclatures, both of practical and philosophical grammarians, he is obliged to resort to classification, and to speak of *abbreviations* instead of particles, and of another class of words not only as adjectives, but as *potential passive* and *potential active adjectives.*

But we must return from our wanderings to Mr. Richardson, and conclude with the expression of our conviction, that whoever examines his Dictionary, even to the small extent that we have done, will find it entitled to all the praise we have bestowed upon it.

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5. — *A Greek Grammar for the Use of Learners*, by E. A. Sophocles, A. M. Hartford: H. Huntington, Jr. New York: F. J. Huntington & Co. 1838.

This is a very compact, thorough, and logical grammar; wanting neither in method, proportion of parts, nor copiousness of detail. The author is a modern Greek, who has lived a number of years in this country, has been a successful teacher, and now resides at New Haven. So far as we can see, he possesses a complete mastery of English, which is especially shown in his translations of examples under his rules of syntax. In these there is a raciness and clearness of expression, which give proof, that both the English and ancient Greek are clothed with their full power and life in his mind. Mr. Sophocles is quite unlike many of his countrymen in his appreciation of the labors of modern European scholars. He does full justice to Matthiæ and Buttmann; and may, in truth, we think, be said to have written his Grammar, with a due knowledge of the state of Greek learning at the present day. His candor and love of

truth appear remarkably in what he says of pronunciation, upon pages 22, 23 ; where he ascribes, contrary to the practice of the modern Greeks, to the letter η the sound of *ey* in *they*, and to υ that of the French *u*. In short, we find nothing, or almost nothing, in his views, or mode of stating them, which seems foreign, or can be referred to a narrow and prejudiced way of contemplating Greek grammar.

The innumerable references, throughout this Grammar, to laws and rules previously made known, not only deserve praise on account of their compactness and method, but will prove of great assistance to a thorough student, who is desirous to have, with the facts of grammar, their reasons and accordance with other facts, as far as they can be given. We are struck, for instance, with the references to the laws of euphony, which are elegantly stated at the beginning of the work. When the author has occasion to mention σπείσω future of σπένδω, it is only necessary for him to refer back to these laws, in order to make it plain, that this form, instead of being anomalous, as we are carefully assured in some school grammars, is in the highest degree regular, being but an example of obedience to a law that controlled the language.

Among the improvements in this Grammar, we notice lists of second aorists, active and passive, and of second perfects. It is well known that these forms of the verb are few in number, and that the second aorist active, especially, belongs almost exclusively to anomalous verbs ; so that the usual rules for its formation are inapplicable and useless. We should think it well, if other lists of a similar nature were to find their way into elementary books ; for instance, one of nouns which actually follow the Attic form of the second declension, and one of verbs, other than those in ιζω, which take the so-called Attic form of the future. The advantage of such lists consists in showing the student the limited use of certain forms, that he may not conceive of them as being equally general with others, of which the examples are innumerable.

The list of anomalous verbs in this Grammar is truly excellent. Through love of severe system, Mr. Sophocles has referred to this list, those verbs, (εἰμί, εἶμι, ἵημι, etc.,) which are usually placed by themselves, after the ordinary paradigms. This is rather an advantage in the hands of a faithful teacher, who will take pains to let his scholars know, that the anomalous verbs are *one of the most important titles* in Greek grammar.

We have gone through the Syntax (which occupies a hundred pages, or more than one third of the Grammar,) with great pleasure. The rules are stated with precision, and the examples are from the authors of the classic age, — many of them

from the dramatic poets, — and apparently of the author's own selection. A little more minuteness in unfolding the doctrine of the modes would perhaps have been desirable.

There are a few things, which we hope Mr. Sophocles will alter in a second edition. On page 2, instead of the sneer at "some modern philologists, who imagine they discover the digamma at the beginning of almost every Homeric word beginning with a vowel," it would have been well, to give a list of those few words, which nearly all sober scholars of any eminence unite in regarding, as having originally been sounded with the digamma in the Homeric dialect. On page 35, the author says, "It is not necessary to manufacture γυναιξ for the sake of γυναικός." We wish that he had explained what other form in the nominative is presupposed by the existing oblique cases, rather than this, which he condemns and Buttmann favors. On page 47, it would have been desirable to state, what adjectives in -ος are of two endings; and what license the poets allow themselves herein. Under the verb, the first person of the plural in the active uniformly appears in the dual also. We like the old plan better of giving no first person dual, and of explaining the subject in the syntax. We regret also, that in the paradigms the dual follows the plural; not, indeed, on account of any principle involved in the position of the two numbers, but because Mr. Sophocles thus opposes the prejudices of teachers in favor of the old jingle, which they have heard in their boyhood.

On the whole we heartily recommend this Grammar, as likely to make thorough and intelligent Greek scholars, and, indeed, to bring about a new era in the acquisition of this language.

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6. — *An Elementary Treatise on Astronomy, in Four Parts, containing a Systematic and Comprehensive Exposition of the Theory, and the more important Practical Problems, with Solar, Lunar, and other Astronomical Tables. Designed for Use as a Text-Book in Colleges and Academies.* By William A. Norton, late Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in the University of the City of New York. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 485.

This treatise is well adapted to the student who wishes to acquire a thorough knowledge of Practical Astronomy; who would not be contented with a merely popular work, and yet

has not the mathematical ability to master the more profound calculations required for the full developement of the mechanism of the heavens. He will here find a clear and well-digested view of the methods of determining the motions and places of the sun, the moon, and the other heavenly bodies, their eclipses and occultations, the construction of astronomical tables and the measurement of time, together with some useful astronomical tables uncommonly well arranged ; so that, if he have any taste for numerical calculation, he will be abundantly supplied with good materials, and, if he should desire to predict an eclipse or to calculate an almanac, he could not readily be referred to a more satisfactory source of information. He will also find a somewhat novel and lucid "exposition of the operations of the disturbing forces in producing the perturbations of the motions of the solar system," sufficiently accurate and comprehensive, perhaps, for the ordinary purposes of instruction. A great defect of the volume consists, however, in the meagreness of its details with regard to the natural history of the heavenly bodies. A single page, illustrated by no diagrams, is all that is allotted to the physical constitution of the moon ; and in direct contradiction to the delicate observations of Schröter, without any allusion to them, this body is declared to have no atmosphere. The variable stars and nebulæ are hastily passed over in an uninteresting description, and no notice is taken of the sublime speculations to which they have led the minds of philosophers. But such defects as these do not render the work of less value for the practical purposes for which it was evidently designed, and for which it may be recommended as an excellent text-book.

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7. — *An Elementary Treatise on Optics, designed for the Use of the Cadets of the United States' Military Academy*, by William H. C. Bartlett, A. M., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the Academy. New York : Wiley & Putnam. 1839. 8vo. pp. 231.

The science of Optics is not to be confounded with the Natural Philosophy of Light. In the latter department of science the nature of light is the especial object of investigation, and a prominent place is given to the discussion of the two theories of emission and of waves. All the phenomena of observation are carefully scrutinized in reference to their

bearing upon this subject, and compared with the results deduced from each theory by the calculus; and the calculations themselves exhaust the highest powers of transcendental mathematics. In Optics, on the contrary, the properties and phenomena of light are alone considered, without regard to hypotheses; and the results, which are mostly obtained by the usual processes of calculation, being founded upon the data of exact experiment, are absolutely true, and cannot be affected by any modifications which the hypotheses may undergo. If, therefore, the one study be the more captivating to a philosophical student, and deserve a high place in a liberal course of education, the other, to which Newton almost exclusively confined his optical researches, is probably the more healthy discipline to the mind, and far the more important to him who designs to make a practical use of his knowledge. Professor Bartlett's work is, as its title implies, strictly a treatise on Optics. The unaffected freedom from pretension, with which it is offered to the world, prepossessed us strongly in its favor upon first opening it; and we rejoice in being able to say, that we have not been disappointed by a further examination, but that the simplicity of the entrance is a fair sample of the neatness of the interior. The whole theory of optical instruments, including the laws of the reflection, refraction, and dispersion of light, and the description of the eye, occupies about two-thirds of the volume, and is presented in a highly finished form. The phenomena of absorption, internal reflection, interference, divergence, double refraction, and polarization are explained in the remainder of the work with great distinctness and precision. The mathematical formulæ are, throughout, most happily and clearly exhibited; the deductions and explanations are highly perspicuous; and, in short, the entire arrangement and execution of the treatise are excellent, worthy of the distinguished reputation of its author, and exactly adapted to the class of students for whose use it was prepared.

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8 — *Man, in his Physical Structure and Adaptations.* By Robert Mudie, author of "The Heavens," "The Four Seasons," "The British Naturalist," etc. etc. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Company. 1838. 12mo. pp. 294.

Mr. Robert Mudie, author of "The Heavens," of "The Four Seasons," and now of "Man," — whether a man of

flesh and blood like the late Dr. Mavor, or of straw, like the present Peter Parley, — is evidently a professed book-maker. It is not, that he has as yet published very many volumes; for many men who lived before booksellers remunerated, and penny-a-liners contracted, have written more and oftener. But it is, that he shows a desperate tendency to embrace all sorts of available subjects; that he hugs with artistic eagerness, every dilatable topic; that he manufactures volumes with colored plates, and compromises the purchasers of one little book, by concatenating it in a series with other little books. In short, though apparently a very good kind of man, it is evident, that he is in the habit of writing by contract.

In speaking of the present work, in connexion with three others to come hereafter,—namely, upon Intellectual, Moral, and Social Man, — he remarks; "They are my favorites, above all others I have written, and, whatever may be said of the execution, this subject deserves attention from the public." There can be no mistake in either of these propositions. It may, however be a question how far an author should announce his partialities for his own productions, at least to those who are likely to read the works which are the subject of self-gratulation; and it may also be doubted, whether the community required to be reminded that Man, in a physical, intellectual, moral, and social point of view, is a subject deserving of attention.

We have said that Mr. Mudie seems to be a good sort of of man; and we may add, that Mr. Mudie seems to know a good many things, and sometimes tells a little anecdote well. But, if we may give a classical form to a familiar word, he is one of the most severely *terebrating* authors that we have met with for a long time. Physical man, indeed! The book has nothing to do with any particular subject, but has a page here and a paragraph there, on almost every thing; and there is a viscosity about every thing this author touches, that makes it string out interminably. Half a dozen pages are taken up to show that dissections do not teach the nature of man. Nobody ever thought they did. He happens to mention the steam engine merely as an illustration; whereat the instinct of the book-wright whisks him through an episode of three pages. He alludes to the story of the ass between two bundles of hay, again as an illustration; but the seducing image of his approving bibliopolite once more leads him from his path, and some fifteen or twenty shillings' worth of copy is evolved before the reader can be released from his speculations upon the asinine dilemma.

And so on through the whole book. Dulness, benevolence, prolixity, with here and there a tolerable story, and a few sensible remarks, — a little physiology, — a little comparative anatomy, — a little metaphysics — a great deal of skimble-skamble stuff, — and you have finished the first fraction of Mr. Mudie's quadruple infliction.

We, whose duty it is to go through these dense and unwedgeable masses of print, like a pod-auger, — boring and bored, — must show the chips we bring away fairly and fully to the public. In the present instance, we must needs report that the book is done by the job, — conscientiously and with the best of motives, no doubt; the author firmly believing, that he can serve both God and Mammon in the same duodecimo. It is not our fault, that he has no more capacity for the subjects which he handles; and, dearly as we love the booksellers, the truth must be told, though it should condemn "The Heavens" to fall — ninety-nine per cent., "The Seasons" to remain stationary on the counters, and "Man" to become the slave of grocers and trunk-makers.

Independently of these general remarks, we may indulge in one or two suggestions as to the style of this little work. As punctuation is but a small item in the expense of getting up a work, it may be well in the future duodecimos to insert a period occasionally in the midst of a page, and embellish the word which follows, with a capital. Except in contracts and similar pieces of composition, we do not like to hear people called "the parties," — a word to which Mr. Mudie has a partiality that smacks of some previous employment. It is not proper to use such words as "adaptorial" and "transmogrifier," nor, in the present advanced state of civilization, is it any longer considered original or genteel to exclaim,

"O for a lodge in some vast wilderness," &c.

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9. — *The Life of William Cowper, Esq.* By Robert Southey, LL. D., Poet Laureate, etc. In two Volumes. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1839. 12mo. pp. 329, 360.

We have already noticed this Life at some length, in connexion with a general review of Cowper's character.* We refer to it now merely to express our satisfaction at seeing the Life separated from the works, and republished among

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIV. pp. 29, *et seq.*

us, in a convenient and agreeable form. The five volumes of Mr. Southey have been compressed into two. This will bring the work within the means of many, who would not have been able to procure it in the English edition. When such vast numbers of the most worthless productions of British pens are poured upon the country in cheap American reprints, it is an agreeable variety, and a propitious omen, to find that a work of such solid merit and manifold interest is sufficiently appreciated by what is called the reading public, to justify a publisher in sending it forth from the press in handsome style. Great credit is certainly due to the taste of the firm, to whom we are indebted for this and other excellent reprints.

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10. — *The Library of American Biography.* Conducted by Jared Sparks. Vol. X. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 386.

Mr. Sparks has now completed his series (or his First Series, as we hope we may be permitted to call it,) of American Biography, and we know not where we should look for more exciting and varied interest, than in these volumes. Much valuable matter, connected with American history, has thus been secured from oblivion and preserved in an attractive form. The lives are without exception written with ability; indeed some of the ablest pens in the country have been engaged in the work. The contributions of Mr. Sparks himself are among the most valuable. Whatever comes from him in the department of History or Biography, the public long ago had the best of reasons to anticipate, would bear the marks of thorough investigation, and present a finished model of literary composition.

The present volume contains the Lives of Fulton, Warren, Hudson, and Marquette. The Life of Fulton is an elaborate exposition of that great man's scientific attainments, with a narrative, neatly put together, of the simple events, which diversified his existence. The second is an animated history of the short but brilliant career of Dr. Joseph Warren, including a description of Bunker's Hill Battle. It is from the pen of Alexander Everett, whose name, it is perhaps needless to say, is closely connected with the best literature of the country.

The Life of Hudson is a well written statement of the little

that is known of that great navigator. The Life of Father Marquette, by Mr. Sparks, which furnished a text for some observations of ours in the last Number, is accompanied by a reduced *fac-simile* of the map attached to his Journal. And here we may take occasion to say, that the editor of the American Biography is entitled to great praise for the care and judgment, with which he has furnished his volumes with illustrations of this kind when needed. The series contains skilfully engraved portraits of the principal personages whose lives are commemorated, with *fac-similes* of their handwriting ; and this last volume is closed by a General Index to the whole collection. It may be added, that the paper and print are beautiful, and the size and form the most convenient, being those for which Dr. Johnson, more than seventy years ago, declared his preference,—"such that a man can take the book in his hand, and read it while standing before the fire."

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11. — *An Address delivered before the Mercantile Library Association, at the Odeon in Boston, September 13th*, 1838. By Edward Everett, Honorary Member of the Association. Boston : William D. Ticknor. 8vo. pp. 40.

Mr. Everett's Address is an admirable specimen of his great and varied powers. The topics are selected with that perfect appropriateness to the occasion, for which his numerous discourses are remarkable. His object was to furnish something instructive for the young merchants, for whose especial benefit the Association was formed. Accordingly, the discourse contains a series of observations, at once wise and beautiful, on the accumulation of capital, the system of exchanges, the security of property, and the credit system. Many ignorant prejudices on these several topics are noticed by Mr. Everett with remarkable calmness, and the important truths connected with them are set forth in the clearest light. Among the most striking excellences of Mr. Everett's writings are the copiousness and felicity of his illustrations. The most ordinary subjects grow into beauty beneath his touch. His genius strikes out poetical splendors from the hardest materials. The imagery which adorns his discussion has the great and rare merit of placing the truth he inculcates in a more imposing form, — of convincing the understanding, while it delights the fancy.

12. — *Esquisse Générale de l'Afrique, Aspect et Constitution Physique, Histoire Naturelle, Ethnologie, Linguistique, Etat Social, Histoire, Explorations, et Géographie.* Par M. D'Avezac, des Sociétés Géographiques de Paris et de Londres, etc. etc. etc. Paris : Dondey-Dupré. 1837. 12mo. pp. 132.

This is a carefully-digested summary of African Geography, drawn from the principal authorities, ancient and modern. It begins with a description of the natural features of this quarter of the globe ; its boundaries, seas, capes, rivers, mountains, winds, and climate. Then follows a sketch of its natural history, both vegetable and animal. This last-named branch of the subject presents many facts which are curious and interesting, and they are accompanied in this sketch with ingenious remarks and speculations.

It is stated, that of quadrupeds Africa possesses more than a quarter of the whole number of known species. Of the monkeys, the genus *cynocephalus* is represented by various species, almost all large, strong, and mischievous. The varieties of the monkey are very numerous ; and of the remarkable genus of ourangs, Africa affords the most remarkable of its species, the chimpanze, of which the arms are less long, the stature higher, the intelligence less limited, than that of the ourang-outang of Borneo, and which therefore approaches to man in a more striking manner. In no part of the globe, the author remarks, can this resemblance appear so striking as in Africa ; for there nature, as a proof of the uninterrupted chain by which all beings are united, has placed this monkey, so similar to men, by the side of the man who bears the nearest resemblance to the monkey, the stunted Bosjeman, who, upon the other side, is bound, on the same soil, through a series of intermediate varieties, with those who are regarded as the most perfect type of the human species.

In entering upon a description of the varieties of the human species which are to be found in Africa, the author discusses at some length the question, whether man constitutes a single order, genus, and species, preserving all the fundamental characters of the order, genus, and species, and presenting no diversity, except in those accessory and accidental characters of form and color, which science habitually considers as the signs of simple varieties ; or whether he must be admitted to be a genus, subdivided into several species, distinguished from one another by decided, permanent, and ineffaceable characters ; in other words, whether the European, the Mongol, and

the Negro, which present the three most divergent types, can be traced back to a common stock, or whether they have each special characters, among which crossings in different degrees may, it is true, have produced numerous varieties, but which besides are fundamental in each type, and not susceptible of being changed into one another.

We cannot at present follow the author through this discussion, but we proceed to notice his classification of the African races, all the varieties of which he reduces into the following ten general classes, viz.

"1. The European races, who here formed the colonies disseminated along the borders and in the islands, including the Turkish race, which is thinly scattered in the countries along the Northwest coast.

"2. The Arabian races, which spread over the eastern borders to Sofalah and Madagascar, throughout Egypt, over the northern provinces the whole length of the Mediterranean, over the Atlantic shore to Senegal, and extend to a very great depth into the desert, of which they occupy the southeastern portions.

"3. The Coptic race, of a deep yellow complexion, a short and straight nose, large lips, and swelled face. This race shows a daily tendency to disappear from the soil of Egypt, and seems, as has been previously remarked, to preserve traces of the ancient infusion of a Mongol or Chinese element.

"4. The Kouschyte races, having a complexion approaching to black, an aquiline nose, middle-sized mouth, an oval face. They people Abyssinia and a part of the borders of the Red Sea, under the names of Khabeschyn, Danâqyl, Schihou, Ababdeh. The majority of these nations, perhaps all, call themselves *Aga'zyân* or *Shepherds*. Perhaps different Asiatic and African elements combine, in different proportions, to form this race. The traces of negro mixture are easily detected, and on the other hand, the essential form seems to show great analogy with the inferior castes of India. Whether the origin of this race be foreign or indigenous, Africa is the only country which possesses it at the present day. Some detached branches of it are found on the coast of Zanguebar, and among the Berber population.

"5. This last forms one of the most remarkable groups on the continent, of which it occupies the mountainous regions at the north, and the central parts of Tsahhra, from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean and to the Canaries, and from the Mediterranean to Ten-Boktoue and Kasynah, perhaps even beyond Lake Tchâd, under the different denominations of Schelouhh, Berêber, Qabâyl, Touârek, Sourqâ, and others, given them by their Arabian or Negro neighbours, and under the general appellation of *Amazygh*, that is, *nobles*, or *Amazerqt*, which means *free*, which they bestow upon themselves. They form a union of very different elements, some white, others tawny, the greater number olive, some almost black. A narrow forehead, an oval face, rounded features, sunken and cruel eyes, black and rough hair, with the olive complexion, — these peculiarities, in the midst of this confused conglomeration, characterizes an original stock, which some traditions

designate as of Canaan, but which has been nourished on one side by a sap derived from the negro races, and into which, on the other hand, have entered strong branches of the Japhet race.

"6. From the midst of the Negro races a mongrel population is detached, of a tanned or copper color, projecting nose, middling mouth, an oval face, who consider themselves as descended from Arabian fathers united to Tauridian women. Under the names of Foulahs, Fellânys, Fellâtahs, or rather under that of *Peuls*, which they give to themselves. These people occupy a large and undulating zone, from the shores of the Senegal to the mountains of Mandharah, and perhaps much further. Their crisped, and even woolly, though long hair, justifies their being classed among the *oulotrique* population; but the features of their countenance, and the color of the skin, which has gained them among travellers the denomination of *red Peuls*, forbid that they should be confounded with the negroes, however intimate, in other respects, may be the mingling of the two types on the common border.

"7. The Negro races, properly so called, with a black skin of a more or less deep dye, a nose generally flat and broad, large and projecting lips, short face, and woolly hair, are spread over the larger part of the African soil, from Senegal and Upper Nile, beyond the southern tropic. The specific characters are differently combined among the different races which form this division; thus the Ouolof, the blackest of all the negroes, is that of which the nose is less flattened, and the lips are smallest. The Moutchicongo, on the contrary, whose complexion is much lighter, has a nose almost flat and enormous lips, and the women, especially, resemble the Hottentots. Among these extreme types, the Aschanty, the Mondingo, the Arada, the Ibo, the Monjou, the Makoua, offer a series of intermediate types.

"8. The Hottentot races, with a skin brown as soot, nose entirely flattened, large and projecting lips, a triangular face, forming a profile like that of a monkey, inhabit the southwest extremity of Africa.

"9. The Kaffre races, with a blackish grey or lead-colored complexion, arched nose, large lips, and upper part of the cheek prominent, occupy, on the northeast of the Hottentots, a vast portion of eastern Africa, as well as the south point of Madagascar. With these must be probably classed the Gallas, who from Melinda have advanced to the heart of Abyssinia.

"10. Lastly, the Malay race has spread several colonies on the African coast, after having peopled the eastern shores of Madagascar.

"It is hardly necessary to remark, that on the mutual limits of the respective geographical divisions, the races which we have just enumerated are more or less mingled together, and that the precise line of demarkation is not always easy to discover." — pp. 52–57.

This classification is followed by a notice of the different languages of Africa; the forms of religion and of government; its historical epochs; and the progress of modern discovery on its coasts, and in the interior of the continent. These topics, it will be perceived, embrace a wide field, and the author has brought together upon them, from a vast number of sources, a great variety of information, which is skilfully con-

densed into a very narrow space. As it is distinguished rather for the merit of elaborate selection and condensation than for novelty, we forbear to make any further extracts. The character of the work may be best gathered from the following recapitulation of his labor by the author himself.

"We have exhibited, under its various aspects, that great whole, which is called Africa; we have spoken of its exterior characters, its internal constitution, and its attire of animated beings; then considering man, upon whom the possession of it is devolved, we have made researches into his race, studied his language, his manners, his social habits, criticized his origin, and taken a hasty survey of his annals; and passing from the subject itself, to its relations with our own pursuits, we have made an inquiry into the explorations which have revealed it to us, and into the correlativeness which must be established between the notions acquired, and the theatre upon which they were obtained. Such is the cycle which we have attempted to form from the scattered fragments which no one before has attempted to combine; however small may be their separate value, they swell into importance by reason of the place which they occupy in the entire picture. It is upon this that must depend the whole interest of this feeble sketch." — pp. 131, 132.

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13. — *An Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America.* By John Delafield, Jr. *With an Appendix, containing Notes, and a View of the Causes of the Superiority of the Men of the Northern over those of the Southern Hemisphere;* by James Lakey, M. D. Cincinnati: Published by N. G. Burgess & Co. 1839. 4to.

A quarto volume from what, when we studied geography, used to be known by the instructive name of the "Territory Northwest of the Ohio," is something to attract attention. And when we open it, and find it printed in a style which emulates the London press, and is seldom even attempted in America, we turn to the title-page again, to see if we did not mistake its birth-place. But there it stands, printed in good Roman characters, that none can mistake, "Published by N. G. Burgess & Co., No. 27, Pearl Street, Cincinnati, 1839." We have heard something of the book-trade of that western city, and have seen some dingy volumes from her presses. But these broad margins, these wide lines, this clear, black letter, these plates, so well drawn and lithographed, — we hardly expected to see such things come so soon from beyond the mountains; we little imagined, that the veteran brethren of the type would have so soon to be guarding their

laurels against the rivalry of these frontier-men, as we have scarcely yet taught ourselves not to call them.

But since they have come to the competition, we bid them welcome. We love good printing almost as one of the Fine Arts. A clear, black type does indeed give a force, a definite meaning, a piercing point, to good matter. Open lines and wide margins in like manner expand our capacities, and enlarge our views; so that we may say, most truly, that good printing is one of the creative arts. While we have, therefore, cheap books and cheap engravings for general use, let us have too some works and some paintings, upon which much mechanical labor has been bestowed. Let us now and then make a reach toward ideal beauty in printing, as in every thing else.

But the book before us is, upon its face, not only remarkable for beauty; it is equally so as the production of a Western man of business. That one of the commercial community in that great pork-mart, where such as know no better might naturally suppose, that business men are mere business men, should write a work upon a subject requiring long study and deep thought, is to us a very pleasing fact. If we had more men resembling Mr. Delafield in this respect, we should soon see their influence in promoting the only principle that can oppose the prevalent one of our day and land; we mean Disinterestedness. Let a man love Study, Science, and Art, and he is on the way to Philanthropy and Christian Brotherhood.

With much, therefore, to prepossess us in favor of this volume, we open it, and are struck at once by a characteristic rare in our day, condensation. No words are used, that could have been dispensed with; in truth, had the author used more words, and supplied the connecting links in his argument more fully, he would have found more readers. He states his facts so briefly, draws his inferences so directly, and avoids not only fine writing, but all explanation and detail, so entirely, that, unless we think, and weigh, and compare, and connect, we shall have a very imperfect view of his course of reasoning. Of the matter contained in this volume, a judicious manager would have made four such; nay, a true literary French cook would have made four such from a tithe of what is here.

The work professes to be "An Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America." And by this is not meant merely an inquiry as to which of the American races originated those antiquities, but also a discussion of the origin of those races themselves. In other words, an answer is sought to two questions;

I. What races of people built the ancient works in America?

II. Whence and how was America peopled?

In answer to the first question we have given to us, first, the continuity of monuments from the Great Lakes to Peru, varying at different points, from causes which our author suggests; next, the tradition of the Delawares with regard to their coming to the country east of the Mississippi, and driving to the South the original possessors; then, the annals of Mexico and Peru, referring their origin to the North; and lastly, the want of any account, among the northern tribes, explaining the antiquities which were about them, and also their habits, which would never lead to the making of such works. From these facts, stated most briefly, our author draws the conclusion, that the identity of the race, which built the antiquities of the United States, with that of Mexico, and of both with that of Peru, is made so highly probable, as to throw the burden of proof upon him who doubts.

Concluding, then, that all the antiquities of America were built by one race, and that, the race known to us in Mexico and Peru, our author next inquires as to the origin of this people. He brings forward and examines their language, anatomy, mythology, hieroglyphic system, astronomy, architecture and decorations, manners and customs, illustrating all by curious plates; and from all, clearly presented and fairly weighed, draws the conclusion, that the civilized people of America was identical with that of ancient Egypt and Hindostan, and our northern Indians the same with the Mongol race.

But he does not rest here. He goes into an examination of the origin and migrations of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt and Hindostan, the family of Cush. This portion of Mr. Delafield's work contains much curious and very interesting matter, and some with which very few are acquainted. To present it in a condensed form would be to invade his copyright, for we could not hope to compress his clear, close statements. Let it be sufficient to say, that he traces the family of Cush to Egypt, and gives us the emigration from that land again, through Persia and Siberia toward Behring's Straits, along the line of which emigration we find the evidences of this peculiar race, the builders of pyramids, mounds, immense walls, and great cities. From Behring's Straits, our author traces the southward march of this strange people in America, by means of a Mexican symbolic map, which he gives, covering nineteen feet of paper, and thus puts the key-stone to his arch of evidence.

We have, in this work, then, a brief, but very clear and fair view of the evidences which favor the theory, that the antiquities of America originated in the labors of a branch of the great Cushite family. The difficulties of the theory are not discussed, but the positive proof is certainly strong ; and no one can read this work, without becoming interested in those inquiries, the main results of which it gives so ably and precisely.

In addition to Mr. Delafield's argument, we have in this volume a Preface, by Bishop McIlvaine, respecting the bearing of such inquiries as Mr. Delafield's upon the Bible ; and an Appendix, consisting of a curious paper, by Dr. James Lakey, of Cincinnati, upon the causes of man's superiority in the Northern Hemisphere over his fellow-man in the Southern.

In short, a careful examination of this Western quarto proves it to be as well worthy of attention from the matter it contains, as from the beauty with which that matter is laid before us. It makes us look to the West with new interest, and increases our faith in her rapid and steady intellectual and moral progress ; for the two must go together. She has intellect enough to place her high in useful exertion, and to give new vigor to the mind of all America, if her children can but stand enough aloof from business and politics for a fair exertion of their powers. Mr. Delafield has set them a noble example.

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14. — *Desultory Reminiscences of a Tour through Germany, Switzerland, and France.* By an American. Boston : William D. Ticknor. 8vo. pp. 364.

The young author of this work has shown a sound heart and good head. He has given us his recollections of a tour in Europe, carefully and leisurely prepared, and written out with considerable attention to style. Novelty is not to be expected in a work professing to treat of countries so long trodden by travellers' feet, as Germany, Switzerland, and France. Still an observant and honest tourist may furnish his readers with entertainment and instruction, by reviving the faded images imparted by others, or by putting familiar facts in new lights. The classical scenes, on which the great drama of European history has been enacted, and where the momentous work of civilization and art is still going swiftly on, can never lose their interest. The traveller's tale will always be eagerly read.

We have, in this work, carefully-drawn descriptions of the most celebrated natural scenes in Europe. Works of art are treated with taste and feeling, and national manners are indicated with due discrimination. The author appears to have made himself familiar with the various objects, most deserving a stranger's attention, in the great capitals of Europe, and entered heartily into the enjoyment of whatever was beautiful and excellent in taste, or illustrious in historical fame. The city of Paris, in particular, is the subject of ample and minute detail.

The book is written, as we have said, with considerable attention to the style ; but it has faults, in that respect, which ought to be pointed out. The language is too stilted and monotonous, running into long and cumbrous sentences, and thereby bearing at times an inadequate expression of the author's ideas. It is overloaded with epithets, which weaken instead of strengthening it. It is deficient in terseness, and would be greatly improved by a pretty thorough thinning out of superfluous words, those weeds of language. Take, for instance, a sentence selected almost at random. "Gilded as were now its rippling eddies, by the rays of a setting sun, that bathed no fairer landscape in the warm flood of its descending splendor, it formed a scene, such as the glad eye could not weary in gazing upon." But the book is, notwithstanding, very readable and agreeable.

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15. — *Treatise on the Contract of Sale.* Translated from the French of R. J. Pothier, by L. S. Cushing. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1839. 8vo. pp. 400.

The accurate translation of this standard work by so good a writer as Mr. Cushing, is a valuable service, alike to the professional and general reader. A contract the most frequent and important is here satisfactorily discussed, upon the broad authority of good conscience and equity, as well as upon the more limited principles of municipal law. The train of reasoning is such as naturally passes through intelligent and thinking minds ; and, void of artificial elements, it leads to principles which not only do justice, but secure therefor the approbation of common sense. Thus the treatise on Contracts, like that of the same author on Obligations, is not only a good book of law, but an excellent book of morals. That distinguished writer and advocate, Mr. Alison, has justly remarked, that "Pothier, by an astonishing effort of mental vigor,

has extracted from the heterogeneous mass of the old laws and customs of France, the element of general jurisprudence, and followed out the ingrained principles of the Roman Law, with a power of generalization, and clearness of expression, to which there is nothing comparable in the whole annals of legal achievements." The treatise on Contracts is an important portion of those works, which elicited such a warm and merited eulogium from the English lawyer.

Though this treatise can possess, in America, none of the authority and weight of statute laws, and their judicial expositions, it richly furnishes those scientific and equitable considerations, which lawyers and judges, however able in native resources of intellect, or however much relieved from responsibility by inflexible precedents, wish ultimately to repose upon in forming conclusions, which, from their practical effect upon the interests and happiness of their fellow-men, must needs be justified as well at the bar of conscience as of public opinion. Besides, it is clothed with the authority of common law for those portions of America which were formerly under the jurisdiction of France, as Louisiana and Lower Canada.

This, in common with all translations, is marred by some inherent defects, impossible to be removed, because founded in the very elements of thought. The frequent occurrence of Latin words and phrases, concentrating in their signification whole laws and principles, more or less unknown to the foreign reader, abates much of the point and force of the general reasoning. It must be owned, too, that some doctrines are laboriously discussed, which have become, by a change of circumstances, and the diffusion of knowledge, scarcely worthy of even a formal statement.

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16. — *Poems*. By George Lunt. New York: Gould & Newman. 1839. 12mo. pp. 160.

The largest poem in this volume is of the didactic or philosophic kind, written in the good old couplet of Pope. It is called "Life," and is an attempt to unfold and illustrate the truth, that Christianity is necessary to the full developement of the nature of man. We are inclined to the opinion, that didactic poetry is the most difficult achievement of genius, when wrought up to its highest perfection. To carry on a train of philosophical meditations, or to support a succession of reasonings and inferences, with all the restraints

of metre and rhyme, and with all the ornaments of poetical illustration, must task the understanding, the imagination, and the power of expression, to their utmost. And in truth we find, as might be expected, in most attempts of this kind, little more than a series of unconnected truisms, sometimes expressed with point and terseness, but most frequently, on a close analysis, assuming the form of a *caput mortuum*.

If we say, that Mr. Lunt has not produced a didactic poem of the first class, we question neither his taste nor his genius. In the first place, the subject he has chosen is one of the greatest magnitude and importance. Treated thoroughly, it would require years of toil, almost endless knowledge, and the highest philosophical as well as poetical powers. It is the great subject of speculation in modern times. Apart from its claims as a system of religious truth, imparted to man by Divine Revelation, Christianity, in its political, social, and intellectual relations, is the one great, stupendous phenomenon in modern history.

Mr. Lunt has given us a very pleasing poem, touching upon the leading topics of this high argument, and written generally in a polished and melodious style of versification. There is one fault, very common in the heroic couplet, which Mr. Lunt occasionally falls into; that is, the use of unnecessary epithets, to complete the rhythm, and to balance the hemistichs. It is curious to observe, how frequently in this poem (and almost every other written in the same measure), the first half of the line contains an adjective, necessary perhaps both to the sense and rhythm, and, after the cæsural pause, comes another see-sawing with it, wholly superfluous, except for the melody. Thus.

"Where *burning* words instinct with *living* fire."

Besides, is it not tautological to call "*burning* words instinct with *fire* ?'

Again,

"The same *dark* passions fire his *owing* breast."

"Through the *dry* sands of Afric's *burning* waste."

"Or *torrid* sunbeams scorch the *blazing* line," — mere surplusage.

"No *generous* glow his *rugged* bosom warms."

"Where the *rude* soldier leads his *hard-eyed* band."

"Crawls *basely* down to his *ignoble* grave."

"Nor *soft* refinement sooths his *rugged* heart."

"How man's *dark* spirit sank in *gloomy* night."

"Waits the *glad* coming of day's *burning* eye."

"A *kindlier* fire his *frozen* bosom warms."

"His *selfish* bosom feels a *genial* glow."

In truth, there are many lines in this poem, which might be cut down to eight syllables, with no detriment to the meaning and with much advantage to the style. We notice, too, several repetitions of favorite words, such as "immortal," "glowing," "burning," &c. which have an unpleasant effect, and weaken the impression of the imagery. Occasionally we find a finical expression like, "jewelled sky." It might do to compare jewels to stars, but to compare stars to jewels is to compare an object of transcendent beauty in nature, to another beautiful indeed, but too familiar, — to tradesmen's shops and ladies' fingers. However, it must be confessed, that the best poets frequently commit this fault, — we mean the error of taste, — in comparing noble objects to things in their nature less noble.

Having found fault freely with this poem, we give the following extract.

"Would grander visions charm gay fancy's eye?
Behold the gorgeous East come sweeping by,
As when our common parents o'er it trod
Glowing with beauty from the hand of God!
Leave the lone savage to the deep recess
Of his unseen, primeval wilderness;
See man, a loftier being, grasp the sway
Which weaker mortals dare not disobey,
Stretch his broad empire to the rising sun,
Deem nothing his, while aught is to be won,
Yet, ere his hand secures the dazzling prize,
A change comes o'er it, and the pageant flies; —
And like the pictures on the magic glass,
Which one by one, in gay procession pass,
Yet, ere the steadfast eye can fix them there,
Fade quite away, and melt in empty air, —
So the vain empires men eternal deem
Rise up and vanish, like a shifting dream! — p. 30.

Many of the shorter poems are written with grace, feeling, and great truth to nature. Take, for instance, the following;

"TO A WARM WIND IN WINTER.

"Low, sweet wind, whose melody
Floats along the rippled sea,
Why, to ride the curling foam,
Did'st thou leave thy pleasant home?
For thy motion soft and slow,
And thy voice so sweet and low,

Tell of milder climes than this,
Far beyond the blue abyss.

Dost thou come from Araby,
Where eternal summers be?
Or, where over ocean isles
Everlasting verdure smiles?
Sporting under spicy trees,
Singing where the roses blow,
Could'st thou leave them, wandering breeze,
For the land of cold and snow?

Dost thou bring from Eastern bowers
Tidings of the birds and flowers?
For the birds away have flown, —
And the flowers all shrunk and gone; —
Go, and tell them how we long
For the roses and the song; —
Now, sweet wind, I warn thee go,
Here is only cold and snow! " — pp. 53, 54.

We have been struck, in reading this volume, with Mr. Lunt's command of poetical expression and imagery. Sometimes his pictures are indistinct, from being overwrought; but generally they show a nicely observant eye, and a happy facility in the execution.

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17. — *Caii Crispi Salustii de Catilinæ Conjuratione Belloque Jugurthino Historiæ. Sallust's Histories of the Conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War. From the Text of Gerlach. With English Notes.* Edited by H. R. Cleveland, A. M. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1838. 8vo. pp. 198.

This is a very neat and attractive edition of the great Latin Historian. It is printed in a clear type, on good paper, and with a careful supervision of the press. The text selected by the editor is an excellent one. Mr. Cleveland has given, in a short introduction, a well-considered and well-worded criticism on the different classes of historical compositions, and on the writings of Sallust.

The peculiarities of Sallust's style make him a difficult author for schoolboys to understand. He is condensed, epigrammatic, and elliptical. Now a condensed style is for strong minds; an epigram is not comprehended readily by those who are unaccustomed to the society of wits; and elliptical sentences require a reflective power, and a concentrated and continued attention, which schoolboys are not apt to have. Sallust abounds, moreover, in philosophical reflec-

tions, drawn from an extensive experience of life, sometimes from an experience nowise creditable to the historian himself; — and these reflections are addressed to minds of more maturity than are found within the walls of a school-room. These points in the character of Sallust require a peculiar treatment by the editor of a school edition. Mr. Cleveland has met the difficulties of the case very skilfully and successfully. His notes are brief and pertinent ; they explain what really needs explanation, either in the construction of the sentences or in the matter treated of by the author. They are uniformly clear, intelligible, and neatly expressed ; sometimes highly ingenious in solving difficulties, and throwing light on disputed passages ; and they condense, within a very narrow compass, a great variety of excellent criticism.

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## NOTE

### TO ARTICLE III. OF THE LAST NUMBER.

In our late article on "Nautical Discovery in the Northwest," we had occasion to speak of "the supposititious voyage called De Fonte's" (*North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. pp. 129–132) ; we quoted a part of the letter published in Burney's "Voyages" under the name of this navigator, and added, that, without feeling any confidence in its genuineness, we yet thought that there was matter in it for an investigation, which we hoped would be undertaken by some one with leisure and opportunity for such inquiries.

The following views and facts, for which we are indebted to the Honorable James Savage, the learned editor of "Winthrop's History," appear to put at rest a question, itself of no little curiosity, and of which both sides have been maintained by foreign writers of consideration.

The introduction to the "Letter" of De Fonte recites, that "the Viceroys of New Spain and Peru, having advice from the court of Spain, in the fourteenth year of King Charles [of England], A. D. 1639, of a voyage being undertaken by some industrious navigators from Boston in New England, for discovery of a Northwest passage, he [Admiral De Fonte] received orders from Spain and the Viceroys to equip four ships of force, and sailed with such ships April 3d, 1640." It is impossible to imagine, that the memory of such an expedition, undertaken under such auspices, with a commander of high rank, sailing with the purpose of promptly defeating the attempt of a great rival maritime power, (acting, indeed, through its humble colonists, — nearest neighbours, however, to the long-sought passage,) an expedition so successful, besides, in its discoveries,

should survive in a sailor story of six pages, and in that alone; the Spanish authors, to whom we referred, affirming, that "the public repositories in Spain and the Indies have been carefully searched, and that neither journal, copies of orders, nor any paper whatever, relating to such a voyage, can be found."

But, again, the expedition is alleged in the "Letter" itself to have been against a Massachusetts vessel, which had reached the Pacific Ocean by a *northwest passage.* Accordingly, the Spanish critic, who refutes the fabulous story of his country's honor, objects to the relation of De Fonte, that there is a contradiction between his tale of meeting the Boston ship so little distance from Behring's Straits, and his conclusion, on returning home to Peru, "having found that there was no such passage into the South Sea, by what they call the Northwest passage"; and remarks, that on the showing of the "Letter," the voyage of Shepley must have been through the "thick-ribbed ice." The voyage being represented to have been made by a northwest passage, it is immaterial to the present purpose, to inquire, whether any Massachusetts vessel, "so early as the middle of the seventeenth century, found her way round Cape Horn to the Northwest." The truth, however, is, that there is no reason to suppose any such vessel to have been in the Pacific till a century and a quarter later.

The London "Quarterly Review" (Vol. xvi. p. 160), referred to by us, in our recent article, has the statement, that "about the same time, one M. de Groseiller, of Canada, was despatched from Quebec for the purpose of discovery. Landing near Nelson's River, he fell in with a wretched hut, in which were six people, nearly famished. They were part of the crew of a ship which had been sent from Boston, and which, while they were on shore, had been driven to sea by the ice, and was never heard of more." But where is the account of Groseiller's voyage, or rather journey? At all events, "about the same time," in the connexion in which it stands, means, about the time of James's and Foxe's voyage, in 1631, when our humble city was a year old, and a boat had not yet been built here; so that if such a shipwreck as is alleged, of a Boston vessel, occurred, she must have been from Boston, in Old England. Further, there is no credible account of a New England ship, within a hundred years after, going half the length of the Labrador coast, much less penetrating into Hudson's Bay.

At the close of the "Letter" the editor of the "Monthly Miscellany," where it first appeared, expresses his belief, that it "will not be unacceptable to those who have either been in those parts, or will give themselves the trouble of reviewing the chart." But here is no proof, that the author of the "Letter,"

or the editor of the "Miscellany," so much as pretended to possess a chart by De Fonte. He may have referred to any chart of the South Sea in common use. If this editor, in 1708, were the fabricator of the "Letter" about a voyage in 1640,* as is altogether probable, he forebore to stretch his boldness so far as to project a chart to commemorate those great discoveries, which he described in a narrative of six pages, written, perhaps, in half as many hours. The French translators supplied the deficiency, by enriching the adventure, after the middle of the last century, with that requisite accoutrement, though, as was at that day suspected, it was obtained from the laboratory of the recent Russian discoveries.

The conduct, ascribed to the commander of the expedition, was so absurd, under the circumstances, as to stamp the "Letter" for a fiction. De Fonte is represented to have been fitted out with a fleet of four ships, to capture the Boston vessel, which had dared to go north about, and come on the back of the Spanish dominions, in that unknown ocean, they called their own; and, moreover, informed the owner, that his commission was "to make prize of any people seeking a northwest or west passage into it." Yet he tells us, how he forthwith violated his instructions, betrayed his trust, rewarded the interloper owner with a diamond ring of twelve hundred dollars' cost, besides a quarter-cask of good wine, and the interloper captain with the gift of a thousand dollars for his fine charts and journals, and even the common sailors with two hundred dollars more. Instead of this, to execute his duty, he should have made them all prisoners, and sequestrated their property. A consideration for his liberality is indeed, alleged, "a small present of provisions," which the receiver acknowledged he had no need of. But the question, how, under such circumstances, this could have been bestowed, is as hard to answer, as the question why it should have been received. The Massachusetts captain must have had small surplus of stores, laid in by him in Boston the year before, and not needed for his return voyage from the hyperborean regions, to distribute to a squadron, nine thousand miles nearer home than himself.

The name of the Massachusetts captain, if there was one, was Shapley (or Shepley, or Shapleigh). Among one thousand eight hundred and eleven names, contained in the Appendix to the second volume of "Winthrop's History," of persons desirous of becoming freemen in the colony during the years 1630 – 1648

* That the writer of the "Letter" knew something of Massachusetts Bay, appears probable from his finding the name *Conihasset* to the north of Nootka Sound. Conihasset (otherwise *Cohasset*) is a well-known pleasant maritime village, a few miles from Boston.

inclusive, neither of these names, nor any similar one, is to be found. In so important an expedition, projected and solely directed by Gibbons, he would, from his associations, have employed, as ship-master, none but a church-member and a freeman of Massachusetts.*

"Captain Shapley told me," says the pseudo De Fonte, "his owner was a fine gentleman, and major-general of the largest colony in New England, called the Maltachusetts." Here are a couple of anachronisms. In 1640, Massachusetts was usually called New England, and was not, until three or four years later, obliged to regard herself as one of the New England colonies. In 1640, the title of major-general had not been conferred on Gibbons, nor on any other man. In his "Wonder-working Providences," Johnson says, "Major Edward Gibbons," thus designating his rank, when he was simply sergeant-major, or commanding officer of the regiment of Suffolk, "hath now [1652] the office of major-general also." In the preceding page, he makes Thomas Dudley the first major-general; and Hubbard (p. 373) confirms the statement of the priority of Dudley, giving 1644 as the date of the earliest election.† The elevation of Gibbons did not, according to Johnson, his intimate acquaintance, occur before 1649, near ten years after the pretended expedition must have sailed.

But there is yet in reserve that argument which Mr. Samuel Weller's father esteemed most of all, an *alibi*. "*The owner*," says the Letter, "and the whole ship's company, came on board, the 30th." The owner was Edward Gibbons, and the time was July 30th, 1640.

A ship from Boston, moored, on that day, in that part of the earth, should, in order to get through the ice, for one or two thousand miles west of Baffin's Bay (which must have thawed the previous summer), have sailed as early as April, 1639; or, if her voyage were round Cape Horn, not after October of the same year. A competent navigator, in our own times, bound to keep an appointment in the vicinity of Behring's Straits, would not dare to start a month later than October to reach his destination by the middle of the following July, in our usual

* The name of Shapley is believed to occur, on this side of the ocean, for the first time, 2d of April, 1641, when Nicholas Shapleigh, described in the deed, "of King's Ware, in the county of Devon," receives conveyance of all the grantor's estate in New England. He was probably a creditor, and did not come over for some time, for livery of seisin is, a few days after, witnessed by E. Godfrey, Roger Gard, sometime Mayor of Acomenticus, and one more. The land, of course, was in Maine.

† This, however, is not entirely accurate. John Humfrey was the first major-general, in 1641. He went home to England in a few months after his appointment and probably the place remained vacant till Dudley's elevation to it.

course. For the return voyage, supposing the adventurer to have come by a north passage, he would have to push through it in August, the only month which could be thought of for such service, and would be happy to reach Massachusetts Bay in November; or, if he came by our modern route, he could hardly reach the end of his voyage before March, 1641.

Where, then, between these limits of time, was Edward Gibbons, the "fine gentleman" who was owner of the vessel met by De Fonte, and a passenger in her? For if, during any part of the interval, we can find him in Massachusetts, then De Fonte is a phantom, and the writer of his "Letter" was a knave.

We have two guides in following his motions; one, the Records of the General Court of Massachusetts; the other, the slender first volume of Boston Records.

From the first it appears, that, on the 13th day of March, 1639, Gibbons was representative for Boston, with two others. As, for the next forty years, the town had only two, if he was one, he could less be spared for so distant an excursion; and he was one in May, and again in September, of the same year. It being, at the last date, hazardous to undertake the passage "in climes beyond the solar road," the credulous reader of De Fonte must suppose him to have taken the circuit by the southern extremity of our continent. But no; for we find, that, in March, 1640, he was sent, with two other gifted brethren, to reduce some schismatics, who had been driven from the church of Boston, and had pretended to set up public worship at Newport. In the May following, he is again at his post in the Massachusetts legislature. In November of the same year, he heads an expedition; but it is only as far as Dorchester, whither he goes with "a guard of twelve musketeers," to meet the sachem, Miantunnomo. In October, 1641, and through the six following years, he is still on the Boston seat in the General Court, and without any such manifestations of importance, as a negotiation with a "Prince of Chili," and the gift from him of a costly "diamond ring," might naturally have tempted him to assume.

According to the Boston Records, at the meeting of the freemen of the town, when "Captain Edward Gibbons" was first elected to the General Court of the colony, he was also made a selectman. The clerk attests, that he was present at the selectmen's meetings, May 27th, July 29th, August 6th, September 30th, October 28th, and November 25th, 1639; that, with Governor Winthrop, Bellingham, and others, he was re-elected to that office December 16th of the same year; that he attended meetings on the 30th day of the same month, and on January 27th, February 24th, March 30th (on which last day the records mention his sale of an estate), April 27th, and

July 2d, of the succeeding year ; and that on the 28th of September he was chosen once more to the same office, and was engaged in its duties on that day, and on the following October 26th. It is unnecessary to follow him into the next year. It is plain, that he has only from July 2d of the Julian year, (or 12th by the Gregorian, which his generous enemy, Admiral De Fonte used) till the 17th of the same month (or the 7th by Boston reckoning), — that is, five days, — in which to meet the Spanish magnifico beyond Queen Charlotte's Sound. And after the friendly separation, July 30th, his "diamond ring" must do the office of Aladdin's lamp, and bring him back, with his cask of wine, in fifty days, to his selectman's seat in Boston.

Dr. Snow, the learned and modest historian of Boston, conjectures (p. 89) the origin of this marvel of De Fonte to have been, in a real voyage of Gibbons from Boston to Bermuda, in a pinnace of thirty tons, in October, 1636. It was disastrously protracted, so that he did not return till June, 1637. In "Winthrop's History" (i. 226) may be seen a simple report of it, written at the time, and a preposterously wonderful one is given in Mather's "Magnalia," book vi. "Thaumaturgus."

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In connexion with that part of the same article on "Nautical Discovery in the North-west," in which we spoke of the discovery of the Columbia River, by Captain Gray, we have been referred, by Mr. Sparks, to the fact, that the first suggestion of a trading voyage to the Northwest Coast appears to have been made by John Ledyard. In Sparks's *Life* of that enterprising American traveller (pp. 133 *et seq.*), is a full account of his endeavours to effect such a voyage as early as 1783. He had then recently returned from Cook's last voyage round the world, during which he had visited some of the Russian Settlements on the Northwest Coast, and become acquainted with the fur trade carried on by the Russians with the natives. His quick and sagacious observation pointed out to him the advantages that might be derived from this trade to the United States; and, as soon as he returned to his native country, he made various efforts to persuade some of the merchants to engage in such an expedition. At length Robert Morris approved his plan, and authorized him to put it in execution.

Ledyard spent several months in searching for a suitable vessel, in the principal ports of the United States. No vessel could be procured, and the project was abandoned. He then went to Europe, where he likewise failed, after having nearly attained his object. All this was done, before any voyage of

the kind had been undertaken, either in Europe or America. While inquiring for a vessel, he was in Boston, more than two years before Captains Kenrick and Gray sailed from that port to the Northwest Coast; and it is probable, that the first ideas of the voyage were derived from information communicated by him. It may be remarked, that the early voyages were fitted out and conducted precisely on the plan, which he had proposed, and the success corresponded with his anticipations.

The narrative of these particulars, as contained in his *Life*, is curious and interesting; and it leaves no room to doubt, that John Ledyard was the first projector of this branch of trade.

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## NOTE

### TO ARTICLE VII. OF THE LAST NUMBER.

In our notice of Mr. Du Ponceau's work upon the Chinese Language (*North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 288), we introduced an extract, containing the remark, that the two ships, with which Captain White went to Cochin-China in 1819, were said to be the *first American* vessels, that had ascended the river Donnai, in that kingdom. This statement rests upon the authority of Captain White himself, who says, in the preface to his work; "It is presumed, that no American ever prosecuted any important speculation in the country, previous to the joint adventure of the brig Franklin and ship Marmion. At least it is very certain, that they were the first American ships that ever ascended the Donnai River, and displayed the stars and stripes before the city of Saigon."

We have since received the following memorandum, from John Prince, Esquire, of Jamaica Plain, who was part-owner of the first American ship that visited that country;

"The ship *Arab*, Benjamin Lander, master, owned by John Derby, John Prince, and Samuel G. Derby, sailed from Boston for Cochin-China, 17th March, 1803, with 40,000 Spanish dollars, and other goods $2311·28; and, not succeeding, went to Manilla, and returned from thence in the summer of 1804."

We have to express our thanks to Mr. Prince, for this interesting fact in the history of American commerce; which has been unexpectedly elicited by our discussion of a literary topic, having no apparent connexion with it.

In the same article, the reader is requested to make the following correction, at p. 309, line 1; for *characters*, read *words*.

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# QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

## AGRICULTURE.

Summary of the Principal Chinese Treatises upon the Culture of the Mulberry and the Rearing of Silk Worms. Translated from the Chinese. Washington: Peter Force. 8vo. pp. 198.

## ARCHITECTURE.

The Builder's Guide, illustrated by sixty-six Engravings which exhibit the Orders of Architecture, and other elements of the Art. By Asher Benjamin, Architect. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 4to. pp. 83.

## BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Cardinal Cheverus, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and formerly Bishop of Boston in Massachusetts. From the French of J. Huen-Dubourg, Priest, and late Professor of Theology. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 389.

The Life of George Washington. By Jared Sparks. Boston: Ferdinand Andrews. 8vo. pp. 562.

## EDUCATION.

A Manual of Conchology, according to the System laid down by Lamarck; with the late Improvements by De Blainville. Exemplified and Arranged for the Use of Students. By Thomas Wyatt, M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 191.

English Grammar for Beginners, on the Inductive Method of Instruction. By John L. Parkhurst. New York: Gould & Newman.

The Elements of Guitar-Playing; including a Complete System of Fingering founded on Chord Positions. Together with a General View of the Rudiments of Harmony; adapted to the Formation of Guitar Accompaniments. By James Ballard. New York: Geib & Walker.

Pub. Terentii Afri Andria Adelphique. Ex Editione Westerhovianâ. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ. Curâ C. K. Dillaway, A. M. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 18mo. pp. 186.

Mr. Dillaway's editions of the Latin Classics, have been repeatedly noticed with approbation. This little volume contains two of the best plays of Terence, in a very neat and convenient form, with brief explanatory notes, in English. The plays are very correctly printed, and cannot fail of being an attractive book to the young student. Mr. Dillaway's commentaries show taste and judgment, and a competent knowledge of the author's peculiarities both of sentiment and diction.

Fables de la Fontaine, avec des Notes Historiques, Mythologiques, et Grammaticales, à l'Usage des Colléges et des Écoles. Par F. Sales, Maître de Français et d'Espagñol à l'Université de Harvard. Boston: Jâques Munroe & C^ie^. 12mo. pp. 336.

The Fables of La Fontaine have for a long time been a favorite text-book for French classes, and with justice. Their terseness and point, the admirable wit and wisdom by which they are distinguished above all other fables, entitle them fairly to the unexampled popularity they have ever enjoyed. But, at the same time, they abound in idiomatic terms, and classical allusions, which go beyond the knowledge of most young scholars in whose hands they are placed. It was, therefore, highly desirable to have a good and cheap edition prepared, in which difficult passages and remote allusions should be explained; and, as whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well, it was desirable that the task of preparing it should fall upon the very man, whose name stands in the title-page. Mr. Sales is as well known among us as the French language itself. Like Nestor of old, *μετὰ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν*, he continues to be a master among the third generation. By editing this volume, he has added another to his already numerous claims upon the respect and thanks of the literary community.

A Grammar of the Italian Language. By Pietro Bachi, Instructor in Harvard University. A New Edition, revised and improved, with the Addition of Practical Exercises, and numerous Illustrations drawn from the Italian Classics. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. London: R. J. Kennett. 12mo. pp. 568.

Mr. Bachi's Italian Grammar has been well known for a number of years past, to all lovers of the Italian language in this country. The new edition contains many important additions, particularly of practical exercises, and illustrations drawn from the classics. Every part has been carefully revised, and the results of the author's experience, during several years of instruction, are interwoven in the original texture of the work. In its present form, it is probably the most complete grammar of the Italian language now in existence.

Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War, and the First Book of the Greek Paraphrase; with English Notes, Critical and Explanatory, Plans of Battles, Sieges, &c., and Historical, Geographical, and Archæological Indexes. By Charles Anthon, LL. D., Jay Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, New York. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 493.

Sallust's Jugurthine War, and Conspiracy of Catiline, with an English Commentary and Geography, and Historical Indexes. By Charles Anthon, LL. D., &c. &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 332.

## HISTORY.

An Historical Sketch of Abington, Plymouth County, Mass. With an Appendix. By Aaron Hobart. Boston: S. N. Dickinson. 8vo. pp. 176.

Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention assembled at Philadelphia, in the Year 1787, for the purpose of forming the Constitution of the United States of America. From Notes taken by the late Robert Yates, Esq., Chief Justice of New York, and copied by John Lansing, Jr., Esq., late Chancellor of that State, including "The Genuine Information" laid before the Legislature of Maryland, by Luther Martin, Esq., then Attorney-General of that State, and Member of the same Convention. Also other Historical Documents relative to the Federal Compact of the North American Union. Richmond, Va. Wilbur Custis. 12mo. pp. 335.

Notices of Men and Events connected with the Early History of Oneida County. Two Lectures delivered before the Young Men's Association of the City of Utica. By William Tracey. Utica: R. Northway. 8vo. pp. 45.

Comparative View of Ancient History; Embracing a Sketch of the Contemporary History of the Nations of Antiquity. To which are added, Observations on Chronological Eras; comprising an Explanation of the different Ancient and Modern Systems of Computing time, and the Modes of reducing each to a Correspondence with the Christian Era. By Joshua Toulmin Smith. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 122.

## LAW.

Civil Code of the State of Louisiana; with Annotations by Wheelock S. Upton, LL. B., and Needler R. Jennings. New Orleans: E. Johns & Co. 8vo.

A Treatise on Criminal Law, with an Exposition of the Office and Authority of Justices of the Peace in Virginia, including Forms of Practice. By J. A. G. Davis, Professor of Law in the University of Virginia. Philadelphia: C. Sherman & Co. 8vo.

An Abridgment of the Law of Nisi Prius. By P. Brady Leigh, Esq., Barrister at Law. With Notes, &c., by George Sharswood, Esq., of the Philadelphia Bar. Philadelphia: Nicklin & Johnson. 8vo.

A Treatise on the Practice of the Court of Chancery, with an Appendix of Forms, &c. By John Sidney Smith, of the Six Clerks' Office. With Notes and References to American Decisions; by David Graham, Counsellor at Law. Philadelphia: Nicklin & Johnson. 8vo.

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